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WOMEN LOVING WOMEN: AN EXPLORATION INTO
FEELINGS AND LIFE-EXPERIENCES

by

DIANE M. GREENE

A dissertation submitted
to the Graduate Faculty in Psychology
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The
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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Clinical Psychology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

WOMEN LOVING WOMEN: AN EXPLORATION INTO
FEELINGS AND LIFE-EXPERIENCES

by

Diane M. Greene

Advisor: Professor David Ricks

Recent studies of homosexuals have shifted from a comparison of homosexuals with heterosexuals to a documentation of individual experiences and within-group differences. This study compares lesbians who have achieved a good overall adjustment with lesbians who have not, with particular emphasis on differences between the women in coping with the awareness of their homosexuality and managing their identity. Eighteen lesbians, generally in their late twenties and college educated, were recruited through the friendship pyramiding technique to serve as participants. Each woman filled out the Personal Feeling Scales, a measure of daily moods, for a period of 4-6 weeks. Each participant's mean score on one of the scales, measuring elation-depression, determined her level of overall adjustment. To explore relationships between each woman's obtained level of adjustment and her experiences surrounding her homosexuality, open-ended life-history interviews were conducted. Generally 2-3 hours long, these interviews

were taped and abstracted information was used for further analysis. A major portion of the presentation of results consisted in the verbatim reports of the participants. The findings indicate that conflict over one's homosexual feelings, suppression of these feelings and lack of affirmation from the environment are not conducive to psychological health. The interviews revealed certain similarities present in many of the women as they moved toward a greater acceptance of their homosexuality, particularly the importance of positive role models in reversing negative stereotypes. In addition, problems related to self-disclosure at work, to parents and in public were documented. Implications for healthy adaptation as a lesbian were discussed, and sociological and existential interpretations of guilt and anxiety were offered. Finally, there was a discussion of the movement away from labels toward a broader conception of human potential.

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My deep appreciation goes first of all to the 18 women who shared their lives and feelings with me. They had much to teach.

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The two years spent researching and writing this were a time of growth and discovery for me. Most of all I came to fully appreciate the role of helpers when one is under stress. I thank my various professional helpers who have contributed so much toward my own exploration, especially Richard Brodie for always having time for my frequent panics during those final weeks of writing. My parents, dealing with their own life transitions, always had time for letters of support and encouragement, and these were invaluable. My thanks to Gertrude Epstein for her sustained patience. Finally, there are always a few people who make the daily difference between feeling alone and frightened and feeling supported and nourished: I thank Barbara and Lana for gently picking me up each time I faltered.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Social scientists too often reduce human experience in order to understand it. . . . The reality of lesbian experience transcends all theories about it.
Lesbian Images, Jane Rule, 1975

Historically speaking, there has been no lack of theories about lesbians. For many years, the scientific community contented themselves with clinical inquiries into etiology of lesbianism, and descriptions of psychopathology characteristic of lesbians seen in psychotherapy. In recent years, however, a metamorphosis seems to be occurring in terms of the direction of research, and the definition of areas that truly merit further investigation.

The Emergence of the "Comparison" Study

Bergler (1956), summarizing his impressions of homosexuals he had treated in psychotherapy wrote:

Homosexuality is not the 'way of life' these sick people gratuitously assume it to be, but a neurotic distortion of the total personality. It is granted that heterosexuality per se does not guarantee emotional health; there are unnumerable neurotics among heterosexuals too. But there also exist healthy heterosexuals, and there are no healthy homosexuals. (p. 151)

Although individual professionals might have argued with the extremity of this position, it was not terribly far afield from prevailing scientific (and societal) attitudes. It is therefore no wonder that Hooker's 1957 study of the Rorschach responses of non-patient homosexuals and heterosexuals was hailed as a pioneering work. Hooker (1957) concluded:

Homosexuality as a clinical entity does not exist. Its forms are as varied as those of heterosexuality; homosexuality may be a deviation in sexual pattern that is within the normal range psychologically. (p. 30)

(Although both authors based their conclusions on male homosexuals alone, they are quoted here because at that time there was no distinction made between male and female homosexuality. The word "homosexual" was considered to be equally descriptive of both sexes.)

Judging from the many studies it spawned, Hooker's work was clearly seen as controversial. A full-scale battle ensued, with study after study seeking to compare non-patient homosexuals with non-patient heterosexuals along any dimension that seemed psychologically meaningful. Certain investigators, well aware of the paucity of research utilizing female groups, devoted their efforts in this area to comparisons of homosexual and heterosexual women. While one of the investigators found lesbians to be more neurotic (Kenyon, 1968), most found no differences between the groups on various measures of psychological health (Armon, 1960; Gundlach & Riess, 1968; Saghir & Robins, 1973; Thompson, McCandless & Strictland, 1971), and several found the lesbian

groups to be better adjusted (Freedman, 1968; Hopkins, 1969; Siegalman, 1972). Varying conceptions of "adjustment" as well as differences in sampling strategies and methodological procedures contributed to contradictory results. There was enough evidence, however, so that Riess, Safer and Yotive (1974), after reviewing the literature on psychological test data on female homosexuals, could conclude:

The assumption that male and female homosexuality have a similar dynamic origin and that homosexuality as such, whether male or female, is necessarily pathological are being questioned. (p. 84)

Simplistically stated, the central question of this line of research seemed to be "Who's better?", and the search for a definitive answer continued. A most recent offering of this type of study, and one which clearly avoided many of the methodological pitfalls of prior investigations, was Oberstone's 1975 doctoral dissertation entitled "Psychological Adjustment and Style of Life of Single Lesbians and Single Heterosexual Women." The title itself exemplifies Oberstone's careful attempt to secure truly comparable groups of women; women who, as much as possible, differed from each other primarily in their choice of love object. Far more than in prior studies, her participants did seem to be homosexual and heterosexual counterparts of one another.

Oberstone found no differences between the two groups in such areas as: parental dominance, relationship with parents, first sexual experience (although for the lesbian group the referent was usually a woman), stability of current

love relationships, and desires to have children. There were also no differences in amount of drug and alcohol use, nor in suicidal tendencies. Independent ratings of the MMPI yielded no differences in psychological adjustment as measured by that instrument. Oberstone's findings of "no major differences in psychological adjustment between the women with a preferred homosexual orientation and the women with a preferred heterosexual orientation" is thus in agreement with the majority of similar research studies.

No doubt, this will not herald the end of studies whose primary aim is comparison. There seems to be an almost obsession-like concern with further refinements of the "who's better/healthier/happier?" question. While there is no doubt of the value that these studies have had in eroding myths and stereotypes previously held as "truth", comparison studies are insufficient. To understand the reality of a group's experiences, it seems that one should focus on that group, the variation within it, and the themes that may be unique to it. This stance is not unlike that of the anthropologist conducting naturalistic and exploratory field studies in order to understand the experiences of a group, and the variety that exists within the group.

Studies of Within-Group Variation

This second area of research remains comparatively unexplored. It is the line of research suggested by Hooker's

(1957) often overlooked "other" conclusion: that the forms of homosexuality are "as varied as those of heterosexuality" (p. 30). This road, far less travelled, concerns the need to investigate, reveal and describe the variation that exists within the homosexual group. Because of the relative scarcity of such studies, especially with women, several investigations of this type will be reviewed in some detail.

Simon and Gagnon (1969) did some of the vital groundbreaking in this area, saying that their paper, "The Lesbians: A Preliminary Overview," offers "a sense of the variety, forms, and styles female homosexuality may take, and a tentative attempt to seek out what might be general themes" (p. 250). Their method was the one of choice in this type of exploratory work: loosely structured interviews with a fairly diverse group of lesbians (just how many and from what sources was unspecified) to begin the important process of delineating themes and variables. They sought to inquire into the lives of these women, and liberally quoted self-reports in areas such as becoming a lesbian, utilizing the lesbian community, dealing with friends, family and employers, finding love, and accepting oneself. The authors were convinced that this last variable, acceptance of self, was extremely critical:

Perhaps the single, most important variable in understanding the adjustment of the lesbian is the process by which, or the degree to which, she comes to accept herself, that is, to manage her feelings about her emotions and preferences and to bring into some balance what she is and what she wants to be. Put into its simplest terms, this is her ability to like herself. (p. 277).

Their article is distinctive in its descriptive and non-judgmental approach, and its great contribution lies in its attempt to ferret out those themes that specifically pertain to this group. Both the themes, and the variation of individual women in their experiences, might not have emerged if the primary aim had been to compare lesbians with non-lesbians along dimensions common to both, and set down in advance.

The need to focus on specific themes as well as describe the diversity within the group was further advanced by a large scale study initiated by the Institute for Sex Research in Indiana. Reporting on some preliminary findings, Bell (1973) specified an important aim of the study:

To put it another way, before between-group differences are ever to emerge in ways that are truly enlightening, much more attention must be given to within-group differences than has been true of the past. (p. 2)

This study utilized the most sophisticated and extensive sampling procedures, drawing on a wide range of sources to recruit large numbers of male and female homosexuals. Over 1000 individuals were ultimately selected and asked an extensive series of questions. (While the article is not clear on this, it appears that many of the questions were of the multiple choice type.) While a number of the variables under investigation applied to heterosexuals too, such as number of sexual partners, types of sexual problems, and social adjustment, there were also a group of areas that were specific to the homosexual group. These included acceptance of one's homosexuality, and the dimension of overtness-covertiness

in terms of the disclosure of one's sexual preference. In addition, the importance of, and the variation in, the homosexual's experience of his or her homosexuality was emphasized in Bell's concluding remarks:

One's experience of homosexuality differs according to one's age, social status, sex, race, and geographical residence. It differs according to the time and culture in which it is expressed. . . . It may be that an additional differentiation must be made on the basis of what is figure and ground for a given homosexual. For example, it is possible that for some homosexuals the most prominent feature of their homosexuality is their attempt to deal with the guilt which they experience over their behaviors; for others it may be the management of the tension they experience between the gay and the straight world; for still others . . . as the search for a long-lasting relationship. . . . What is figure for some is ground for others. (p. 24)

The findings of the two studies cited above make clear that of the many variables that can be investigated, an extremely critical one concerns how one deals with the awareness of one's homosexuality. Certainly, one would be hard pressed to find a homosexual in this culture, male or female, who was not aware that he or she was departing from accepted social convention in choosing to relate emotionally and sexually to others of the same sex. Only very recently (Freedman, 1975), has an investigator begun to delineate ways in which homosexuals cope with this problem. Freedman describes several broad categories: homosexuals can develop a negative identity, seeing themselves as defective, accepting society's devaluation, and playing the part society describes; they can be pragmatic, by generally disguising their homosexuality, that is, by "passing" for straight; or finally, they can live

according to their own values, as Freedman sees some of the personally liberated gay people who emerged with the advent, in 1969, of Gay Liberation. He calls this latter group centered homosexuals.

Clearly, then researchers have begun to document both the reality of lesbian experience, and the diversity that exists.

The Current Need

A new type of exploration seems to emerge from the changes that have occurred in the kind of study being conducted. The comparison study compared homosexuals to heterosexuals to see which group was better adjusted, with no attention to individual differences within each group. The studies emphasizing the documentation of variety within the homosexual group, on the other hand, were quite concerned with individual differences but did not systematically look at how different experiences surrounding one's homosexuality were related to one's overall level of adjustment.

It is this latter kind of inquiry that has been suggested by various investigators as a critical area of future research. Simon and Gagnon (1969), struck with the central importance of the lesbian's attempts to accept her preference and manage her identity, were aware that there might be relationships between these outcomes and current adjustment:

How much success or failure in any of these specific areas of life leads to more general effects remains an important but unanswered question. (p. 277)

The reason why this had to remain "unanswered" in their investigation was because, lacking an independent measure of adjustment, they had no reliable and valid indicator of these "general effects" for the women they interviewed.

Likewise, Bell (1973) expressed interest in this area. While independent measures of adjustment were utilized, their major function, in keeping with the study's emphasis on revealing intra-group variation, was to adequately document the existence of a large range of psychological functioning within the group. However, Bell indicates his belief that certain relationships exist:

It may be possible to account for this variation [in psychological functioning] on the basis of their developmental experiences, the management of their sexuality, and/or the nature of their social adjustments. (p.18)

There would be great value in a study attempting to explore these relationships, to see what kinds of parameters of experience differentiate healthy, well-adjusted lesbians from those less healthy, less adjusted. Of the infinite number of experiences that might prove differentiating, it would seem important to focus on the very kinds of experiences that are part of being homosexual in this society. These would include, but are not limited to, the kinds of variables delineated by Simon and Gagnon (1969), Bell (1973) and Freedman (1975) as described above. Of particular interest would be the whole process of a particular woman's coping with the awareness of her homosexuality.

In an area characterized by so little systematic exploration, it would seem unwise to venture into hypotheses regarding the nature of the relationships that might emerge. No doubt even attempting to describe the parameters and categories that might develop would be premature. Therefore, the values of exploration and discovery shall be respected.

Specific Contributions of the Present Study

The present study seeks to make contributions in the following areas:

1. To continue the process of documenting the reality of lesbian experience.

2. To utilize an independent measure of psychological adjustment to distinguish more adjusted from less adjusted lesbians, and to explore possible relationships between levels of adjustment and experiences surrounding accepting and managing one's homosexuality.

CHAPTER II

METHOD

Rationale for Selection of InstrumentsAssessing Overall Psychological Adjustment:
The Personal Feelings Scale

There is a multitude of tools in the psychologist's armamentarium for assessing psychological adjustment. However, in keeping with the experimental focus of the present study, and the desire for as little external "judging" as possible, it was felt that the most suitable measure would tap the participant's own feelings.

Such a measure of global psychological adjustment was developed by Wessman and Ricks (1966). These authors did a comprehensive study of the moods and personalities of 18 Harvard men and 25 Radcliffe women. Their measure of moods, The Personal Feeling Scales, provided valid and reliable indicators of the personal adjustment of their subjects. Each subject was asked to report how he or she felt each night, over a six week period, on 16 dimensions of feelings. The authors found that one's mean position on one of the dimensions, the elation-depression scale, was a broad

indicator for much of affective experience. They called this one's hedonic level. They concluded that elation-depression is a major affective axis for most individuals.

As the Harvard men had been participants in an extensive four year project, there was an abundance of additional material available on them. Both the means on the other 15 scales of the Personal Feelings Scales, as well as the rich independent data available, including MMPI profiles, projective tests, and clinical ratings, indicated that the happy men "though not fitting into a single mold did, in most aspects of their lives show clear evidence of good ego functioning" (Wessman & Ricks, 1966, p. 172). The authors summarized their findings regarding the relationship of hedonic level to adjustment by stating: "A variety of characteristics indicating overall goodness-badness of psychological functioning and general adjustment-maladjustment were significantly related to degree of happiness" (p. 247).

In addition to its overall validity as an indicator of psychological adjustment, the authors found mean hedonic level to be relatively uninfluenced by response sets such as repression, denial, concealment, lying, and social desirability.

It thus seems highly likely that the Personal Feelings Scales could be utilized to distinguish those lesbians who had achieved a generally good overall adjustment from those faring less well--the happy from the unhappy.

Collection of Life-Experiences:
The Life-History Interview

The current study seeks to discover how (or whether) happier/healthier lesbians differ from those less happy/healthy, especially in terms of their experience of their lesbianism. Additionally, it is hoped that an open-ended approach will lead to further discoveries of themes and variables. Toward these aims, gathering personal experiences will follow the general philosophy of interviewing that Dailey describes in Assessment of Lives (1971). In speaking of the life-history interview, he states: "What life history assessment seeks to do is collect episodes and from them reconstruct a whole" (p. 44).

The life-history approach satisfies the exploratory stance of the present study: "The moment one seeks to inquire into a person's life (as opposed to observing in the laboratory or reviewing test scores) novelty greets the inquirer" (Dailey, 1975, p. 6).

Furthermore, Dailey describes how the life-history approach departs from the medical model in its emphasis on the assessment of strengths and assets. This characteristic carries special significance for the group to be studied. As Altman (1971) points out in his criticism of Mort Crowley's depiction of gay life, The Boys in the Band:

Yet there is more strength to that world than Crowley's portrait of unredeemed misery seems to suggest, just as a black ghetto has its supportive elements unsuspected by a sociology that moralizes in the name of value-free

science. Not all gay parties, or dances, or, especially, relationships are corrupted by self-hate. (p. 29)

Equally important is Dailey's (1971) description of the life-history interview situation as a "human encounter":

A human encounter provides also the opportunity for the person assessed to interrogate the judge, even to cross-examine him on his conclusions under certain conditions. It is a situation, ideally, of human equality. (p. 26)

This again would seem to hold particular relevance for the group under study because of the prevalence of preconceptions that have been often subsequently shown to be either simplistic or inaccurate.

The life-history procedure (which will be more specifically described below) will allow each woman in the study to tell how it has been for her, with no interferring assumptions of the interviewer. Dailey (1971) points out that it is a self-expanding experience for most participants.

The preceding discussion of the life-history interview should make clear its non-exploitative nature. This is a key point, for while it is frequently important that the participants in a study not feel like guinea pigs, it seems especially so in a study dealing with a minority that has suffered both societal and scientific prejudice.

Sampling Considerations

Because of the existing social sanctions regarding homosexual behavior (notwithstanding a recent increase in tolerance) it would appear impossible to know the current

population of lesbians, hence impossible to secure a random sample. For the most part, it remains an "invisible minority", with those more visible, either through self-disclosure or societal stereotyping, possibly quite different than those less visible. However, because the present investigation is primarily concerned with intra-group variation, and an in-depth exploration of experience, rather than with a comparison of "lesbians" with "heterosexuals", it is not necessary to recruit a completely representative sample.

Bell (1973) addresses this point specifically, making the distinction between the incidence type study, and the study aimed at discovering relationships between variables. Regarding the sampling needs of the former he states:

The representativeness of a given sample is, of course, extremely important when one is attempting to estimate the incidence of a particular charactersitic in the population. For example, if the interest is in determining the extent to which homosexuals in general display a given psychological characteristic . . . one would have to demonstrate the degree to which the sample represents homosexuals in general. (p. 3)

Applying this to the present study then, if the primary aim were to estimate the hedonic level of "lesbians", or to compare the hedonic level of "lesbians" with heterosexuals, there would exist a clear need for either random sampling or the careful matching of groups that Oberstone (1975) achieved.

Bell goes on to describe the second type of study, which focuses on relationships between variables:

When the primary aim of research is that of viewing relationships between various measures, the representativeness of a given (analytic) sample becomes less crucial. For example, estimating the degree to which homosexuals are psychologically adjusted (i.e., an 'incidence' study) is quite a different matter than estimating the degree to which psychological adjustment is related to various socio-sexual life-styles. It could be said, of course, that with a different sample, different indices of psychological and adjustment might emerge, or that different socio-sexual life-styles would be represented, and even that relationships between the two might change; and yet, if the relationships which appear within a given sample make sense theoretically, the researcher's confidence in such findings can perhaps be more certain than those of the epidemiologist, despite the absence of a representative sample. (p. 4)

Clearly the present study, with its primary aim of exploring relationships between overall psychological adjustment and experiences surrounding one's homosexuality, fits into Bell's paradigm for the relationship type of investigation. The findings, if theoretically sound, would have scientific value without claiming generalization for the (as yet unknown) population.

Of course, one can hope to correct some of the more obvious sampling errors of the past, if only to widen the range of one's group, and insure some diversity among the very variables under consideration. Common biases of prior studies have been the sole inclusion of either therapy patients (since they were 'known about' by their therapists) or members of lesbian organizations (as they were accessible through contacting the organization). The error of studying only those homosexuals who have sought professional help has already been indicated when Hooker's 1957 study of

non-patient homosexuals was discussed. It makes no more sense to talk of "homosexuals" based on generalizations from those in therapy than it would to talk of "clergymen" based on generalizations from the ones who sought therapy. Less clear, perhaps, are the biases inherent in solely utilizing members of lesbian organizations. It would seem that members of such groups are already displaying a certain openness about, or an investment in, the issue of their lesbianism. Too, there might be notable effects of the participation in such groups upon one's resulting feelings about herself. This was indeed the case in a study on the moods of black and white men and women (Carter, 1973): happy black males were more actively engaged in political groups than unhappy black males.

What makes most sense is to select a group so as to insure some diversity along the very variables that might prove differentiating in terms of overall adjustment. These might include: political involvement, experience in therapy, age of emergence as a lesbian, risks inherent in one's profession if 'discovered'. Of course, it is also expected that some of the important variables would only emerge after the life-histories were collected.

In summary, the aim would thus be for variation among some theoretically important dimensions, rather than for representativeness.

Procedures

(In order to facilitate the natural flow of the steps in the study, it was decided to include the process of recruiting the participants in this section, as well as to describe demographic characteristics of the 18 women comprising the final group. Therefore, there will be no separate section on "subjects".)

Initial Recruiting of Participants

Before describing this process, it is important to describe the criteria used in determining "eligibility" for participation, that is, what was the operational definition of "women loving women"? This was handled in the following manner: all possible participants were told of the nature of the study, that it concerned lesbians. If the woman herself felt she might be appropriately included in such a study, she was considered suitable. Therefore, it was possible that there might be some variation among the participants in terms of their sexuality. If one thinks of the often utilized Kinsey seven point scale, some participants might have rated themselves as exclusively homosexual, while others might have rated themselves more bisexual. Again, the participant herself, understanding the intent of the study, determined her own suitability.

Most of the eventual participants in the study were recruited in that manner that Oberstone (1975) describes:

friendship pyramiding. That is, through several of the investigator's friends who had indicated their desire to participate, additional women were suggested, who in turn suggested others. The usual method was for a person who had already volunteered to ask some of her friends whether they would be interested and then get their permission to be contacted by the investigator. By asking a few questions at this point, the investigator attempted to insure some variation in the group (e.g., asking how recently the woman had emerged as a lesbian, whether she was active politically.)

In addition to the method of friendship pyramiding, several participants were gathered at a women's health conference, which ran several workshops specifically geared to issues of importance to lesbians. The investigator attended one of these, explained the overall plan of the study (this description will be included below), and asked if any of the women would be willing to participate. Several women volunteered.

For the most part, the majority of the women who were initially recruited were friends of friends, or friends of friends of friends. It might be interesting to note some of the overall characteristics of this group. The initial group, in general, was composed of young, urban, verbal, intelligent women. (They were also all white, but this was, in part, a decision of the investigator. While there

is a great need for studies on the experience of minority group lesbians, it was felt that dealing with one's self-acceptance as a black in this culture can have the same profound effect as dealing with one's self-acceptance as a lesbian. Therefore, to avoid this additional confounding of the issues, no racial minorities were included.) Most of all, what was clear was the biases of even ever-widening circles of friends. (Some of these are perhaps far more subtle than age, intelligence, and color, and this must be kept in mind for later interpretation.)

Describing the Overall Study to the Participants

The investigator usually told a potential participant something along these lines:

I'm doing a doctoral dissertation in clinical psychology on lesbians. I know there has been much criticism about the ways that psychology and psychiatry have handled the issue of homosexuality. I feel it is important to try and really describe the feelings and experiences of gay women. I don't intend to white-wash the material, nor to emphasize pathology. I am primarily concerned with telling how it is, how it has been for you. Everybody's story is probably different. I am asking you to share yours so that the field can have a better idea of the reality of your experiences.

If you decide to participate, here are the things I will ask you to do: The first part of the study has to do with feelings--how you are feeling currently. I would like you to keep a nightly record of how you felt during the day for six weeks. I'll give you a form for this, and once you get used to it, it shouldn't take more than about 15 minutes each night. These records will give me an idea of how you have been feeling for the six week period.

If you fill out the forms for at least 30 days, I would then like to contact you for an interview. This is the place where you will be completely free to tell your own story about the evolution of your life-style,

what experiences you have had in dealing with things that were hard, what things have helped you along the way, and anything else you think is important to share.

Many of the women seemed pleased that I was interested in their feelings, rather than in testing or rating them, and were also impressed with the non-"psychologist" sound of the interview. The often delicate issue of "conducting research" with any minority demands this kind of an atmosphere for full, honest collaboration. How the "subject" views the "experimenter", and how the subject believes the experimenter views the subject, are intrinsically important.

Specific Instructions for the Personal Feelings Scales

After this overall description of the study, if a woman expressed a desire to participate, the next step was usually for me to visit her in her home to explain the procedure for filling in the Personal Feelings Scales (hereafter referred to as the Mood Scales) and deliver the first week's forms. Each woman was given a copy of the Mood Scales, a sample recording sheet, and a verbal explanation of the instructions. (See appendices I and II for this material. Note that for each scale, a person was asked to report the highest number reached, or the peak, the average for the day, and the lowest number, or trough.) There was also space on each day's record sheet for journal-like entries about what had occurred during the day that had

contributed to her feelings. This was optional. Each woman was also asked to record any comments she had about the Mood Scales as she began filling them out, especially if anything seemed ambiguous.

Each woman was then given a copy of the Mood Scales, and record sheets for one week. I arranged to return before the end of the week to collect the first week's forms, and supply additional ones for the second week.

In this manner, 24 women were initially given the Mood Scales and first week's record forms. All 24 began at approximately the same period, from April 6 to April 20, to keep seasonal variation constant. In addition, six more women, who lived too far away geographically for this arrangement, were shown the Mood Scales by friends who had already become familiar with the procedures. These women were to send the record forms by mail, or with a friend in the study who lived close. They would receive additional record forms in the same fashion: by mail, or brought by a friend also in the study. The total number of women to initially receive the Mood Scales was thus 30.

Each woman, except those sending forms, was called during the first week to verify the appointments for picking up the first week's forms. Several of the women indicated that they had not filled in the forms. One of these indicated that she would begin, while five discontinued further participation usually indicating they had no time.

Each week, for the next two weeks, this same procedure was repeated: a personal visit from the experimenter to pick up the previous week's forms, deliver additional forms, and discuss any questions. Several more women dropped out at varying intervals, some after two or three weeks of sporadic filling out of the forms. Again, the most common reasons centered around not having time (pressures of mounting schoolwork, an upcoming move.) By the fourth week of an individual woman's six week period, if she had been filling out the forms regularly, she received all the remaining forms, which were then picked up at the end of the sixth week.

Requirements for Further Participation

Of a possible 42 nights of recording over a 6 week period, 30 records would provide enough data for reliable analysis. Of the 30 women initially given the Mood Scales, 18 filled out at least 30 forms : 15 of the 24 who had been given the forms in person, and 3 of the 6 that had them mailed or delivered by another participant. (Although one might wonder if there weren't important differences between the 18 and the 12 that dropped out, it must be kept in mind that this is not an incidence study, and the primary aim is to examine relationships between obtained levels of feeling and life-experiences.)

Because a woman could not be included in the present study unless she provided both Mood Scales and an interview, the maximum number of participants in the study was now 18. It was expected that, as all the women were informed of the future interview and seemed to look forward to it, all 18 would be interviewed. The total of 18 was considered sufficient for an in-depth exploration into relationships between avowed levels of happiness and life-experiences.

At the completion of the period set aside for the collection of mood data (late May) summer was approaching and various of the participants intended to be away from the area. Therefore, each woman was told that she would be contacted in the fall for an interview of several hours duration.

The Interview

As Dailey (1971) describes the life-history interview, it is generic and intended for a broad assessment of the individual. However, the present study sought to inquire into specific areas of each woman's life: the development of her emergence as a lesbian and the surrounding feelings and experiences. Therefore, at the start of the interview each woman was told something approximating the following:

I am interested in how you have come to the point you are at now, as a woman loving women (or gay woman, or lesbian). I want to know how you have gotten here--your story, what you feel is important to tell. Start

anywhere you feel is appropriate. While I have written down some specific things I'll want to ask, you'll probably cover most of them spontaneously. If you don't I will ask you about them at the end.

Typically, a woman began with some statement about her first awareness of homosexual feelings, eg., "I just came out last year"; "I never thought about it until I was one"; "I've been in love with women my whole life." What usually followed was a chronological re-telling of the significant events, feelings, and changes.

These were some of the areas that were either probed in some detail, if the woman mentioned them, or specifically asked, if the woman did not originate them:

When did you realize you were gay? How did you react to this self-acknowledgement? When did you actually have a full sexual experience with a woman? What was the attitude of your first lover? Did you tell anybody at first? How did they react? Did you ever try to change? Have you ever been in therapy? What was your experience like?

These questions were aimed at helping to elucidate the process involved for each woman, the circumstances surrounding her emergence, her own reactions, and reactions of others.

Additionally, usually at the end of the interview, each woman was asked a series of questions about current management of information: Have you told your parents? Do you encounter any specific problems at work? Do you display affection in public?

A final question, asked to each woman was: What do you feel it has cost you to be gay? What have been the gains for you?

While there thus were some areas that all women were asked, the interview was most characterized by a loosely structured re-telling of experiences by each woman. While this might make the task of intra-group comparisons somewhat difficult, this aim would have to be sacrificed at times so that several other goals could be accomplished: the discovery of new variables and unexpected findings; the facilitation of an atmosphere where figure for each woman could emerge. In fact, what does emerge as figure can itself become a differentiating variable. If one woman spent an hour talking of the stress and conflict around her emergence, while another spent no time on this, this difference is obviously important.

The setting. The interviews were conducted in a relaxed, informal manner at either the participant's or the investigator's house. Each woman consented to the material being tape recorded, for later analysis. Once begun, the interviews seemed to go quite quickly, and most of the women reported greatly enjoying the opportunity to look at their lives in this way and talk about them. The interviews lasted from an hour and one half to three hours with most taking about two hours. As expected, all 18 women who had filled in 30 or more days of ratings were quite willing to be interviewed.

Demographic Characteristics of The 18 Final Participants

The eighteen final participants in this study were a relatively homogeneous group. The age range was 23-42, with a mean of 28.7 and median of 27.5. Only three women were under 25, and three above age 30. Educationally, all but two had completed college and five either finished or were enrolled in graduate school. There was more variety in terms of current occupation: several women had trades (painting, construction), the arts were represented (filmmaker, actress, silversmith) and a number were involved in the helping and teaching fields.

Treatment of Data

The Mood Scales

Each of the 18 women had at least 30 days of recording on 45 variables (the peak, average, and trough ratings on each of 15 scales). Mean hedonic levels (used in distinguishing the happy from the unhappy) consisted of each woman's mean over time of the "average" rating on the elation-depression scale. In addition, all other scale means were calculated, each woman's record was factored and correlated, and the entire group's means were correlated and factored.

Interview Material

As was indicated, each woman's interview was taped. The next step was to listen to each tape and abstract enough verbatim material so that a condensed version of each woman's story would be available for further analysis. Typically, about 12 pages would convey a good sense of the experiences of a particular woman.

As one of the major aims of the study was to discover how happy and unhappy lesbians differ from each other along parameters related to their experiences of their homosexuality, the next step was to divide the group into happy and unhappy. Depending on whether a woman's mean hedonic level fell above or below the group median on this measure, her abstracted life-history was either put in the "happy" group, or in the "unhappy" group.

Here is where the real exploration began. I began without pre-set categories. The method was similar in clinical interviewing in its aim of letting the categories emerge. I decided to take the four happiest women, and the four unhappiest women, get to "know" them as thoroughly as the abstracted material would permit, and see what sorts of differences might appear. Almost as a photograph starts to develop, so did the categories begin to materialize. The entire group was subsequently coded on these categories: the woman's reactions to her emerging homosexuality; whether

attempts were made to change and suppress her feelings; the external reactions to which she was exposed.

The reader might wonder whether the judgments I made are reliable. Rather than utilizing additional raters and reporting obtained reliability statistics I chose to present, in the results section, a good deal of the actual raw data, ie. the women's own statements. The reader can judge whether the two groups differed.

Additional material gathered from the interview data yielded information important in understanding the reality of certain aspects of living for the entire group of 18. This too will be presented in verbatim form (for the reader to evaluate).

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

The current study was highly exploratory in nature. It sought to discover relationships between a woman's current feelings and her life-experiences surrounding her lesbianism. Concurrently, it was concerned with furthering the delineation of parameters that would be important in understanding the reality of lesbian experience.

The presentation of results is designed to elucidate and reveal the discoveries as completely as possible. The format of presentation will be as follows:

1. We will begin with a description of those areas in the life-histories which clearly differentiated the happy from the unhappy women.

2. Next, we will shift the emphasis to the factor analysis of the mood scale data in order to more fully understand the major underlying affective dimensions for the group as a whole. The analysis provides further information on what affective characteristics differentiate the happy and unhappy as well as specifying which women have the highest peaks, and the lowest troughs, of feelings.

3. Keeping with the Mood Scale data, we will consider how the scale means of the women in the present study compare with those of participants in previous studies utilizing the Mood Scales. (The purpose here will be to more fully understand levels of feelings in this particular group of lesbians.)

4. We will then turn to a description of the process of accepting one's homosexuality as revealed in the life-histories of various of the women.

5. Finally, a section will be presented to describe being-in-the-world as a lesbian. This discussion focuses on the problems of self-disclosure of identity as revealed in the interviews.

Differences Between the Happy and Unhappy Women

Dividing the Group

As described in the Methods chapter, the mean hedonic level (a person's overall four to six week mean on the elation-depression "average" rating) has generally been considered to be a broad indicator of affective experience for most individuals. Table 1 presents the rank order of the eighteen women on hedonic level. For the purposes of comparison, the group was divided at the median with the nine highest ranked comprising the 'happy' group, and the nine lowest ranked comprising the 'unhappy' group.

TABLE 1
RANK ORDER ON MEAN HEDONIC LEVEL

Rank and Name	Mean Hedonic Level
1. Libra	7.45
2. Genya	6.97
3. Margery	6.90
4. Bowie	6.83
5. Sprite	6.65
6. Chosie	6.45
7. Lundy	6.34
8. Gyre	6.33
9. Artemis	6.16
10. Fawn	6.10
11. Swing	6.10
12. El	6.03
13. Jill	6.03
14. Pan	6.00
15. Barrett	5.74
16. Zee	5.55
17. Chloe	5.39
18. Bif	5.39

Correlations of the Elation-Depression Dimension
With Various Other Dimensions of Feelings

While previous studies have documented the high correlations between mean hedonic level and most of the other dimensions of feelings measured by the Mood Scales, it was useful to see whether the happier women were also feeling better on various of the other scale "average" ratings. Table 2 presents the correlations of hedonic level and five other dimensions of mood: internal dimensions often associated with clinical syndromes (anxiety, guilt, feelings of inadequacy); and the two dimensions classically considered as representing good overall adjustment (love and sex, work). The correlations indicate that higher levels of avowed happiness were significantly related to higher levels of tranquility (vs. anxiety), higher levels of self-approval (vs. guilt) and higher levels of self-confidence (vs. feelings of inadequacy). In addition, happiness was also found to be significantly related to how loving (vs. unloving) a woman felt as well as how much satisfaction (vs. dissatisfaction) she received from her work, although at a lower level of significance.

The Age Factor

Tables 3 and 4 provide descriptive information about the age variable for the two groups. Column one of each table is demographic, listing each woman's current age.

TABLE 2
CORRELATIONS OF MEAN HEDONIC LEVEL WITH
DAILY "AVERAGE" MEANS OF OTHER SCALES

Scale	Correlation of Daily "Average" With Hedonic Level	Significance Level
Anxiety vs. Tranquility	.87	.01
Personal Moral Judgment	.84	.01
Self-Confidence vs. Inadequacy	.78	.01
Love and Sex	.55	.05
Present Work	.52	.05

Product-moment correlations computed from the means of the daily self-ratings of "average" values on various dimensions on the Mood Scales. Based on 4-6 weeks of ratings by 18 women.

Column two lists the age, and year, of the woman's first acknowledgement to herself that she was probably a lesbian. Column three represents the age, and year, at which she actually acted on her feelings by participating in a sexual relationship with another woman (known as "coming out," sexually). Column four, arrived at by subtracting column two from column three, represents those years of not acting on subjectively experienced homosexual feelings (the years spent "in the closet").

TABLE 3

THE HAPPY: YEARS BETWEEN SELF-ACKNOWLEDGEMENT
AS LESBIAN AND ACTUAL EMERGENCE

Name and Rank	Current Age (1)	Age When First "Knew" (2)	Age When Emerged (3)	Intervening Years (4)
1. Libra	26	20 (1969)	20 (1969)	0
2. Genya	28	21 (1969)	21 (1969)	0
3. Margery	26	22 (1972)	22 (1972)	0
4. Bowie	23	20 (1972)	20 (1972)	0
5. Sprite	33	31 (1974)	31 (1974)	0
6. Chosie	27	19 (1968)	19 (1968)	0
7. Lundy	29	22 (1969)	22 (1969)	0
8. Gyre	26	14 (1963)	17 (1967)* 20 (1970)*	3-6*
9. Artemis	28	27 (1975)	27 (1975)	0
Mean	27.3	21 (1970)	22.4 (1970)	.66
Median	27	21 (1971)	20 (1971)	0

*Gyre had reported thinking she was a lesbian when she was 14, and having her first homosexual relationship at 17, hence there were three years intervening. However, after this initial homosexual relationship, Gyre reported trying hard to be straight, wanting "no more to do with women." She thus went back "in the closet" until the age of 20, when she again entered into a relationship with a woman.

TABLE 4

THE UNHAPPY: YEARS BETWEEN SELF-ACKNOWLEDGEMENT
AS LESBIAN AND ACTUAL EMERGENCE

Name and Rank	Current Age (1)	Age When First "Knew" (2)	Age When Emerged (3)	Intervening Years (4)
10. Fawn	30	14 (1960)	23 (1968)	9
11. Swing	23	17 (1970)	17 (1970)	0
12. El	24	22 (1974)	23 (1975)	1
13. Jill	42	27 (1962)*	37 (1972)	10*
14. Pan	39	14 (1951)	32 (1969)	18
15. Barrett	30	22 (1968)	25 (1971)	3
16. Zee	28	16 (1963)	26 (1973)	10
17. Chloe	26	18 (1968)	24 (1974)	6
18. Biff	30	15 (1961)	15 (1961)	0
Mean	30.6	18.7 (1964)	24.6 (1970)	6.3
Median	30	17 (1962)	24 (1971)	6

*Jill's interview was extremely difficult to code. While she reported a history of intense crushes on women, from her teens on, and vague fears about what these signified, she reported not being conscious of sexual feelings for women until just before she emerged. However, she also reported going to a therapist during the period she was married, 10 years before she actually came out, and suggesting to him "Maybe I'm a homosexual or something?" He replied "Oh no--that would be too easy--we won't even talk about that." Jill felt "that wrapped that up for about ten years." It is therefore a matter of subjective opinion whether she was, in fact, "in the closet" for ten (or more) years.

One can look at the purely descriptive means in each column for the two groups. The happy women, on the average, are younger, were aware of their sexual interest in women at a later age, but acted on these feelings at an earlier age. Column four is striking. Here, one is awed by the quick emergence of the happy women and the long years of being in the closet which characterize over half of the unhappy women.

That the unhappy tended to be older, and recognized their feelings at earlier ages, is no doubt related to their long years of inhibition. The change in the prevailing climate regarding homosexuality from late 1950 to early 1970 is clearly a factor. However, not all of the unhappy who spent years in the closet were older than the happy women.

The reader will probably find it helpful to refer back to these tables when evaluating the verbatim reports of the women's feelings about their emerging homosexuality, as well as their descriptions of the environments in which their feelings first emerged.

Therapy or No Therapy

The current study was not limited to a clinical group. The life-histories revealed that 9 of the 18 women were either currently in therapy, or had had therapy in the past. Table 5 indicates the relationship between happiness and

presence or absence of therapy. There was a significant difference between the two groups in regard to seeking therapy. Less of the happy group apparently felt the need for psychiatric help. (Later in the chapter, various women discuss their feelings about therapy. Several are currently in therapy. Table 5 is therefore not referring to the relationship between happiness and completed therapy, but rather between happiness and seeking therapy.) We might also conclude from the table that therapists tend to see lesbians who are less happy than the ones that they don't see. Hence, therapists do not see a representative sample of "lesbians".

TABLE 5

THERAPY OR NO THERAPY

	Therapy	No Therapy	Total
Happy	2	7	9
Unhappy	7	2	9
Total	9	9	

$p = .05$, Fisher Exact Test (Siegel, 1956)

Self-Reports: Presence or Absence of Excessive
Guilt and Conflict Over Emerging Homosexuality

The interview material on each woman was coded for the type of reaction present during the period of initial conscious identification of her homosexual feelings. Dichotomous categories were then created: those who disclosed intense distress, guilt, and conflict vs. those who reported a paucity or absence of guilt and conflict.

Table 6 shows the resulting 2 x 2 table. (Only eight of the nine unhappy were included in this analysis. Jill, ranked six, was eliminated because of the extreme difficulty of coding her interview along this dimension.)

TABLE 6

PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF GUILT AND
CONFLICT OVER EMERGING HOMOSEXUALITY

	Presence of Guilt, Conflict	Absence of Guilt, Conflict	Total
Happy	1	8	9
Unhappy	5	3	8
Total	6	11	

$p = .05$, Fisher Exact Test

We can conclude that the groups did differ in this area. The happier women experienced less guilt and conflict over the recognition of their homosexual feelings. A 2 x 2

table, of course, does little in the way of conveying the reality of the women's experiences. In order to increase our phenomenological sense of their experiences, it is necessary to turn to the interviews and let the women speak for themselves. (Examples of exceptions to the significant trends will also be presented.)

Interview Excerpts: The Unhappy. The following excerpts illustrate the experiences of various unhappy women who experienced much anguish over their emerging homosexuality.

Bif (Rank 18) I knew there was something wrong with it. . . . I would get these twinges of guilt, "Maybe this isn't right?" . . . I remember thinking, "I wonder if they know?" I remember feeling guilty, always afraid her mother would find us. . . . I didn't talk to anyone about it, Shelly and I didn't discuss it. But there was much conflict.

Chloe (Rank 17) But all along, with close girlfriends, there was something which I really suppressed. It was too frightening for me to think I was different-- I had to conform to the norms. If I didn't I was abnormal, or sick. And these feelings I had, when I compared them to the norm, I thought there was something wrong with me. . . . I was saying to myself, "I have these feelings, I don't like them."

Zee (Rank 15) I knew what I was, but I would try not to think of it that way, push it out of my head, that's why I started drinking heavily. . . . I didn't want to be called a queer. . . . Knowing that sexually you're different, it's big, weird. . . . You don't talk about it. Being a queer is an awful label. I didn't want to deal with it. It was tough, hard, really scary. I would get into these horrible depressions about it.

Pan (Rank 13) I knew it was wrong. I thought, "Oh my God" I suppressed it, couldn't handle it, didn't want to look at it. . . . I was really into how sick, depraved, damned I was. My hands would be shaking, I couldn't handle it, I was terrified. I decided I was a really sick, ill individual.

Fawn (Rank 10) It was always women-I never had a crush on a boy. . . . I tried to kill myself at 14, in love with a friend, couldn't tell her or anybody else. . . . I knew it was wrong for a girl to love a girl, afraid it would get back to my mother. . . . It was the kind of thing where you 'wore green on Thursdays'. . . . I knew I was a dyke as soon as I heard the word. . . . I heard 'lesbian' but I couldn't utter it. . . . I was afraid of social ostracism. I figured, "I'm gonna have to get married some day."

Interview Excerpts: The Happy. The following excerpts are illustrative of those happy women who experienced little or no distress about the recognition of their homosexuality.

Libra (Rank 1) I didn't know what anybody was thinking, or why they would care. Isn't that what life's all about, not to be sad and miserable. . . . Mind you, I had completely put away this dyke business, all this homosexuality. I no longer thought about it. I had, that initial day at lunch, but that was the only time I had thought about the academic, the homosexuality. I didn't think about what others might think. I thought, "I love her--that's the way it is."

Genya (Rank 2) Oh, I knew I was in love with women ever since I could remember. But it wasn't a sexual love, it didn't occur to me to think of that. . . . I thought it was perfectly normal for women to have crushes on women. Didn't think there was anything wrong cause no sex attached. . . . When Liv stood up at the first consciousness raising meeting and announced she was a lesbian--that was a whole 'nother added treat! Here I was discovering feminist stuff, that women could support each other--and then to find out they could sleep with each other too! That was neat, cause I knew I loved sex. . . . So, I decided to sleep with her, and two days later I did. It was very enjoyable. It wasn't scary, it was a nice thing. . . . I thought it was really neat, I dug it, was proud of it. . . . Not only was it not negative, it was a rebirth, a wonderful new thing, a new adventure, start of my life. . . . It was neat, did good things for my head.

Margery (Rank 3) I was aware some women were lesbians, but I never consciously identified myself as one. . . . I was inhibited about getting into heavier things with women because maybe unconsciously I knew that were I to go another step, I wouldn't have come back. . . . My

friend Noel was in the process of coming out. It got me thinking, "I wonder what it would be like to sleep with Anne?" . . . Shortly after, I went to my first gay bar. I was very excited. The lesbian aspect didn't concern me at all. I just knew it was something that made me feel very excited, I wanted to sleep with a woman. . . . When I did, it was great, I enjoyed myself. It was natural, no problems, no guilt, didn't think, "What am I doing?" It was wonderful. . . . I don't think I have ever sat down and said, "Oh my God--I'm a lesbian, what am I gonna do?" It never scared me. I knew I could handle it. . . . If it felt good to me, I could handle it.

Bowie (Rank 4) I didn't know I was a homosexual, but always knew I was in love with women. I knew what a homosexual was, but still didn't think I was one. In high school, my circle of friends loved me. It was good; fun. I wasn't fulfilled, but I didn't know it. My unconscious protected me. I could have been miserable with that label. . . . When I was 19, my sister told me she had come out. Two months later I came out. Went to a gay bar, saw a beautiful woman. All I knew was that I wanted to sleep with her. I said I was bi-sexual, at least admitting I had homosexuality in me. It was real easy for me, once I saw people in the bar who weren't weird, creepy, big fat dykes. I figured, "If that one is queer, alright, I'm queer too."

Sprite (Rank 5) I have identified as a lesbian for about 2 years, came out at 31, kinda late. It was through the women's movement--I had been involved with feminism for about five years. I felt like I wanted to devote my energy to women. It wasn't a sexual attraction though. . . . When I got into the movement, people raised the lesbian issue. I asked myself, "Why am I reacting to this so strongly?" I had to understand why, not let that scare tactic affect me. . . . Two years ago, I fell in love with a woman in my consciousness raising group. . . . I feel I am a privileged person. Until the age of 31, I was a protected heterosexual. . . . Coming out opened up a lot for me, I'm more open to people. . . . I love my lesbian friends, my C.R. group. . . . I haven't had a lot of pain. . . . You know, some people thought I was lying about not having had sexual feelings for women earlier--but I was telling the truth. I tend to pace myself.

Exceptions: The Unhappy. The following two women represent exceptions to the trend of the unhappy, as they report little conflict and guilt.

Swing (Rank 11) I have other friends who say, "I knew I was gay etc". But no, I didn't. All I knew was that Mandy was a stable, constant person, was the only stable thing in my life at that period. I never thought anything, didn't think of touching her. . . . I had no problems dealing with it at all. I loved her, wanted to do what I was doing. She was older, had had a relationship with a woman before. She kept trying to warn me off, said, "You're not going to be able to look in the mirror." She didn't want to bring me out. But I had no problem. I felt something that I had never felt before, not with Bobby, Hank, none of them. The communication, and the physical. . . . I never felt guilt, not the kind of guilt in the sense of "What am I going to do?" So, no problems there.

El (Rank 12) Well, I fell in love last year about this time. It was a real surprise, happened quickly. (She reports being pretty curious about lesbians for several years, judging them pretty negatively, but in no way associating herself with being a lesbian. Then, through her feminist group, she starts to explore her own feelings about it. She attends a woman's conference where all the "myths were blown sky high". She soon begins to feel love for one particular woman.) I began to think of the possibility of it maybe being o.k. to love somebody. I guess that the fact that she was the same sex was important, but more important: that I had love inside me, and that somebody else would really love me. . . . We kissed, and hugged, and I just realized I was home. It was an incredible completion of something that had been unfulfilled.

Exceptions: The Happy. The following woman is the sole exception to the trend of the happy, as she reports excessive conflict.

Gyre (Rank 8) I was very conscious of the word, was 14 when I knew the word, and thought of myself in those terms, didn't want to be one. I knew the word, was afraid of it, really afraid for a long time. (She has a relationship with another woman when she is 17.) I got scared, I felt she was fucked up, I broke things off. . . . I tried hard to forget it had happened. I wanted to be heterosexual. I felt it was abhorrant, just thought it was a disease. . . . I thought I would be a repulsive person.

Some Conclusions Based on the Above Excerpts. By referring back to table 4 it becomes clear that the five unhappy women who do report much conflict over their sexual feelings for women became aware of these feelings relatively early, in their middle and late teens. Furthermore, they tended to label their feelings as homosexual, a label that a relatively young person, particularly if she has no one in whom to confide, can apparently find quite frightening. (The one currently happy woman who reported much conflict, Gyre, was also the only happy woman to label herself homosexual while in her teens.) The unhappy women seemed to have already internalized the prevailing negative societal attitudes towards homosexuality, and were filled with self hatred.

A very different process characterized most of the happy women. Again, referring back to table 3, we find the happy women tended not to recognize sexual attraction for other women until about the age of 21. Prior to this, they had either not given the issue much thought, or had accepted their loving feelings for women without labeling them as homosexual. They were thus protected against internalizing negative attitudes towards themselves. When they connected their sexual feelings with the label, they tended to see them as positive.

The differences between the groups are particularly clear at the extremes of the rank order. That is, none

of the very unhappy experienced either the highly positive reaction of Genya (rank 2), or the devil-may-care attitude of Libra (rank 1). Likewise, none of the extremely happy experienced the excruciating guilt present in the histories of Chloe (rank 17), Zee (rank 16), or Pan (rank 14). The exceptions are explainable because they tend to lay near the median of the rank order on hedonic level. In the division of a continuous variable at its median exceptions like this are bound to occur.

Another way to think of this, however, is to attempt some understanding of each woman's life in total--apart from her lesbianism. It is true, and this will become abundantly clear as further life-history material is presented, for some of the women, struggling to adjust to their lesbianism has been the core conflict of their lives, something that has taken years to resolve. Pan's experiences were so devastating, so crippling to overall self-esteem, that one can attribute some causal relationship between her experiences and subsequent unhappiness. However, to apply the converse of this reasoning is less logical. It is not as precise to assume someone's lack of negative experiences around her emerging lesbianism would account for happiness. (Although in some cases, it might be argued that finding love can certainly help.) Clearly, these women are more than the sum of their reactions to their lesbianism, and one should account for

each woman's perceptions of her own central concerns. Some life-data illustrates this point: Barrett, one of the most unhappy women, suffered no particular conflict about the materialization of her lesbianism. However, she has since suffered enormous pain and guilt because her husband took her children from her. It was clear from her interview that this has been the major torment of her life.

Similarly, the subsequent events in Gyre's life increase our understanding of the fact that she currently reported happiness, yet experienced as much conflict and guilt over her lesbianism as the extremely unhappy women. She is one of the two happy women who had sought therapy, and one of the few women in the entire group who reports successfully completing therapy. "Therapy was really good for me", she states. "I started to like myself a whole lot."

Therefore, while there was a significant difference in the ways the happy and unhappy women experienced their emerging homosexuality, one must be wary of interpreting this in black and white terms. What might reasonably be concluded is this: in general, the happiest women, especially the highest ranked, were sure enough of themselves, and high enough in self-esteem, to yield to their impulses without much discomfort and conflict, whereas the unhappy seemed more vulnerable, already shaky in self esteem, and unable to tolerate a difference they viewed as

abnormal. Earlier recognition of homosexual feelings compounded the problem.

Self-Reports: Attempts to Suppress Homosexuality, "Go Straight", Conform

All interviews were coded for the presence or absence of such attempts. As the previous section revealed the general acceptance of their homosexuality by the happy women, one would expect that their interviews would not contain reports of trying to change or suppress their orientation. This was the case (except for Gyre, the one happy woman who had not accepted her feelings but thought they were abnormal). On the other hand, reports of trying to reorient and suppress homosexual feelings were present in five of the eight unhappy women. (Again, Jill's interview was extremely ambiguous. Many early crushes on women were reported, but she says the feelings were never conscious.)

We conclude from table 7 that there was a significant difference between the happy and unhappy women in attempting to suppress their homosexual feelings. We turn to the verbatim material for a better understanding of the realities involved. (As there was a notable absence of attempts to change among the happy women, the majority of these excerpts are taken from the interviews of the unhappy. The one exception among the happy is presented.)

TABLE 7

ATTEMPTS TO CHANGE,
SUPPRESS, HOMOSEXUALITY

	Attempted To Change	Did Not Attempt To Change
Happy	1	8
Unhappy	5	3
Total	6	11

$p = .05$, Fisher Exact Test

Interview Excerpts: the Unhappy.

Chloe (17) I had to conform to the norms. If I didn't I was abnormal, or sick. . . . I dated all through high school and college. . . . Wanted to be accepted, conform to the norm. . . . I thought I would be ostracized; I couldn't deal with that. . . . I led a double life right through college: inside I was feeling one way, but on the outside I was conforming. . . . Even after I acknowledged my lesbianism to myself, I kept it a secret for a long time, still dating men.

Zee (16) I didn't want to deal with it, didn't want to be one of those truck-drivers, and if it meant denying myself, o.k. . . . I was sexually attracted to girls, I'd try to push it down, think it would go away. . . . I felt deep down like society: "A good man will straighten you out." . . . People weren't stupid, and I wasn't like the girls. So I would fuck, and pray it would be spread around.

Barrett (15) Got married because of my conditioning I guess. . . . My choice was that it was a lot easier to be straight, to be accepted. . . . I did not want to be gay; it didn't seem like a very happy way to live.

Pan (14) When I started analysis I did not want to be gay. . . . I met a man, saw him as my path to salvation, wanted to be a happy housewife, be acceptable

to a man. . . . By age 22 my analyst and I had constructed an artistic creation: a heterosexual personality based on nothing. I had completely convinced myself I wasn't gay, destroyed my gay books, thrown away my gay literature.

Fawn (10) The first time I went to a therapist, and was so suicidal, I said to him, "I'd rather be straight than dead". . . . I was afraid of social ostracism.

Interview Excerpts: The Happy. The only relevant material on this topic is the material from Gyre's interview, as she was the only happy woman who reported trying to change her homosexuality.

Gyre (8) I didn't want this, I got scared. I broke things off, started to go out with guys. I tried hard to forget it had happened. I wanted to be heterosexual. I didn't want anything, anything, to do with women. If the word "homosexual" would come up in courses, I'd let my head sink, thinking a visible change came over me, not wanting anyone to notice. . . . I was glad I had quit things. I thought, "There's still hope for me, I could change."

Conclusions. That significantly more of the unhappy than the happy women struggled against the expression of their homosexual feelings follows logically from their conflict over their homosexuality and their extremely negative labeling of their feelings. Referring back to tables 3 and 4 once again, one can see just how long several of the unhappy women desperately attempted to suppress their homosexuality. Pan is the extreme, with a very early recognition of her feelings, and eighteen years spent trying to change. One can speculate that when half of one's life, or five or ten years, are spent in a terrific

struggle against the expression of subjectively experienced feelings, there can be a great psychological cost.

Self-Reports: Perception of the Environment
As Either Affirming or Disaffirming

The previous two sections focused on the women's internal reactions and attempts to cope. This section is concerned with the participants' perceptions of the external context. Interviews were coded as either containing reports of a generally affirming, supportive context during the time of recognition of homosexual feelings, or a generally disaffirming, non-supportive environment during this period.

Naturally, a subtle interaction exists between how one feels and what one perceives. All information gathered in the life-history manner is subject to perception, as well as selective remembering. It is filtered through the 'eye of the beholder'. It is difficult to ascertain whether the external world was objectively unsupportive, or whether a highly vulnerable person just perceived and received it that way. 'Environment' is thus not considered to exist as absolutely separate from its impact on an individual.

When the interviews were reviewed, it became clear environment and context can consist of many areas. In coding reports as either basically affirming or basically disaffirming, any or all of the following areas might have been present for a particular woman: affirmation of her

feelings by a first lover; a rejection by a first lover specifically related to the homosexual aspect; invalidation of homosexual feelings by a therapist; negative reactions of parents; support from peers, other gay friends; support of a feminist group; reactions to depictions of homosexuality in literature or scientific work.

If a woman reported external reactions that were generally negative, non-validating or non-supportive of her feelings, she was placed in the category of "lack of affirming context". If a woman reported basically supportive reactions and context, she was included in the category, "presence of affirming context". If the only positive support mentioned was the affirming acceptance and reciprocation of love by a first woman lover, but the participant herself clearly perceived this as a critical support, she was included in the affirmed category. (The verbatim excerpts should help clarify the criteria employed in the coding.)

Results are presented in table 8. The happy women did differ from the unhappy in their perception of an affirming, supportive context for the emergence of their homosexuality.

Interview excerpts: The Unhappy. The following are examples of those unhappy women who seemed to experience disaffirmation of their homosexual feelings.

TABLE 8

PRESENCE OR LACK OF AFFIRMING CONTEXT
AT TIME OF EMERGENCE OF HOMOSEXUAL FEELINGS

	Lack of Supportive Context	Presence of Supportive Context	
Happy	1	8	9
Unhappy	7	2	9
Total	8	10	

$p = .01$, Fisher Exact Test

Bif (18) The girls would sometimes make jokes about lesbians. I would get these twinges of guilt: "Maybe this isn't right". . . . I didn't talk to anybody; Shelly and I didn't discuss it. . . . I don't understand what happened, I just don't understand. She later negated the whole affair, got married. . . . Once I stayed in her sorority house when she was in college. She made a comment, "Bif and I were 'friends' in high school." It hurt, she negated it.

Chloe (17) The standards and values I had were those of heterosexual society. To judge my lesbian feelings by those standards was devastating for me. . . . I really had to distance myself from people I knew all my life. I knew I couldn't come out in that environment. I wasn't strong enough.

Zee (16) I came out with a woman I loved. She transferred schools, wanted to be with her boyfriend. She did love me. I think the whole label of being queer was too much for her. . . . And I was seeing this therapist who didn't want to deal with it. Here I was, fucked up over my roommate in college, and it was indeed sexual, and he didn't want to deal with the problem. He said, "If you started to dress more feminine, things would work out for you." He was a good therapist, but couldn't deal with homosexuality in a patient who was. That fucked me up even more so. . . .

If he had had been supportive and helped me rather than avoid the topic. . . . I was afraid to go to gay organizations. Most of the dykes I saw were truck drivers.

Barrett (15) I went through my brother's coming out. It was so traumatic for him, it just pushed it further back for me. . . . My first female lover: I was completely in love with her. It was traumatic for her; she wasn't a lesbian, but she loved me. It was hard for her to reject me. She did sleep with me, but then freaked out. . . . My husband's reaction was, "it happens." I just thought it would pass. . . . Later, the custody suit was a fiasco. I never believed he would take the kids away. Even my mother disowned me. . . . I went to a lawyer, we talked frankly. It was 1971. He said my chances of getting the kids weren't very good. . . . My husband threatened to take my lover to court.

Pan (14) I was a senior in boarding school. This girl had this 'platonic love' for me. I immediately fell in love with her. She pulled away. I had a mini-breakdown, crying, thought about suicide. . . . In college, this woman Julie: brilliant, bi-sexual. I fell in love with her. I knew my feelings were gay. I got The Well of Lonliness--which really helped! Also, a professor spent half the year on Gide. I got into how sick, depraved, and damned I was. I went to the school psychologist. I had decided I was a really sick, ill individual, and he did nothing to correct these impressions. He sent me to my father's psychiatrist, who called it a 'homosexual panic'. That's what I was supposed to be in. I was in bad shape in analysis, obsessed with the fact that I was gay. . . . My analyst was not only against my being gay, he deliberately used his power to keep me from finding out I was gay. Any kind of interpretation invalidated homosexual feelings. He refused to discuss them, accept them, deal with them. He denied them. . . . The more I read, the more depressed I got, because there was no support from the literature. . . . One time in New York, two lesbians were outside a bar, dressed in man's suits. My parents pointed to them and said, "That's what you are going to become." I didn't know there was anything else. I had no models. . . . Maybe if there had been a women's movement at that time I wouldn't have had to convince myself that a man was my path to salvation. But there wasn't at that time.

Jill (13) When I was a senior in high school, I asked my mother whether the English and French teachers were lovers. My mother answered, "Of course not dear--they're both intelligent women." That was my only official indoctrination into lesbians: they were immoral and depraved, ie., stupid, degenerate. . . . I went to a shrink during my second marriage, and said, "Maybe I'm homosexual or something." He said, "No, that would be too easy--we won't even talk about that." So that wrapped that up for about ten years.

Interview Excerpts: the Happy. The following are illustrative of those happy women who experienced an affirming context for their emerging homosexual feelings.

Libra (1) (Referring to the letter that she wrote to first woman she fell in love with.) I wrote, "I want to see you, be back with you." That was that, I had to be clear. She wrote back, saying she felt the same way. . . . When I stayed at her parent's house, her mum woke us up, had juice and breakfast on the patio for us. She wined us and dined us like a honeymoon almost. I became their daughter as well as their daughter's lover. . . . When my parents found out, they wanted me to see a shrink. I said, "O.K. I'm sick--then I can't work." They said, "Oh you can work." I said, "Forget it. I either see a shrink--or go to work and not see a shrink. Either I'm sick or I'm healthy." . . . (Speaking about joining her first lover in Paris.) Let me tell you, it was paradise. Here, with my parents etc., we were these things called homosexuals. But in Europe, nothing like that. We got back into the love space. Everyone knew, we weren't covering it up. I was always invited to where she was.

Genya (2) (Genya emerged in the context of feminism.) I thought it was really neat, I dug it, was proud of it. We had all the rationale behind us; we could perfectly intellectualize it as something not only alright, but politically perfect, self-perfect. . . . Everybody knew cause I refused to hide it, I was flaunting it. . . . We had gay dances, crashed mixers, danced together. We ended up being a group of about twenty, had all-night parties--total decadence. I was totally supported, never did anything away from that group. . . . My friends all knew. One rejected me: she couldn't deal

deal with it, was a hugger herself, a super-mother type. Everybody else accepted it. My best friend, Irish, really got into it, was glad I was doing it.

Margery (3) I felt great about coming out, no guilt. I had my friend Noel, who was gay, to talk to about it. I also talked to another friend, who then introduced me to a gay woman she knew, Silver. I've been with Silver every since, three and a half years. . . . I told my friend Lanie. She was just concerned that I be happy, didn't reject me at all, we're closer than ever. D.J., on the other hand, who's pretty unstable in her own identity, had a migraine the whole time she was around Silver and me. . . . I told my sister right away. She accepted it better than anyone. She said, "I'm happy for you--you're happy." She was perfect. . . . I don't really have a story to tell about my trials coming out, cause I didn't have any.

Bowie (4) When I was 19, my sister told me she had come out. When I first admitted I was bi-sexual, I could talk to my sister, so I wasn't alone. Also, a gay man I told. Then I went to a gay resort; there I really came out, so many gay people, really found my group. . . . I can't imagine not relating to my sister. I can tell her anything.

Sprite (5) Two years ago, in my feminist consciousness raising group, there were several lesbians, in the closet. They became my friends, I got to know them. . . . I became a woman's movement junkie, discovered I really liked being with women, how important my friendships with women had been in my life. It was in that context that I emerged: a small C.R. group, really beautiful. . . . I've been lucky, cause everyone I've told, it's brought us closer together.

Chosie (6) I grew up in C _____. That's enough to make anybody come out! It turned out that all the people I grew up with, my best friends, are all lesbians. We played softball, a hot town for softball, was pretty much my life when I was younger. I was pretty independent of a lot of social games cause had softball. . . . When I reached a certain age, my parents said, "You should be doing different things." I said "Why?--I like the things I'm doing." . . . I remember when I was seventeen, I was going out with a guy, but not often enough to please my mother. She started yelling one night that there was something wrong with me, gonna take me to a doctor. I didn't know what the hell she was talking about. . . . Anyway, when I came out, it

was with the same crowd--only now I started going to the gay parties cause now I was accepted. I've heard other people's stories--but I knew right away that I wasn't the only one.

Lundy (7) There was never fear--she was my friend, first of all. I remember saying, "Maybe we should see a shrink?" But Belle was totally at ease. . . . I had trouble accepting it at first, not with Belle, but the rest of the world. I was very comfortable in my relationship with Belle. (Belle was Lundy's first lover--they have been together for six years.)

Artemis (9) There are political terms for people like me: political, or women's movement lesbians. An environment that allowed me to make that choice more easily.

Conclusions. The histories show that the happier women encountered more than predominantly positive feedback from the environment. Although in most cases they did receive affirmation from their lovers, peer support, and a generally confirming context, they were also better able to ward off the internalization of negative attitudes when these were forthcoming. Libra's "Either I'm sick or I'm healthy"; Chosie's, "Why--I like what I'm doing"; Margery's ability to distinguish her friend's migraine headaches from her personal situation--all these demonstrate a firm sense of self, an inner security immune to environmental pressure. The unhappy, on the other hand, felt genuinely alone in their situation. They may have been partially limited because their internalized sense of guilt, badness, and wrongness might have precluded any possible seeking of support from others. Furthermore, those that did search found no confirmation: literature emphasizing pathology,

therapists unwilling or unable to validate their feelings, lovers in conflict themselves, or a discriminatory legal system. Having already internalized a negative identity, they found only further reinforcement of it in the external world.

Case Histories

The previous sections have described those areas that clearly differentiated the happy from the unhappy women. While the excerpts that were presented humanize and vitalize these differences, it is helpful to have a continuous picture or development provided by more complete case histories. Three case histories will be presented. Although none exemplifies all the differences, each highlights certain areas.

Libra: The Happiest Woman.

I feel good when I'm happy, and I like feeling good. I only try to do things for myself. If I'm not getting what I want, I'm not going to be a happy person, or be able to give what I want. So I have to give to myself first.

Libra

Libra is a remarkably vibrant woman. Most of all, one is struck by her tremendous energy. Currently she acts in a woman's theater company while working during the day on a construction crew. She cannot be pigeonholed. At 26, she enjoys life, is extremely productive, and shares a warm relationship with a woman with whom she has been for several years.

Libra was the happiest woman in the group. Over a six week period, her mean hedonic level was 7.45, indicating that, on the average, she felt mid-way between "Feeling very good and cheerful" and "Elated and in high spirits."

How did Libra come to love women? How did she react to the emergence of her lesbianism? What were the reactions of others, and how did these affect her? These questions and others are answered in the story that follows; Libra's own story.

I was a real hellion. I think my father dug it. He appreciated where it was coming from, understood that kind of drive.

As she describes how she was in high school, one senses her tendency to make independent decisions, and her relative disregard for social conventions:

Because my father was a doctor, I had an ability to cross lines, hang out with 'greasers'. Greasers don't give a shit about class--you have to achieve respect. They take you for what you are. If you can hack it, you're cool. They forget where you came from, what you are.

Libra's early social life was both heterosexual as well as rebellious. Most of all, she recalls having fun:

I was a great fucker--go out, get drunk, ball. I did outrageous things, was totally with boys. I loved it, I loved it.

When asked whether she recalls having had any interest in women during this period, she responded:

Being with a woman? I didn't think about it. I was very happy where I was.

While there was a conspicuous lack of thinking about, dwelling upon, the issue of lesbianism, Libra did recall her first awareness of the existence of lesbians.

My first awareness of dykes came when I was a freshman in prep school. There was a rumor about these two women. Someone saw them doing something through a crack in the door. The next day they were out of school, totally disappeared. The rumor wasn't clear--only that they were doing something. I didn't know what they were talking about--two women? And I was really sorry, or sad--sad. I didn't understand, it wasn't clear. I was sad. I didn't think about it anymore, wasn't confronted with it again until I myself became a dyke in 1969.

Besides relating to boys sexually during her adolescence, Libra seemed to prefer them on all levels:

I spent more time with boys. Women, to me, were very laid back, didn't want to do things, weren't outrageous--too pretty and proper. My rapport was with boys. They seemed more full of life, more active.

Libra's own outrageousness, accepted by her father, created conflict with her mother:

My mother, on the other hand, had a hard time dealing with it. We were always at odds. I wouldn't do proper things like clean my room. I never did the proper things I was supposed to do.

At nineteen, Libra decided to marry Dan, the boy she had been dating for several years:

He was wanting to get married, settle down. I was feeling unsure of what I wanted. I figured at least marriage would get me out of home--my mother and I were really at odds. I figured maybe marriage would straighten me out, get me out of this rebel thing. I had lots of energy--I wanted to bust out in too many directions--yet I was directionless.

Her particular manner of getting married fit more with this rebellious nature:

I told my parents we were goint to Vermont, but we went to a small town in South Carolina and got married. I was nineteen. It was horrible, the biggest mistake I ever had made. We didn't tell anyone, lived separate. By summer, my parents knew.

At age twenty, Libra, who up to this point was rather impulsive, as well as heterosexual, became rather impulsively homosexual:

It was a childhood friend, had known her since age five. We were early friends, but I was doing these rambunctious things, she wasn't. I had seen her a few times when we were older, at ten, and thirteen, and then this time when I was twenty: They were all in the family room. I saw Anne, and immediately fell in love with her--was totally strung out in space. I spent the whole week-end staring at her. She left on Sunday in her M.G. As she was leaving the driveway, I said to myself, "I should be in that car with her." It pissed me off that I wasn't. Now I was suddenly married--not being free to do what I want, now I knew what that meant.

Libra thought about it, mentally evaluated, but for the most part, she went with her emotions, writing a somewhat metraphorical love poem to Anne, and receiving an equally ambiguous answer.

I wrote again: "I want to see you, be with you. I know that's maybe fucked up but . . ." That was that. I had to be clear. She wrote back saying she felt the same way.

Libra was totally "sensorial" and emotional, unconcerned that she loved a woman, and not understanding why others would be concerned:

I didn't know what anybody was thinking or why they would care. Isn't that what life's all about, not to be sad and miserable?

However, she was soon directly confronted with the homosexual feelings by her husband:

Dan and I were going to Mexico for two weeks to stay with Anne and her parents. Anne and I had been writing to each other every day. The day before we were to go, Dan said, "We're not going. I read a letter from Anne, showed it to your parents, and we're going over to see them right away." Mind you, I had completely put away all this dyke business, all this homosexuality. . . . With Dan, I didn't consider that he was uptight because we were dykes, but just that I was no longer in love with him. I no longer thought about it. I had, that initial day at lunch, but that was the only time I had thought about the academic, the homosexuality. I didn't think about what others might think--until this very moment in the car. . . . So I didn't know what to think. I hadn't met dykes, known dykes. Anne and I didn't talk about being dykes. We were just being in love--we hadn't even had sex. I was totally thrown out. I thought, "I love her--that's the way it is." . . . In the house my mother started, "We read the letter . . ." I just stood there. She said to my father, "Say something Frank--you're the doctor." . . . My father said, "Well, for one thing, I don't care if Dan is your husband or whatever he is. I don't think anybody should read your mail, and I think you should get it straight, it's your privacy. Number two, I would to to Mexico as planned. I don't know what the words mean, to me it's just correspondence. I don't think there's anything to worry about."

What is clear is Libra was not particularly distressed by her love for another woman. Additionally, her father's initial reaction supported his daughter. She was further reinforced by Anne's parents. Libra initially visited Anne without informing either her husband or her own parents (see excerpt on page 52).

Libra's personal conviction of the 'rightness' of her actions and feelings is even more apparent in the following episode which occurred after she had told her husband about her relationship with Anne, and he again took the matter to her parents:

Father sat me down on the couch, said how sick lesbians were, that I should see a shrink, that mother and Dan were going to take Anne to the airport, that we were not to see each other. I looked at him and freaked out. "You think I'm sick?!" He denied it. "You're calling me a lesbian--but I'm not sick?" Then he gave me a medical rap on lesbians. Mother and Dan took Anne to the airport. We were taken by surprise, but managed to get a moment alone and traded rings. . . . My parents wanted me to see a shrink. I said, "O.K.--I'm sick, I can't work." They said, "Oh--you can work." I said, "Forget it: I either see a shrink or go to work and not see a shrink. Either I'm sick or I'm healthy." So of course I worked--they didn't send me to a shrink.

Libras worked and saved enough money to join Anne in Paris that spring. (Libra's description of the fun and freedom of this period appeared on page 52.) When they returned to the States, Anne went to Boston while Libra went to New York to finish her education. Anne's apparent dissatisfaction with this long-distance situation ultimately severed the relationship. Libra now started to explore gay life, going to her first gay dance:

I was real uptight. I didn't like it, wasn't attracted.

She began to date a man she liked and recalled pleasant times with him, but at this point she made a conscious choice:

I started to become conscious politically of homosexuality. I liked being with this boy, but I wanted a woman. It wasn't satisfying enough for me--something was missing.

She now knew that she preferred women, but didn't know how to find them. She decided to move to Boston to pursue her acting career. Almost immediately she landed a part in the play Coming Out, which was about homosexuality,

and which had an all gay cast. Libra began her own process of 'coming out' to friends:

Generally, I never ran into any negative stuff about myself being a homosexual, except from my parents. My friends at college were still my friends, were accepting, no negative criticism.

The play also afforded Libra another opportunity to confront her family about her homosexuality. She invited the whole family (aunts, uncles, and cousins) to see the play. A much more positive resolution was reached:

Around the play Coming Out homosexuality surfaced again. I think my parents were both feeling real bad for trashing me and Anne, for really fucking us over. I could feel that they had been thinking about it. My father began taking a more discriminating look at the medical stuff he was reading. . . . My mother was also feeling bad. It was at this time, during Coming Out, that I really made an effort to get along with my mother. I always knew that my rapport with my father was golden, in synch. I wanted to know my mother, so I really tried. Now we're real good friends. She's starting to get into the women's movement. She's still real straight, but starting to realize that women into women has validity. It's still a conflict though, the sexual thing. But if she writes me about Jung's theories on love, she will add, "But that doesn't exclude women to women relationships."

Libra talks of her own process of growth:

We were all growing in our consciousness, becoming more political, more aware of the taboos--and how that wasn't the case, the case they were making that it was all fucked up. It was becoming clear that you don't put individuals in little boxes.

The "political" of which she speaks is a personal politics:

I have never been political. In myself, yes, but not on a bandwagon. That's what turned me off about "gay"--trying to make such a point when I felt it was a personal point. If you were cool to yourself in your dykedom or faggotry, then that was half the battle.

Libra's sexual direction is not exclusively homosexual. She discusses her feelings for men:

When I left college, I left boys. I wouldn't be balling anymore. It was useless. . . . Yeah. I say I wouldn't ball a dude anymore, but I was never turned off sexually by men. I still have that--nothing to stop it. But I'm certainly into women, make my contact with them. I feel comfortable with my boy trip. If I like a boy, dig it. But I don't participate, seek. If it happens, o.k.

Finally, the following interchange during the interview seems to summarize Libra's ability to be herself, accept her feelings, and ward off any negative self-labeling:

Interviewer: You haven't reported much personal ostracism?

Libra: No, never. Never. A couple of times later on, because I was more conscious of the politics involved.

I: Did you hold hands with women in public when you first started going out in Boston?

Libra: I wanted to, but the woman I was with said, "people trash dykes in this country." That hadn't been my experience--I behaved naturally.

I: It sounds like you remained yourself--whether with men or women--your personess remained.

Libra: I don't think about the other person. I think about myself.

What sorts of statements can we make, based on this capsule of Libra's life?

Several things stand out sharply. Perhaps most important is her lifelong tendency to go her own way--making decisions on personal feelings. She never internalized either her parent's criticisms or society's. Her high hedonic level is an accurate indicator of her basically "hedonistic" philosophy on life; she does things because they feel good. It seems reasonable that a strong, sure

person, operating on the principle that feeling good is good, is in a far better position to resist feeling stigmatized. Again, this was a life-long characteristic, applied equally to early heterosexual intercourse as well as later homosexual activity.

Also clear is her choice of women as the preferred sex. The mythical 'heterosexual reject', or the perhaps equally mythical 'lesbian man-hater' are absent.

Libra stated she felt no conflict from external sources about her emerging lesbianism. This was partly true. Her first lover both reciprocated, as well as validated, Libra's feelings of love, thus becoming an important immediate support. Similarly, Europe provided a safe, supportive environment and further affirmation. Fortune is intertwined with Libra's perception of the situation. She wonders briefly about this new thing, loving a woman, then decides, "Well--I love her, and that's that." Faced with a potentially negating reaction by her father, in his insistence that all lesbians are sick and she should see a therapist, Libra accepted her own inclinations rather than internalizing his views. She challenges and wins.

Therefore, although faced with society's condemnation, how she dealt with it is more important. In her case, it was not crippling, but successfully warded off. She exemplifies well her own theory that "if you were cool to yourself in your dykedom . . . then that was half the battle."

Bif: The Unhappiest Woman.

I always felt something was wrong with me. Not only because of my gayness. I just never fit in.

Bif

Bif is a more serious woman, whose expressive eyes reflect a life-long history of struggle, conflict, and poor self-esteem, confounded by a severe alcohol problem. However she is certainly not devoid of humor, and displayed an ability to laugh at some of her past foibles. The process of this woman's life is of prime interest. Thirty years of age now, she has not had a drink for three years, faithfully attends A.A. meetings, and considers herself more stable and directed at this point in her life than she has ever been. She has a lovely, warm apartment, and is in a relationship of three years duration with a woman she describes as "one of the most accepting, understanding women I have ever been with." She has been working as a housepainter for several years but is currently making plans to return to school as she would like to counsel alcoholics.

Bif was the unhappiest woman in the group. Over a six-week period, her mean hedonic level was 5.39, indicating that, on the average, she is "Feeling a little bit low. Just so-so."

What have been this woman's experiences? Will we find differences in the way she emerged into lesbianism; in her attitudes towards it; in the reactions of others, and

how these were perceived? What supports have been available to her, and what methods of coping did she employ? The interview provides definite answers.

In contrast to Libra, Bif "came out" at an extremely young age (fifteen), and recalls having always been attracted to women:

I was always attracted to women, real heavy competition with my brothers. My brother was everything I wanted to be. I thought if I could be like him, everything would be alright. I developed this real maleness about myself, tried to be who he was.

Like Libra, Bif recalls an early incident where lesbians were involved. But unlike Libra's vague feelings of sadness for the way the two girls in her school were treated, Bif remembers having negative feelings about it:

Early in childhood, somebody pointed out a lesbian couple, two girls holding hands. I thought that was ghastly.

She describes her first relationship with a girl, and the accompanying feelings of shame and discomfort about it:

I was in the tenth grade. At a pajama party this girl was very forward with me. I knew there was something wrong with it. I was very uptight at the party, embarrassed, 'cause I knew I was gay, knew how I was feeling, but I didn't know if she felt the same way. . . . Shortly after that her parents were away for the week-end. We got into bed, knew what we wanted, no discussion. We started sleeping together every night. . . . It was real easy for me, no conflict in me. The conflict came when I thought I should be doing something else.

There were subsequent feelings of guilt, shame, and doubt about the 'rightness' of what she was doing, and of

what she was. Futhermore, she discussed this with no one, not even the girl she was involved with:

I was in a sorority. The girls would sometimes make jokes about lesbians. I would get these twinges of guilt: "Maybe this isn't right." But I was still in- to what I was doing. I remember thinking, "I wonder if they know?" I remember feeling guilty, always afraid her mother would find us. . . . All I knew was what I felt. I went through the motions of dating guys. I didn't talk to anyone about it. Shelly and I didn't discuss it, say it was wrong. But there was much conflict.

The outcome of this relationship provided no valida- tion for Bif:

I don't understand what happened, I just don't under- stand. She later negated the whole affair, got married, did the whole number. But it was for a year, every night after school, all the time. . . . Once I stayed at her sorority house when she was in college. She made a comment: "Bif and I were 'friends' in high school." It hurt, she negated it.

As Bif recalls herself in high school, one sees a marked contrast from the opinionated and happy self that Libra described:

I was this nebulous character. I was always very boy- ish, very butch looking. . . . I had a lot of problems.

Unlike Libra, who never gave a thought to either the issue of lesbianism, or her own identity in this area, Bif was extremely sensitized to this issue:

I remember this dyke with slicked-back hair. I was afraid of her, afraid people were associating me with her.

There are certain similarities to Libra's rebel stand, but there is a marked contrast in the lack of support by either parent and, perhaps most important, in the negative labeling of Bif's differentness:

I always felt I wasn't part of the family. I was the trouble-maker, "cross your legs, wash your face, change your clothes." . . . They never encouraged me. My mother wanted me to be like other girls, and would ask me, "Why don't you have more boyfriends?"

Unlike Libra, whose early heterosexual interests enabled her to derive pleasure from dating boys, Bif had a hard time with heterosexual dating:

Shelly went away to college. I was seeing men 'cause I thought I should. I wasn't into men, but dated because I had a lot of guilt about what I was doing.

Bif continues her narration, telling of increasing feelings of isolation, and an escalation of her drinking:

I went to college, the only one in my family. I fell in love with a woman who got pretty freaked out by it. She too has been with a man now for eight years. . . . My drinking got heavy in college. I couldn't deal with too much. I was on the outside, started drinking more to get recognition. I got into the dyke community on campus, ran around from person to person, dropped out of school a few times. Even with other dykes I didn't feel I belonged. . . . I think I was a prime target for alcoholism because of my emotional instability from way back. As I drank more and more, I got more isolated.

Although Bif says the women she knew discussed their lesbianism she was afraid to tell any "straight" people. Therefore, another possibility of support was eliminated.

I dropped out of school, moved to Buffalo. I drank alone, a real melancholy drunk. I was alcoholic and gay-- both these things are going to do it to you. . . . I'm getting pretty miserable, living in a rooming house, drinking more and more. I leave and go to a small town, hanging around with the town drunks, hitting the liquor store at 8:00 a.m. with the drunks, shaking. Sexually, I don't know any women--I'm drinking more than anything else, isolated, lonely.

Bif then tells of a positive event: she meets a woman who sees the potential in Bif, and assists her from the downward spiral.

Then Buffy spotted me in a bar. I was a pathetic creature. I thought, "Why would she be attracted to me?" But she made the effort, got me into this real hip thing: Dylan, grass. I had actually been real straight until then, no sexually, but in every other way. She was everything I wanted to be.

This relationship lasts several years. Although Bif stabilizes to a great degree, her longstanding feelings of inadequacy and low self-esteem result in her continually feeling inferior to her lover, apparently a remarkably competent woman. Bif lapses into heavy drinking once more. Not until three years ago did she reach a decisive turning point in her life:

I had my last d.t.'s three years ago in California. I remember saying, "I have nothing inside of me, I am nothing." I was always trying to be someone I wasn't-- never who I really was. It's been a real slow process since that day. I like myself more. I have to keep saying, "You're alright." It's a big consolation to know others go through it. That's A.A.

Bif speaks of her gains, and her current self-image:

Up until now I always lived in paper bags. This is the most stable I've been. Things fell together in this apartment--people like it. My self-image is still shaky, but much better than it used to be. I feel my inner worth--only because I'm not drinking. The A.A. program has been all the help in the world. I had a good foundation to be a real fuck-up. I've had the great fortune to be with women who were into very neat things.

Bif is aware of the supportive elements in her life, most notably A.A. and certain friends she has known. Unlike Libra, who resolved the issue with her parents, currently viewing both of them as supportive of her life-style, Bif lacked this support both during her painful adolescent years and now:

They're insensitive, they're bigoted. Telling them I was gay would not even put a dent in what's wrong with them. They don't understand labels. If I put a label on it they would freak out.

However, she does mention more satisfactory interaction with her parents now as they too are aware of her growth:

They think I am an independent woman, who lives with another independent woman. I think they look on the good side of it, don't think of me sleeping with another woman, but rather, too independent to be with a man. . . . I went through so much shit about trying to make them understand about my drinking. My reasonably normal life now makes them happy.

Bif was asked why she thinks her current relationship is working, and her answer again reflects the process of maturation that has characterized her recent years:

The strongest, the most important thing, is that I've gotten to the point where I'm willing to face the things in me that I've never faced before in a relationship. Plus who I'm with: one of the most accepting and understanding woman I've ever been with. I don't have to compete with her personality. It's open, honest--I trusted her. Getting sober, I face myself on a daily basis. Probably the biggest reason I'm still with her is that I stopped drinking and started being honest. When the thrill is gone, it's time to start looking at who you are. In other relationships, I'd get to that point, say "Fuck it", and drink. Well, I can't drink now, so I have to face it, I have to. . . . Now more matters. Every day it gets better.

Bif was asked what she feels she has gained by being gay, and also what she thinks it has cost her.

First thing, being gay has given me the opportunity to love, as deeply as I can--being gay has allowed me to be who I am completely and to love as deeply as I can. I'm sure people in straight relationships love deeply. But for me, it's allowed that: I love another woman in that way.

There has also been a price, however:

Time about the only thing. It's taken a lot more time to get to a place I should have been a long time ago. I should have been able to do what I'm doing at thirty when I was an adolescent. It's cost me all the struggle I've been through--and maybe even being alcoholic, though there's no way to make that distinction--to get through these things. Dealing with the whole feeling of being rejected by society, a freak--I never would have felt like a freak.

The last statement of Bif's interview raises a provocative point:

I maybe would've been emotionally much more stable if I were raised a gay woman: if my parents, friends, teachers knew, as soon as I knew, how I was, who I was. You lose all that time you have to get it together.

What sorts of statements can be made, based on this short history?

First, one is struck by Bif's long-standing feelings of social awkwardness, of being different from her peers. Her early emergence into lesbianism, and the lack of external validation for her behavior further reinforced these perceptions. Particularly vulnerable to ostracism, she suffered greatly from the jokes and digs aimed at lesbians. An additional source of conflict and shame was her uncertainty about her gender identity: she describes herself as "butch", boyish. She thus believed that other people would know what she was doing just by looking at her.

Obviously, her alcoholism confounded this whole situation greatly. Like Bif, we cannot know the extent to which her conflict about her lesbianism contributed to her turning to alcohol. Surely all alcoholics are not experiencing turmoil

about homosexuality, nor do all lesbians turn to alcohol. But Bif did, and one cannot help but wonder to what extent her early emergence into lesbianism contributed to her growing feelings of isolation and alienation, and her subsequent turning to alcohol to ease the pain.

Most evident is the long-term shaky sense of self. Just as Libra's strong sense of self enabled her to remain relatively unscarred by certain potentially negating experiences, so Bif's already poor self-esteem seems to have undergone quite a beating when forced to deal with this additional differentness from others.

Of all eighteen women, none was into active homosexual behavior in their middle teens. In fact, most of the other unhappy women struggled heavily against coming out. Bif acted on her feelings, but at an age when such differentness is difficult to cope with, especially in a person who is already feeling moderately isolated.

Bif, in the final words of her story, certainly tells what might have helped, even granting her particular vulnerability. She needed some support and validation from significant figures in the environment.

Genya.

I'd rather be gay. If pushed, I'd define myself as bi-sexual, but I don't like to be pushed that far-- I'd rather be gay.

Genya, age twenty-eight, was the second happiest woman in the group. With a mean hedonic level of 6.97, her average

is thus "Feeling very good and cheerful." Her story is presented here in some detail because she is a clear example of a consistently supported and affirmed gay woman. Her's was a particularly non-traumatic, positive, and totally ego-syntonic emergence into lesbianism.

The interviewer was affected most by Genya's intelligence, communicativeness, and unadulterated joy in living. She is presently working on her Ph.D in neurological psychology. She is involved simultaneously in two relationships: one with a woman she has been seeing for four years, who lives five hours from Genya's university; the other with a man whom she sees daily. Although some of the other women might define themselves as affectively bisexual, none is currently involved with a man.

The following is a transcript of some of the questions and answers that occurred during her interview. They speak for themselves.

Interviewer: Before you came out, you had defined yourself as heterosexual?

Genya: Oh, I didn't have to. It was totally defined for me, no conception that that was a possible thing to change--it had never occurred to me--and had never been laid down as a bad thing in my family. It was nothing I thought about, had no idea that went on, no idea it was a possibility.

I.: So, looking in from the outside in high school, would one have seen a happy, heterosexual Genya?

G: Not happy, no, very unhappy--an identity-crisised adolescent, who was very bright, didn't know what to do with it--fucked-up, not happy.

I.: Would you say it was a sexual identity crisis as well?

G.: No . . . more a personality issue: what kind of person do I want to be, and love. Mostly an unconscious realization that I wasn't relating to people. No idea what was going on until the end of college. Then I realized: I wasn't letting people in. When it became conscious, I started working on it, realized I could change, and started being happy.

I.: Were you involved with men in college?

G.: I was seeing Carl constantly. It was a power struggle with him, a feminist thing a lot. Sexually, I loved it, thought it was fantastic, fun. We'd fuck all day and night--that was really good for both of us.

I.: When did you start to get involved with women?

G.: In my junior year, I met Liv, and got involved in feminist stuff. That was the turning point, something clicked. I found labels for things, read feminist books. Liv had started a consciousness raising group. I was in love with her, but not a sexual thing. Really trippy, a real nice crush.

I.: Had you ever had a crush like this before?

G.: Oh, I knew I was in love with women ever since I could remember. But it wasn't a sexual love, it didn't occur to me to think of that. I don't know why. I really was dumb on that, or an innocence thing.

I.: So you experienced no guilt over your feelings for Liv?

G.: I thought it was perfectly normal for women to have crushes on women. Didn't think there was anything wrong cause no sex attached.

I.: So, at that point, you didn't know there were lesbians in the world?

G.: I don't think so. I knew what the word meant, but it never clicked in as a real thing.

I.: How did it become real for you?

G.: Liv stood up at the first C.R. meeting and announced she was a lesbian. I just stared at her, my mouth dropped. I couldn't stop looking at her, didn't know

what was going on at the meeting. . . . So, I went home-- and decided I was going to sleep with her.

I.: Wasn't that kind of a quantum leap?!

G.: It didn't seem like one. While getting involved with feminism I had come to the decision that I could not deal with men. As a feminist, I couldn't do battle both with society and men, so I decided to give up men. Even before the lesbian thing, I knew I'd be in a group of women: sisterhood, women supporting women. I was talking about cutting men off emotionally--it was a very conscious, angry choice. . . . So when Liv announced she was a lesbian, it was like a whole 'nother added treat. Here I was discovering feminist stuff, that women could support each other--and then to find out that they could sleep with each other too! That was neat, cause I knew I loved sex. . . . I decided to sleep with Liv and two days later I did. It was very enjoyable. It wasn't scary, it was a nice thing.

I.: Did you go through any change in self-definition?

G.: Oh, I thought it was really neat, I dug it, was proud of it. We had all the rationale behind us. We could perfectly intellectualize it into something not only alright, but politically perfect, self-perfect.

I.: Did others know about it right away?

G.: Oh everybody knew, cause I refused to hide it. I was flaunting it. We had gay dances, crashed mixers, danced together. . . . There was total support, it was neat.

I.: So, it was positive, not negative?

G.: Not only was it not negative, it was a re-birth, a wonderful new thing, a new adventure, start of my life. My life shifted from not feeling very good about myself to feeling very good about myself, feeling very strong for the first time. It really did good things for my head.

I.: You're involved with men now too, so there has obviously been a shift since then.

G.: Oh yeah, sure. At that time, such anger, a political focus: focus it on men, the male world, patriarchal systems, all that stuff. The anger all got thrown out there. It's a lot of good stuff, important ideas, important to work on them, even in an academic way. But

it's very biased, now I know it. There's too much anger, no conception of men as human beings. But for me it was a full world: fun, bars, dancing, the whole city thing. It was my first expression of absolute hedonism.

I.: You are affectively bi-sexual--essentially monagamous?

G.: Each day I am monagamous. When I am with Carol, I am with her, I don't even know who David is, it's very far away. If asked, yes, I love him, but it's very far away, it doesn't concern me. I am in love with Carol when I am with her. I'm glad I don't have to make the choice.

I.: So, it could be you and two men, or two women--it happens to be a man and a woman?

G.: Which is really nice, cause I really dig men--and even more than ever, I dig women. I'm talking about bodies, and it's such a treat to have both of them. I can't even deal with it sometimes, both so much fun. It's amazing, really nice that they are different. I know I wouldn't have as much fun if they were both the same.

Genya is clearly not one to agonize over her desires. Like Libra, she accepts what feels good. In addition, she was in a particularly supportive situation when her sexual feelings for women did emerge. Because she was spared any previous negative associations to homosexuality, she was easily able to integrate these feelings into her life.

General Characteristics of the Happy and Unhappy Women

Eighteen women talked for several hours about how they had come to love women. Naturally, there was much diversity of experience, and individual differences abounded. However, as the previous sections have indicated, when the life-histories of the happier women were contrasted with

those of the unhappier women, there were some very clear differences. The following descriptions, while not fitting any one individual perfectly, do reflect the outstanding trends, characteristics, experiences, and reactions that most clearly differentiated the two groups.

The Happy Women. The histories of the happy women were most characterized by a lack of conflict over their emerging homosexuality. Validation, affirmation, and legitimization were quickly forthcoming from external sources. This support came from a variety of sources, often different for each woman: a positive, affirming response from the first woman lover; validation by a feminist group that supported love for women; previous friendships with other gay women who served as positive models and immediate confidantes; support and acceptance by straight friends who were told.

However, to assume the lack of conflict was due totally to external sources would be erroneous. Most of the happy women had continuing high levels of self-acceptance. They lacked conflict about any part of themselves, including sexuality, but rather tended to be quite spontaneous in their ability to accept and accede to their own feelings. This characteristic self-acceptance provided their own internal validation for their feelings for women.

This strong sense of self was perhaps their most important ally in coping with the emergence of their lesbianism.

Several were well aware of the possible ostracism to which they might be exposed, but surely a strong person is in a far better position to deal with any transition than one already weakened by years of poor self-esteem.

Some concrete differences were revealed in the process of emergence in the two groups. The happier women usually first became aware of their homosexual feelings in their twenties, and acted on them quickly with little time to worry excessively about being homosexual. Unaware of these feelings at earlier periods, they thus did not report spending years suppressing them. Rather, they seemed to emerge relatively easily and naturally, displaying an ability to accept this new facet of their lives without excessive discomfort.

In short, the happy women did not internalize a negative self-image. Already fortified with a firm sense of self-acceptance, they were able to ward off external condemnation, and avoid possible crippling of self-esteem. Although quite aware of certain of the prevailing attitudes, they just did not 'buy' them.

The Unhappy Women. What is manifest from the majority of the histories of the unhappier women were the long years of painful conflict over their homosexual feelings. Shame, guilt, and distress over those feelings, notably absent in the histories of the happy women, were long-standing and pervasive qualities in the lives of the unhappy.

Where the happy found support, validation, and affirmation in their dealings with the environment, the unhappy found negation, lack of acceptance, and disconfirmation. For some it was the rejection by a first lover, a denial of the relationship; for others, family criticism proved unbearable. Several found that the therapists they turned to refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of their feelings; still others, turning to the available literature on homosexuality, found further reinforcement of their already present belief that homosexuality was an illness.

But conflict was not generated only from their dealings with external factors. Where the basic strong sense of self and high-esteem seemed to have aided the happy in warding off negative attitudes, the relative paucity of such qualities left the unhappy more at the mercy of external criticism.

For the majority of the unhappy women, there had been long-standing feelings of being different than others. Most displayed a strong need for the acceptance they always lacked. Whereas the happier seemed to possess the inner fortitude to go their own way regardless of the current tide, the unhappy tried desperately to be like everyone else.

However, this situation was greatly confounded because most of the unhappy had been aware of their feelings for women quite early. Unable to tolerate this difference,

and terribly in need of belonging, they tried hard to ignore this awareness, expending considerable energy on suppressing their impulses. They had been frightened, guilty, and ashamed, and although they had recognized their feelings earlier than the happy women, they usually proceeded to 'bottle them up', telling nobody, and sometimes living alone with this knowledge for many years. A majority attempted to 'go straight', often feigning an interest in men and living a 'pretend' life.

Typically, they internalized society's views, seeing themselves as sick, deranged, abnormal--"queer." Their emergence into lesbianism was usually a slow, arduous, conflicted process, quite unlike the spontaneous and rapid emergence of the happier women.

Already uncomfortable, lacking firm beliefs in themselves, and unable to find support systems, the unhappy women tended to 'buy' the negative image of a lesbian.

Factor Analysis of the Mood Scales

In order to get a more complete picture of how affective experience was organized for the entire group, the means of all 18 women on all 15 scales were factor analyzed and correlated. As each of the 15 scales includes ratings for highest (peak), average, and lowest (trough) feelings, the data consisted of the means over 28-42 days of 45 variables for 18 women.

Table 9 presents all factor loadings great than $\pm .30$. The major factors that were extracted will be discussed below.

The Two Main Factors

This section will describe the first two factors to emerge, which together account for 58% of the variance, as well as the composite dimensions arrived at by plotting each woman's score on both factors.

Factor I. The Trough Factor--"Sickness vs. Health" The Deficit Model of Adjustment.

accounted for 31% of the variance, and was composed mainly of high loadings on the troughs of various scales, particularly emptiness of life (vs. fullness), external constraint (vs. freedom), anxiety (vs. tranquility), guilt (vs. self-approval) and inadequacy (vs. self-confidence.) Women scoring at the bottom of this factors were those whose feelings reached extreme troughs of emptiness, constraint, anxiety, guilt, and inadequacy. Women scoring high were those whose troughs stayed up, that is, who did not reach low troughs of feeling. They are considered healthy because they do not feel badly. This factor is synonomous with the deficit model of adjustment; one is healthy if one is not sick.

Factor II. The Peak Factor--"The Maslow Model of Adjustment."

The second factor to emerge accounted for 26% of the variance, and was mainly composed of high

TABLE 9
 FACTOR LOADINGS OF MOOD SCALE MEANS

	Factors				Variable
	I	II	III	IV	
61	80	34			1. Peak
85	51				2. Average--Fullness vs. Emptiness of Life
					3. Trough
41	85				4. Peak
69	38	31			5. Average--Receptivity towards World
					6. Trough
-36	47	-34			7. Peak
40					8. Average--Social Respect vs. Contempt
76					9. Trough
	77	37			10. Peak
61	41	51			11. Average--Personal Freedom vs. Constraint
87					12. Trough
	91				13. Peak
43	35	54	40		14. Average-Harmony vs. Anger
68			45		15. Trough
	80				16. Peak
49	36				17. Average--Own Sociability vs. Withdrawal
83					18. Trough
	62	35	55		19. Peak
51			72		20. Average--Companionship vs. Being Isolated
80			52		21. Trough
	41	33	81		22. Peak
32		32	84		23. Average--Love and Sex
70			61		24. Trough
		85			25. Peak
		87			26. Average--Present Work
41		82			27. Trough
	90		32		28. Peak
63	60		31		29. Average--Tranquility vs. Anxiety
88					30. Trough

TABLE 9--Continued

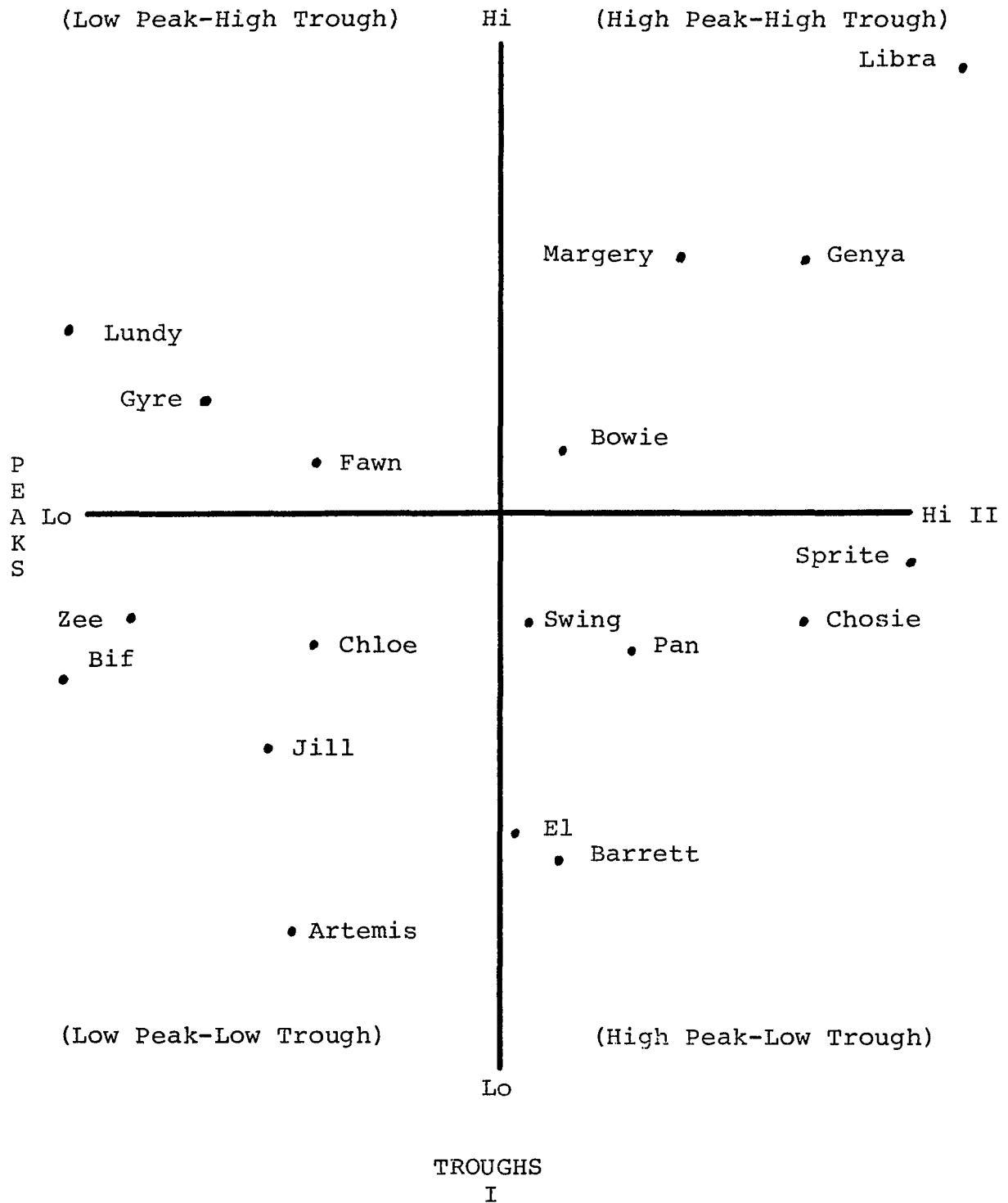
Factors				Variable
I	II	III	IV	
	89			34. Peak
58	74			35. Average--Personal Moral Judgment
95				36. Trough
	90			37. Peak
83	42			38. Average--Self-Confidence vs. Inadequacy
98				39. Trough
	87			40. Peak
52	35			41. Average--Energy vs. Fatigue
73				42. Trough
	95			43. Peak
58	57			44. Average--Elation vs. Depression
77			30	45. Trough
31	27	11	10	Percent of Total Variance
31	58	69	79	Cumulative Percent

loadings on the peaks of various scales: receptivity towards the world, harmony (vs. anger), tranquility (vs. anxiety), self approval (vs. guilt), self-confidence (vs. feelings of inadequacy), energy (vs. fatigue) and elation (vs. depression). Women scoring high on this factor are better adjusted because of the presence of peak feelings. This factor is thus akin to Maslow's conception of adjustment.

The Composite Dimensions. As the first two factors are mainly characterized by troughs and peaks, one might ask, "What happened to the "average" on the elation-depression scale, the hedonic level that was considered so important in differentiating better and worse adjustment in the group?" The answer is that the hedonic level, like most other daily "average" feelings, was split between the first two factors. What this means is that, for this particular group, happiness is not just defined by its average, but by its peaks and troughs as well. The next logical questions might then be: "Is the ranking on hedonic level, then, actually a reliable indicator of an individual's overall adjustment, if troughs and peaks must be taken into account as well?"

To answer this question, each woman's score on each of the above factors was plotted. Figure I is a representation of this. The resultant four quadrants represent the four combinations of levels of peaks and troughs that can exist.

FIGURE 1
COMPOSITE POSITIONS ON FACTORS I AND II



They are as follows:

A. Upper right quadrant: these are the women with high peaks and high troughs; health without sickness.

B. Diagonally opposite, lower left quadrant: these are the women with low troughs and low peaks; sickness without compensating health.

C. Upper right quadrant: these are the women with high troughs and low peaks; free of sickness, but at the expense of not experiencing health either.

D. Diagonally opposite, lower right quadrant: these are the women with low troughs and high peaks; sickness with compensating health.

The diagonal that would run from the upper right, the "high-highs", to the lower left, the "low-lows", represents the dimension of adjustment vs. maladjustment, or ego-strength vs. neuroticism. The correlation of the rank order of the women along this dimension with the rank order on mean daily hedonic level was .81, significant at the .01 level. We conclude that hedonic level is a reliable indicator of overall adjustment in this group: the happier women tend also to be the best adjusted. Specifically, those women ranked highest in hedonic level (Libra, Genya, Margery, Bowie) appear on figure 1 in the quadrant representing self-actualization, while those women ranked lowest on hedonic level (Bif, Chloe, Zee, Jill) appear in the quadrant representing low ego strength and poor adjustment.

However, this one dimension alone does not adequately describe this particular group of women. There is a second dimension that emerges from figure 1. The diagonal that would run from the upper left (low peaks, high troughs) to the lower right (high peaks, low troughs) would represent the dimension of constriction vs. openness of affective experience. That is, shifting the emphasis from level of adjustment, to style of experiencing feelings, we see that the women with high troughs and low peaks are relatively closed off to their feelings, experience little range of emotions, while those with high peaks and low troughs remain open to their feelings, experiencing quite a range of emotions. The women at each end of this dimension do not differ from each other in their level of adjustment, but in their accessibility to their feelings. Specifically, Lundy, Gyre, and Fawn are quite constricted in their experience of feelings, relatively closed off to their inner life. At the other end of the dimension, though less clearly defined because of their distance from the diagonal, appear the six women who tend to be relatively open to affective experience: Swing, Pan, El, Barrett, Chosie, and Sprite. (Sprite is also a very happy woman, so that her openness to her feelings is relatively easy, while Barrett's position on both dimensions tells us that she remains open to her feelings even though they are relatively painful.)

Figure 1 has revealed that one dimension is not enough to describe these women--there is more to the picture than level of adjustment, and the "more to it" is at least the dimension of constriction vs. openness to experience. Furthermore, Figure 1 shows that more women tend to cluster at the openness end of the second dimension than at the constricted end. We can conclude that, at least in this particular group of women who love women, there is a tendency toward emotional openness.

Factors Accounting for Most of the Remaining Variance

Factor III. Work. As table 9 indicates, the third factor to emerge accounted for 10% of the variance, with highest loadings on the peak, average, and trough of the scale measuring satisfaction or dissatisfaction with work. In addition, several other scale also loaded on this factor, although not as highly as work. The loading of the average on harmony vs. anger indicates that work has affective meaning for these women. There is also a loading on the personal freedom vs. external constraint scale. Women scoring high on this factor feel satisfied in their work, and experience a sense of personal freedom, while those scoring low both feel dissatisfied with their work and constrained by external forces. (This relationship will be illustrated in a later section, when verbatim material will reveal how work situations can put quite a constraint on

those women who are afraid to reveal their identities as lesbians.)

Factor IV. Love and Companionship. The fourth factor accounted for 9% of the variance, and consisted of loading of peak, average, and trough on both the love and sex scale, and the companionship vs. being isolated scale. For these women, feelings of love and feelings of companionship are highly related, and women scoring high on one will also be high on the other.

Comparisons with Mood Levels in Previous Studies

The present study did not seek to compare the feelings of "lesbians" with "non-lesbians". As was pointed out, sampling difficulties make this a relatively meaningless task. However, it might be informative to see how the participants of this study feel in relationship to previous groups studied in order to increase our phenomenological understanding of their inner lives, as well as to more completely understand the specific characteristics of this particular group of lesbians. Viewed in this way, the description would have as its purpose something closely akin to the demographic characteristics of the group described in the methods section. That is, when we say this group is relatively highly educated, and verbal, we are making an implicit statement of the characteristics of this group in relationship to some imagined standard. We

are not, of course, thereby implying that lesbians are more verbal or intelligent, as a group, than others. The information is included merely so that one understands the specific nature of the group under study. So too, this section is included to help us understand the specific affective characteristic of this group (not "lesbians") in relation to other groups.

The Groups Used for Comparison

The following groups were used for the purpose of comparison:

A. Harvard men, Radcliffe women (approximately 18 in each group). These were the subjects for whom the Mood Scales were originally designed (Wessman and Ricks, 1966). (This group was only included in the rank orders on hedonic level, average daily range, and variability over time, as the means on the other scales were not available.)

B. Women who had completed therapy (Post-therapy) women who were on the waiting list for therapy (Pre-therapy) and women who had never sought therapy (Non-therapy). (There were approximately 33 in each group.) These women were older than the women in the present study (mean age: 45), most were married, and most were not college educated (Balkin, 1968).

C. Black males, black females, white males, and white females (approximately 20 in each group). These groups

were mainly in their late 20's, attending a community college (Carter, 1973).

Results of the Comparisons

The means of all groups (when available) were rank-ordered on the "average" ratings of all 15 scales. In addition, they were rank ordered on the two measures of variability on the elation-depression scale: the standard deviation of the daily "average" report on this scale, which provides a measure of day to day variation in average hedonic level; and the mean range between the peak and trough value reported each day on this scale, which is a measure of within-day variation of hedonic level.

The presentation of results will be ordered as follows: scale "average" ratings on which the lesbian group ranked somewhat above the middle of the order; scale "average" ratings on which the lesbian group ranked highest; scale "average" ratings on which the lesbian group ranked toward the bottom of the order; rank orders on the measures of variability.

Scale "Average" Ratings on Which the Lesbians Ranked Somewhat Above the Middle of the Order. Table 10 represents those scale "average" ratings on which the lesbian group scored relatively high, that is, more groups scored below them than above them. On all eight scales shown on this table, only the non-therapy women, post-therapy women,

TABLE 10

SPECIFIC MOOD SCALES ON WHICH THE LESBIANS RANKED
ABOVE THE MEDIAN COMPARED TO OTHER GROUPS

Scale	Groups in Rank Order	Group Mean
I. Fullness vs. Emptiness of Life	1. Non-therapy	6.79
	2. Post-therapy	6.66
	3. White males	6.60
	4. Lesbians	6.46
	5. White females	6.33
	6. Black males	6.16
	7. Black females	6.11
	8. Pre-therapy	5.00
II. Receptivity Toward World	1. Post-therapy	6.74
	2. Non-therapy	6.69
	3. Lesbians	6.55
	4. White males	6.43
	5. White females	6.38
	6. Black females	6.29
	7. Black males	6.06
	8. Pre-therapy	5.13
IV. Personal Freedom vs. External Constraint	1. Non-therapy	6.78
	2. White males	6.59
	3. Post-therapy	6.57
	4. Lesbians	6.46
	5. White females	6.15
	6. Black females	6.11
	7. Black males	6.06
	8. Pre-therapy	4.90
VI. Own Sociability vs. Withdrawal	1. Non-therapy	6.91
	2. Post-therapy	6.83
	3. White males	6.55
	4. Lesbians	6.49
	5. White females	6.39
	6. Black females	6.24
	7. Black males	6.15
	8. Pre-therapy	5.00

TABLE 10--Continued

Scale	Groups in Rank Order	Group Mean
IX. Present Work	1. Post-therapy	6.70
	2. Non-therapy	6.69
	3. White males	6.36
	4. Lesbians	6.21
	5. White females	6.10
	6. Black females	5.98
	7. Black males	5.50
	8. Pre-therapy	4.90
XI. Impulse Expression vs. Self-Restraint	1. Non-therapy	6.47
	2. Post-therapy	6.42
	3. White males	6.23
	4. Lesbians	6.21
	5. White females	6.01
	6. Black females	5.89
	7. Black males	5.50
	8. Pre-therapy	4.83
XIV. Energy vs. Fatigue	1. Non-therapy	6.44
	2. Post-therapy	6.42
	3. White males	6.31
	4. Lesbians	6.14
	5. White females	6.02
	6. Black females	5.89
	7. Black males	5.71
	8. Pre-therapy	4.79
XV. Elation vs. Depression	1. Non-therapy	6.69
	2. Post-therapy	6.60
	3. White males	6.28
	4. Lesbians	6.25
	5. Radcliffe women	6.14
	6. White females	6.10
	7. Black females	5.96
	8. Harvard men	5.96
	9. Black males	5.01
	10. Pre-therapy	4.68

and white males had higher means than the lesbian group. (It should be noted that the lesbian group consists of women who have had therapy, women currently in therapy, and women who have never sought therapy.) We conclude that the women in the present study, compared with the other groups, are relatively happy, feel satisfied with their work, are relatively free from constraint, sociable, able to do what they want, and energetic.

Scale "Average" Ratings on Which the Lesbians Ranked Highest. Table 11 lists those scale "average" ratings on which the lesbian group scored higher than all other groups. We conclude that the women in the present study, compared with other groups, feel more respected by others, feel more good will toward others, feel more accepted by others, more loving, and more self-confident.

Scale "Average" Ratings on Which the Lesbians Ranked Low. Table 12 shows these scale "average" ratings on which the lesbians ranked closer to the bottom of the order. On the two scales represented, anxiety vs. tranquility, and personal moral judgment, only the black males and pre-therapy women have lower means than the lesbian group. We conclude that, relative to the other groups, the lesbian group feels relatively anxious and guilty.

Measures of Variability. Table 13 shows the rank orders on the two measures of variability for hedonic level. The first rank order, on standard deviation of hedonic level

TABLE 11

SPECIFIC MOOD SCALES ON WHICH THE LESBIANS
RANKED HIGHEST COMPARED TO OTHER GROUPS

Scale	Groups in Rank Order	Group Mean
III. Social Respect vs. Social Contempt	1. Lesbians	7.04
	2. Post-therapy	6.98
	3. Non-therapy	6.86
	4. Black females	6.65
	5. White males	6.62
	6. White females	6.56
	7. Black males	6.37
	8. Pre-therapy	5.07
V. Harmony vs. Anger	1. Lesbians	6.88
	2. Non-therapy	6.86
	3. Post-therapy	6.75
	4. White males	6.56
	5. White females	6.39
	6. Black females	6.22
	7. Black males	6.12
	8. Pre-therapy	5.06
VII. Companionship vs. Being Isolated	1. Lesbians	7.29
	2. Post-therapy	6.97
	3. Non-therapy	6.91
	4. White males	6.74
	5. White females	6.53
	6. Black females	6.35
	7. Black males	6.24
	8. Pre-therapy	4.85
VIII. Love and Sex	1. Lesbians	6.75
	2. Non-therapy	6.72
	3. Post-therapy	6.61
	4. White males	6.57
	5. White females	6.41
	6. Black males	5.94
	7. Black females	5.85
	8. Pre-therapy	4.52

TABLE 11--Continued

Scale	Groups in Rank Order	Group Mean
XIII. Self-Confidence	1. Lesbians	6.50
vs.	2. White males	6.47
Feelings of In-	3. Non-therapy	6.44
adequacy	4. Post-therapy	6.42
	5. White females	6.29
	6. Black females	6.25
	7. Black males	6.00
	8. Pre-therapy	4.79

TABLE 12

SPECIFIC MOOD SCALES ON WHICH THE LESBIANS
RANKED LOW COMPARED TO OTHER GROUPS

Scale	Groups in Rank Order	Group Mean
X. Tranquility vs. Anxiety	1. Non-therapy	6.59
	2. Post-therapy	6.49
	3. White males	6.26
	4. White females	6.07
	5. Black females	5.97
	6. Lesbians	5.93
	7. Black males	5.80
	8. Pre-therapy	4.53
XII. Personal Moral Judgment	1. Non-therapy	6.73
	2. Post-therapy	6.65
	3. White males	6.49
	4. White females	6.32
	5. Black females	6.27
	6. Lesbians	6.18
	7. Black males	6.00
	8. Pre-therapy	4.79

TABLE 13
RANK ORDERS ON MEASURES OF VARIABILITY

Variable	Groups in Rank Order	Group Mean
Standard Deviation of Mean Hedonic Level (Variability Over Time)	1. Lesbians	1.20
	2. Blacks (All)	1.16
	3. Whites (All)	1.03
	4. Radcliffe	.98
	5. Harvard	.94
	6. Pre-therapy	.82
	7. Post-therapy	.76
	8. Non-therapy	.70
Average Daily Range (Within-Day Variability)	1. Lesbians	2.87
	2. Harvard	2.86
	3. Radcliffe	2.64
	4. Black males	2.63
	5. White females	2.59
	6. Black females	2.14
	7. White male	1.98
	8. Non-therapy	1.79
	9. Pre-therapy	1.74
	10. Post-therapy	1.46
Elation-Depression Scale: Peak	1. Non-therapy	7.56
	2. Lesbians	7.49
	3. Post-therapy	7.32
	4. White males	7.31
	5. White females	7.29
	6. Black males	7.11
	7. Black females	7.02
	8. Pre-therapy	5.55
Elation-Depression Scale: Trough	1. Post-therapy	5.86
	2. Non-therapy	5.77
	3. White males	5.33
	4. Black females	4.88
	5. White females	4.70
	6. Lesbians	4.63
	7. Black males	4.48
	8. Pre-therapy	3.81

represents the day to day variation. The lesbian group is the highest ranked on this measure. We conclude that, relative to the other groups, the women in the present study vary the most from day to day in their average level of happiness. The second rank order, the average daily range between peak and trough values of happiness, represents the with-in day variation of hedonic level. Again, the lesbian group is the highest ranked, indicating they experience the greatest range of peak and trough feelings of happiness in a day. This is further clarified by the two other rank orders listed: the ranking of the groups on their mean peak scores on the elation-depression scale, and the ranking of the groups on their mean trough scores for this scale. On the peak, the lesbian group is second highest. Only the non-therapy group experiences higher peaks of happiness. However, on the rank order for troughs of happiness, the lesbian group is the third lowest. Only the black males and the pre-therapy women experience lower troughs of unhappiness. The high rank of the lesbian group on peaks, and low rank on troughs, in fact accounts for the high average daily range of the lesbians, as this is arrived at by subtracting the mean of the trough values from the mean of the peak values.

In terms of the measures of variability, we conclude that the lesbian group is the most variable from day to day in feelings of happiness, as well as experiencing the greatest within day range of feeling.

Conclusions: A Composite Description

By combining the results of table 9-13, we get an idea of the affective life of the women in the present study as compared with other groups. The picture seems to be this: the women are a relatively happy group compared to other groups. They feel relatively full, satisfied with their work, free, receptive and energetic. Compared to others, they are a highly self-confident group, feel quite respected by others, and experience higher feelings of closeness with others and fulfillment in love than any of the comparison groups. However, while comparing favorably to other groups on many feelings, and highest in several, this group is more prone to feelings of anxiety and guilt than most of the other groups. (This is a thought-provolking finding, and will be referred to later, after some additional information about the realities these women must contend with is presented in later sections.)

In terms of variability of moods, the women in the present study, compared with the other groups, are the most variable over time. In addition, they emerge as the most open to the range of affective experience with-in day. They experience high peaks of happiness, relative to the other groups, as well as low troughs of unhappiness.

The Process, Over Time, of Accepting
One's Homosexuality

Having described the complexity of affective experience of the participants in the study, we now shift gears, and again return to the life-history material.

In the initial section of this chapter, the focus was on the participant's early reactions to, and manner of dealing with, the emergence of their homosexual feelings. It was in these areas that we found significant differences between the happy and the unhappy women. One might wonder whether those women who had initially experienced such great conflict over their feelings have since moved from this position. In fact, subsequent movement was definitely in evidence in most of the life-histories. This section, in keeping with the general aim of the study to reveal as much as possible about the reality of lesbian experience, takes a look at the process through which many of the women came to accept their love for women. Naturally, we can expect that this process will be more characteristic of those women whose early reactions were filled with shame and guilt. Simply put, they had further to go. However, even for some of the women who were able to integrate their lesbianism into their lives fairly easily, there has also been movement toward further acceptance. In this section, the women themselves describe the process, telling what the critical supports were, what helped them to accept their feelings.

Pan: A Case in Point

Being gay has given me back myself.

Pan

Pan is 39 years old. As revealed in the initial section of this chapter, she spent 18 years in great conflict over her homosexual feelings which she recognized extremely early causing her great shame and terror. Her struggle over these feelings has been central in her life. The epigraph above reveals that she has currently reached some peace about her homosexuality. This is how she came to resolve her conflict.

In analysis, we had created a heterosexual personality, based on nothing. . . . I had completely convinced myself I wasn't gay . . . burned all my gay books. . . . I met a man, who at least liked an outdoors woman. So we got married. I got pregnant three months later. . . . Maybe if there had been a women's movement I wouldn't have done that. But there was none.

After Pan's first child is born, a babysitter moves in, who Pan soon learns is a lesbian.

It was like seeing myself at 18. I was completely taken with her. She told me that she was gay. I said, "I went through the same thing. It's not serious." But I knew now. It was just a question of time before I slept with her. I turned more and more to her. And then, one day. . . . I wasn't drunk or anything. I knew I was in love with her. . . . But I wasn't completely ready to say I'm gay yet. But I knew I was.

Pan is still obviously very ambivalent about her feelings and once again tries to ward them off.

I didn't want to embrace it. I felt very bad. So I got more books, found more labels. A whole bunch of new ammunition about myself. At that time (1967) there were still no good books. Now, there would be a dozen.

I was sure I was the only lesbian mother in history. I felt bad, worried about the consequences of my actions on my children.

However, she does continue the relationship with her lover, Tenny, and seems to start exploring more positive feelings.

She helped me feel good about my body, my sexuality. My sexuality became normalized. I felt like I had come home, could accept myself better, knew what I wanted.

However, a considerable residue of shame remains, and she is afraid to tell anybody about her relationship. She reports a critical change point.

Soon, I did tell my best friend. If I had lost Fran, it would have been hard. But I didn't, and I found I could tell. It encouraged me to tell others. . . . When Tenny did move out, I finally realized my identity as being gay. I stopped worrying. Everyone in my life got to know, except my parents.

Pan, who is a college professor, presently lectures for a gay speaker's bureau.

Because I am articulate and educated, I feel like I have a special responsibility to articulate some of this stuff. Hopefully, it will make it easier for those coming out. . . . I speak to college groups, church groups. It's been very good for me, a tremendous amount of positive feed-back.

Pan speaks about another source of support, her current psychiatrist, who is a lesbian herself.

This therapy has done 100% good. My past therapy did not, except for getting me back to work. Aside from that, it did nothing. In fact, it made matters much worse. I've had to undo. . . . If I'm happier now than I have been in the past, I have to give credit to my psychiatrist. It's been the things she has shown me that helped me understand.

Pan relates her current situation.

I am in so much better shape than most of the divorced wives. It's funny, sexually and emotionally, I've been more successful since I've come out, good relationships. I've learned a lot, have good friends. Certainly I've settled down a lot.

Pan was asked during the interview, "What has it cost you to be gay? and what have you gained?"

It gained me everything. When I compare myself to other divorced women, I'm a happy person. Even if I don't have a lover, I have the bond of womanhood that most straight women don't have. . . . I have an enormous sense of independence, autonomy. . . . Being gay has given me back myself.

Conclusions. Pan struggled against her homosexual feelings for a long time. What seems to have helped her to finally come to accept them? A turning point occurred when she risked confiding to her friend, and found acceptance, encouragement to tell others. Concurrently, she seemed to let herself enjoy the pleasurable experiences she was having with her lover. Later, the positive reinforcement she reports from her speaking engagements helped consolidate her growing sense of acceptance. Finally, she explains the great gains made through her current therapy. Because her therapist is both a professional (like Pan) and a lesbian, she no doubt serves as a very positive model for Pan. She seems to have also helped Pan eliminate much of her early guilt and shame, as well as validated Pan's feelings about the destructiveness of her previous therapist's positions. Pan also talks about her friends and the "bond of womanhood" she has come to experience. For many years Pan found no

validation for her feelings (no positive literature, no women's movement), but recent experiences have provided much confirmation. Her own sense of gain attests to this. She is continuing in therapy now.

Interview Excerpts

The following interview excerpts further reveal the process by which various of the women were able to achieve a greater acceptance of their homosexuality. Commentary will be provided to highlight significant events.

Fawn. When I met Swan, she was very radical, so I met the gay community. It was very liberating, it felt fantastic. . . . All of a sudden I had places I could go where I didn't have to put up with shit anymore. I had been very depressed before that, nobody, no bars. Plus, I had assumed that all dykes were really ugly.

This is an important event, that is often repeated in this section; the dropping of the previously internalized negative stereotype of lesbians.

Fawn was also asked what had been the cost, and the gain, of being gay.

I'm a lot more cynical, pessimistic, because of all the things I wanted for 25 years and thought I couldn't have. I wish I were ten years younger. I'm resentful of the years that I had to spend unhappy. . . . Gained? A lover, love. I never thought I'd be in a reciprocal relationship.

Chloe. (The reader will recall the early struggles, the overwhelming fears of being abnormal reported on pp. 39, 47, and 51.) I was taking a course in college, Social Deviance and Control. The professor had lesbians come and speak. They talked about coming out. But I wasn't listening, just looking, saying, "Wow!" I was attracted to one. I had thought "A lesbian is a hard-core

dyke, slicked hair." But there were women who didn't fit that stereotype.

Again, a crucial episode is the shifting of the previously held stereotype, the visibility of positive models.

I moved to C_____, broke away from my friends. . . . I was evolving into something different, and I needed experiences to foster that. I moved in with two very free people. I could start to explore things, let it go. It was a nourishing atmosphere. . . . I became attracted to a woman, slept with her. I loved it, this was me, the real me, I felt so good about it, because I was getting the support. . . . I just started to grow emotionally when I came out. With men, there was no groundwork. Only with women did I get into a lot of feelings, really maturing. I am a lesbian, and my shutting that out for a long time really prevented my natural growth.

Common to many of the reports of the women who had suppressed their lesbianism for so long is this sense of finding their real self, what feels most natural.

Chloe reports another factor which facilitated her ability to act on her feelings.

What really cemented my lesbianism, the route I chose to take, was my feminism. I don't care to relate to men.

Chloe tells what she has gained by coming out.

A lot. It's hard to put yourself in a straight mold if you're not. You can do it, but something's lacking. I felt it for 24 years. . . . I was just copying, trying to pretend. So I never had that depth. I think you have to experience that depth to really feel like a real person, to feel like you're living.

Coming out is surely no panacea: Chloe was one of the unhappiest women in the group. However, her subjective appraisal of the gains to her own identity of coming out indicate that she at least feels better about this area of her life. Like Pan, she is currently in therapy.

Zee. (Zee is another woman who had felt like a "freak" for a long time.)

Then I met my friend's cousin, and her lover. They pointed out that maybe I was doing all these drugs because I was running from my lesbianism. . . . And that was the first time that I was around lesbians who were women: good-looking, intelligent, fun to be with, and not the stereotypes. . . . One pointed out things I might read. I got a whole shitload of books. Altman's book, Homosexual: Oppression and Liberation, was great, especially if you are intellectually ready to come out. I read it all, said to my closest friends: I'm a lesbian. I stopped drinking. I no longer was going out to fuck a guy to prove I was O.K.

Again, what helped Zee was the availability of positive models, to help break up her negative stereotype of lesbians. Equally important was literature which helped her come to terms with her feelings on a cognitive level, literature which provided positive validation of homosexuality as a viable way of life.

El. (While El did not experience early conscious feelings about loving women, hence no shame or guilt over them, she did much negative labeling of lesbians, along with being very curious about them. She reveals the process by which she moves from fear of homosexuality to comfort in her own homosexuality.)

I was really curious about what lesbians are, do, how come they look so funny. I saw one dyke: really scary threatening, she had a mustache, a gorilla gait. I was very judgmental. . . . When I joined a C.R. group, we were all freaked out by the issue of lesbianism. . . . On the surface we were so liberal, but there was a lot of turmoil. . . . Then I went to a conference, attended a workshop on women loving women. That blew it all sky high, all these myths just went pop. All these people talking, about the problems, the stereotypes. And they were cool people, a great atmosphere, a lot of support. That was the most important thing.

Here again, the availability of positive models helps counter the previously held negative stereotype of a lesbian.

A similar experience reduces the threatening aspect even more for El.

And that spring, my sister had two gay friends, who came and stayed at her summer place. They were totally unrole-like, very gentle with each other. It was the first time I could see that. It was o.k., not threatening.

These experiences seemed to have enabled El to act more easily on her own feelings for a woman, when they did emerge.

So when I met Jill, I began to think of the possibility of it maybe being o.k. to love somebody. She gave me a hug the next week and it was so nice. . . . The relationship really blossomed, I had a friend, a playmate. . . . Then we went to a woman's bar together. Sexuality was in the air. . . . We hugged, kissed, and I just realized: I was home. . . . It was an incredible completion of something that had been unfulfilled.

El was asked what she has gained, lost, by coming out.

I don't think I've lost anything. I think I've just gotten everything. It filled up such an incredible void, on all kinds of levels. . . . A whole new world of friends and possibilities.

We see a similar process in the next woman, Sprite. As El, Sprite was not aware of her own feelings for women, and therefore experienced no guilt, and had nothing to suppress. She moved away from a fear of lesbians toward an identification with them because of the feminist movement.

Sprite. I emerged through the feminist movement. I've been involved in feminism for five years. I felt like I wanted to devote my energy to women, wanted to be open to the possibility of having a relationship with a woman. . . . Before I became involved in a C.R. group,

I was homophobic. . . . People might not think I was a real woman cause I was in law school, people might think I was a lesbian. . . . When I got into the women's movement, people raised the issue. . . . "Why am I reacting to this so strongly?" I had to understand why, not let that scare tactic affect me. . . . I became more political, joined a small C.R. group, it was really beautiful. . . . There were several lesbians in the group, but they were in the closet. They became my friends, and I got to know them. . . . Then I fell in love with another woman in the group, very sudden, very intense. . . . For me, being a lesbian is an active, loving aspect of the woman's movement. It opened up a lot. I'm more open to people. I love my lesbian friends, my C.R. group, the energy.

Sprite clearly had a strong base of support to facilitate her movement from fear to acceptance of lesbianism.

The last woman to be presented in this section, Lundy, did have a critical support available immediately, as she had the full affirmation and love for the woman she has remained with for the past six years. However, in terms of the process of movement toward greater acceptance, Lundy follows a route similar to the stories above.

Lundy. For the first four years, we lived a double life, had no gay friends, were no part of the gay community. The change came in the summer of 1973. We had gone to P_____, and a gay male that we knew by sight introduced Belle and I to his friend, saying we were lovers. This was the first time I had heard this, it was a shock: public knowledge. But you know, it wasn't so bad! . . . But we still had never made it to a bar. We knew what we were, but we still carried around a stereotyped image: Women who looked like us didn't go to gay bars--only 'truck-drivers' did. We were hidden in ourselves. Then we went to P_____ for nine days, and began to make gay friends. But it still took days to go to a bar. In fact, we really had to get shitfaced to do it. Belle said, "You're scared." I said, "I ain't scared--of those diesel truck-drivers." Finally, we walked in. It was amazing! I found out not everybody was a diesel dyke. We had a peer group. I loved it.

Once again we see that a critical part of the process is the breaking-up of previous stereotypes, validation of oneself through a recognition of a favorably perceived peer-group.

Conclusions

Several themes are sharply delineated in the above reports. Most important for a number of the women was the acquisition of positive role models, which altered the previously held negative stereotype of "a lesbian". This could occur in several ways: friendship with another lesbian, and having this personal knowledge counter old myths; opportunity to see lesbians who could serve as positive models (the example of Chloe's, where several lesbians came to speak to the class); seeing a wide range of lesbians in a social situation. Certainly, when other lesbians were visible and accessible, the women could at least have some external reality other than the negative depictions that abounded in popular as well as scientific literature. Along this line, some of the women found much validation in the more recent literature that emerged from the gay movement.

Another growth-fostering type of experience was that of sharing their feelings with a significant person and receiving positive response. Being validated by even one other person can be a significant event for someone who has only known shame and guilt about her homosexual feelings.

There are also numerous reports of the important role that feminism played in facilitating the acceptance of love for women. For some of the women in the study, the small consciousness-raising groups became havens to explore the range of their feelings for women.

Likewise, the role of the gay community was mentioned as part of the process of acceptance. The women talk of the joy in finding peers, friends, a community. Especially for those that had felt terribly isolated and alone in their homosexuality, the importance of friendship with other gay women cannot be minimized.

As the women came to accept their feelings, they reported feelings of finding themselves "coming home", stopping the need to "copy and pretend". They report feeling a truer sense of their own identity.

Being-in-the-World: The Issue of Self-Disclosure

In the initial section of this chapter, material was presented to document the different reactions between the happy and unhappy women to their emerging homosexuality. Then a description of the process of coming to accept one's homosexuality was presented, a description most characteristic of the unhappy, as they had further to go in this acceptance. The current section concerns an area of concern, in varying degrees, for the majority of the women, whether happy or unhappy. This is self-disclosure of one's homosexual

identity, the dimension of concealing or revealing, being overt or covert. For most of the women in the study, the reality of being-in-the-world as lesbian poses certain problems.

Most of the women find that "coming out of the closet" is a constant, and everyday, process. For example, while one may reach self-awareness, and then come out sexually, one can still be very much in the closet when it comes to family, job situations, or displaying affection in public.

The interview material presented below will document the experiences of various women in the following three areas: coming out to parents, management of information at their jobs, and self-disclosure in public situations.

Coming Out to Parents

All the women were specifically asked whether or not they had told their parents of their sexual orientation. Fourteen of the eighteen had not told their parents (three of the unhappy and one of the happy had, another of the happy planned on telling them in the near future). Thus, for this group of lesbians, the trend was not to tell parents.

In the presentation of interview material, those who did tell will be presented first, immediately followed by material from those who did not tell. The purpose is to give a sense of the meaning of this issue to the women.

Interview Excerpts.

Libra. (Libra's story has already been presented in some detail. Initially, it was not she, but her husband who told her parents. At first, they reacted negatively. However, this has changed over time.)

I think they were both really feeling bad for trashing me and Anne. They had been thinking about it. . . . I think my father is taking a more discriminating look at the medical stuff he reads. . . . My mother is starting to realize that women into women has validity.

El. I told my father. He was quiet, said he was happy for me, hopes I finish my B.A. . . . But--no support--no nothing. I don't know what he thinks.

Zee. I told my mother, who cried, was upset at first. I said, "This is not the reaction I want. This is me--I've gotta be happy, do what I want." She came to accept it. . . . It's harder with my father, he won't accept the fact. I don't say "lesbian", but he knows. . . . Actually, as he meets some of my friends, he says, "They are too?" His stereotypes change too.

Fawn. I did it sleasily, took my mother to a friend's house for dinner, where I knew a gay guy would be. After dinner, we got stoned, went to a gay bar to dance. This was all taking big chances. After that night she asked if I was a lesbian. When I told her I was she said, "Oh Fawn--where did I go wrong? This is the worst thing I could think of." We wrote to each other about it. Now it's good. She accepts it. . . . My father would have a heart attack. He says if he sees a queer on the street he'd shoot it. It would only hurt him.

Margery. I wanted to tell my parents, knew that I shouldn't. I told my sister. She accepted it better than anyone. She supported my feelings that I shouldn't tell my parents. . . . As much as I like them, think they are good people, they would kill themselves, blame themselves for a mistake the rest of their lives, thinking it wasn't right.

Chloe. I'm not out, but my mother is beginning to question. "Don't you want to get married?" I said, "No--I get a lot of support from my friends." I gave her a feminist rap. She looked at me, a strange look in her

eyes, almost fright. "Does that mean you like women?" The phone rang just then. I think if I had said yes it would have given her a heart attack. Ever since, she looks at me strangely, must have given it a lot of thought.

Genya. (Genya considers herself out in almost every conceivable area--except this one.)

They didn't know, still don't. Didn't want to deal with that.

Pan. Everybody in my life got to know--except my parents. I had told them once, when I was eighteen. They said "Nonsense, nonsense." The second time around I was too afraid, because custody suits have been filed by grandparents. . . . I'm more afraid of my mother than my husband. It's a gamble I can't take.

Chosie. I haven't told my family. I often want to. . . . It's almost geographical where I'm out: Completely in B _____, not at all in C _____, where my parents live. Now, I'm living at home, working in my dad's office. I'm in the closet sixteen hours a day, twenty-four if I stay home at night.

Gyre. I haven't told them. But they've stopped bugging me too. My mother used to say how I needed someone to lean on. . . . But they've moved back east now. I know I'm gonna have to tell them--I want to. I have to be sure why I'm telling. My mother would guilt-trip herself. . . . They have something in Boston for parents of gays. I want to look into that before. And I want them to meet more of my friends, see more of my lover.

Lundy. I didn't tell my family. I'm the only child, they wanted marriage, a grandchild. I don't think my mother could deal with it cause of her own background. . . . I bring Belle home all the time. But can't be myself, can't hold her hand, can't call her honey. Sometimes I slip though, so to compensate, I've been calling everybody hon! Of course, there's a big difference between hon and honey.

Artemis. There's time I feel really angry--like when we got to her mother's house, and can't sleep in the same room. I feel like I'm being deprived. . . . Another time I was angry: both of our families were in town. We needed to see each other, and there was no legitimacy that we could attach to our relationship. There was nothing I could say: That this was the woman I love, as important as my sister Beth's husband.

Conclusions. It is clear that for a majority of the participants, the issue of telling their parents is sensitive. For some, there is a gradual revelation, and movement towards attempting greater openness.

We can conclude that, at least for this particular group, the experience of being a lesbian involves a certain amount of alientation from their parents. It is part of the reality of their lives.

Coming Out at Work

All the participants were asked how they handle the disclosure of their homosexuality at work. While there was much diversity in the ways this was managed a majority of the women (fourteen of the eighteen) expressed some fears about the consequences of coming out at work. Some of the variations directly related to the specific nature of their work, with those involved in teaching, or the legal profession, being quite concerned that they would lose their jobs (or face disbarment) were their orientation known. Those involved in settings where they had little contact with others, while expressing the attitude that it was not particularly relevant whether they were lesbians or not, still felt the necessity of a certain amount of "covering".

Just as many of the happy as the unhappy were aware of the need for some type of deception on the job. What this indicates is that, at least for these women, the very experience of being a lesbian, regardless of how well

adjusted one is, involves a certain amount of juggling of information at work. The following excerpts give a sense of what sorts of difficulties arise as a routine part of being a lesbian, and what choices various of the women have made in the process of coming out in this area. Those who are less in hiding will be presented first.

Interview Excerpts

Libra. At my theatre company I am completely out. . . . I've also been working at a construction job for five weeks. . . . I hung out with the black dudes first, feeling we were both oppressed. One black guy came on to me. I said to him, "Hey--I'm into women." His response was, "That's cool, to each his own." But he still comes on with this 'you haven't met the right guy' trip.

Lundy. At work, there were problems at first. I had to fabricate a social life. Then I thought, "This is crazy." So I told two of my co-workers, and at least some of the pressure was off about lying. I told one of the attorneys, a woman. But I have to be careful at this point. If I get into law school, once I pass the bar, I will work in gay rights. Then, let them make assumptions.

Chloe. I'm out at the gay therapy center. At the hospital, I'm not out, but don't hide it. I don't have to because I'm not that close to people.

Chosie. (Chosie has known both the situation of being able to be totally open, and that of really having to conceal her orientation. Her openness fluctuates depending on how close her job is to her parent's home.)

When I was driving a cab, I was out with the other cab-drivers. I wore a sign. "One Admitted Lesbian". It was a nice job, I miss it. Now, I'm living at home working in my dad's realty office. I'm in the closet sixteen hours a day.

Bowie. My biggest fear is the job thing. . . . At school I have mentioned things about homosexuality, but I don't see the necessity, they don't have to know what I do in bed. Of course, it can be pretty oppressive when they ask "Do you have a boyfriend?" and you have to say no, even though you've essentially been married for two years.

Bif. At work, I have a hard time, I need to be accepted. A guy at work said, "You don't like men?" Because I'm an independent woman, on my own, they assume I'm a dyke. And it's hard to break that because I am a dyke. . . . They all think I'm married. I wanted to talk about my lover, but I didn't say it was a woman. I changed the gender.

Pan. I play footsie with it. I haven't come out in class. I teach a woman's course at (university). Someone might go to the dean and say "A lesbian is teaching that course." I'm pretty sure my immediate supervisor knows, but if they got students complaining about this, that would be it. . . . I think I'm far more effective by not coming out: I could say I'm gay and teach a straight course, but not a radical course. I'd rather not say I'm gay and teach a radical course.

Sprite. I hadn't told the other lawyer I was working with. I knew this was bad psychologically for me to allow this to exist. When I told her, she was very sweet, nice. . . . I want to come out professionally but it's a problem of disbarment. Because of the things our office is working on now, she advised me to wait until the fall to go public. . . . I'm going to have to be very prepared. I anticipate a lot of pain.

Gyre. My friend Bob teaches at the same high school I do. He can be pretty faggoty. People know he's gay and I am afraid they will associate us. . . . Everyday I have fears about being exposed. My two worlds are beginning to intersect. It's no wonder I freak out. Sometimes I can't get to sleep, thinking: "People really know I'm gay, they just aren't saying anything!" Some days I think I should quit this, get a job where I can be more open, that's more political. But it's good money, and I like teaching. So meanwhile, being a teacher is important to me--I wouldn't want to be stigmatized.

Conclusions. In varying degrees, and under varying circumstances, self-disclosure at work is a current issue for

most of the women. Some are clearly moving toward greater openness, usually choosing to select certain people to tell. Others try to keep their work and private worlds as separate as possible, but find they end having to lie often. We can conclude that, at least in this group of women, being a lesbian means having to deal with some special problems at work.

Self-Disclosure in Public

This final section concerns the extent to which the women feel comfortable with exposing their sexual orientation to the world around them. Specifically, each woman was asked whether she does things like hold hands, hug, and generally display affection in public. A majority of the women, thirteen of the eighteen (with no clear relationship to current adjustment) report that they do not feel free to do this. Each woman came to her own decision about what feels comfortable for her. The excerpts are presented to provide the reader with a sense of the everyday issues these women face.

Interview Excerpts.

Libra. I behave naturally. . . . I don't think about the other person, I think about myself.

Barrett. I would say, relative to most I know, that I'm pretty much out. At the movies, I will put my arm around her. . . . Maybe not in a store, with a certain degree of people watching, but in situations where it's not obvious that people are watching.

Chosie. At times I might walk down the street holding hands if I felt like it. I definitely would not in B_____ (where her parents live). I would in Boston, after dark. In New York, anytime, anywhere.

Margery. Many heterosexuals look at gays with curiosity. If we go to a party in C_____, we notice people looking at us, 'Oh look, they're dancing together'. Once in a while we hold hands in town, a friendly type thing. But we don't show it to other people, not that way. I know there are others who do it, who think gay is alright. I think being gay is alright too, but I don't want the reactions, so I don't do it. If we hold hands we get stares, looks. I can't say we haven't held hands. We might--if a really strong feelings comes up.

Bowie. I don't walk the streets cheering, but I'm not sniveling either. But there are times I take my hand from Bif's shoulder and feel I'm not being strong.

Bif. I see couples in the park. It makes me angry: I can't walk down the street with my lover. I do, but I'm gonna get shit on. I'm not inconspicuous like those couples. . . . We're pretty open. . . . That time we were excited about buying some furniture: I put my arms around Bowie. She said, "Don't do that in the store." I talked to her later. She was reacting because her professional life carries into her personal relationships. . . . We get paranoid, then we get better. We are still working it out. We are moderately open in public, walk down the street, I have my arm around her. . . . Last year at the park, nobody around, we're holding hands. A car pulls up, she pulls her hand away. An automatic reflex, so automatic to pull away. We go through a lot of shit, a whole lot of struggle.

Chloe. Never hold hands in public with my lover: she is a teacher, afraid of losing her job. Even with others, I never walked down the street holding hands. . . . But I have embraced--for a short time.

Zee. Might hold hands in Boston. Not around here though, I'd be afraid, too many punks.

It should be clear that, at least for this group of women, being gay creates its own unique difficulties.

Summary of Results

Because this chapter has been quite long, covering diverse areas and presenting different types of data (psychometric, factor analytic, verbatim excerpts), a summary of the material will be presented before going on to discuss the findings.

Internal Comparisons (Within-Group Differences)

Happy vs. Unhappy. In comparison to the happy, it was shown that the unhappy tended to be older, had recognized their homosexual feelings earlier, and had suppressed them longer than the happy women. Significantly more of the unhappy women had either been in, or were currently in, psychotherapy. The interview material revealed that significantly more of the unhappy women had experienced extreme guilt and conflict over their feelings. Furthermore, the unhappy had tried in various ways to suppress and change these feelings. Compared to the happy, the unhappy had perceived the environment as more disaffirming and less supportive. The overall descriptions of the two groups indicated the unhappy were seen as more shaky in terms of self-esteem and ego-strength. However, it was also noted that this might have been confounded by their very early recognition of their differentness and lack of external validation.

Factor analysis: other within-group differences. The factor analysis of the means of all women on all scale

ratings indicated that the women differed from each other primarily along two dimensions. The first factor was one of troughs on various scales, and differentiated between the sick and the not-sick, between those women who reached extremes of feelings such as anxiety, guilt, and feelings of inadequacy and those women who did not. The second factor, of peak loadings, differentiated between the well and the not-well, between those women who reached peaks of such feelings as happiness, tranquility and self-confidence and those women who did not. When the women's scores on both factors were plotted, four categories emerged: those with high peaks and high troughs, or most self-actualized; those with low peaks and low troughs, or least adjusted, lowest in ego-strength; those with low peaks and high troughs, or least open to experiencing feelings; those with high peaks and low troughs, or most open to experiencing feelings. It was therefore concluded that while ego-strength vs. neuroticism is an important dimension along which the women differ, another important dimension is that of constriction vs. openness to experience. It was pointed out that more of the women tended to score toward the emotional openness end of this second dimension.

In addition to the two major factors, two additional factors were described. A third factor indicated that the women differed in their feelings of satisfaction with work. Additionally, work had affective meaning because feelings of

being free vs. constrained varied with satisfaction vs. dissatisfaction with work. A fourth factor differentiated those women more satisfied in love relationships and feelings of companionship, and indicating that these feelings (love and companionship) were experienced as essentially the same in this group.

External Comparisons: How Do These Women's Mood Levels Compare With Previous Groups?

While the primary aim of the present study was not a comparison of "lesbians" with "heterosexuals", it was felt that something might be learned about the affective experience of the particular group of lesbians in this study by looking at how they compared to various (and diverse) groups that have been used in prior studies utilizing the Mood Scales. The groups available for these comparisons were: Harvard students and Radcliffe students (although not all measures were available on these two groups); black and white males and females; women who had never sought therapy, women who had successfully completed therapy and women on the waiting list to begin therapy.

This group of lesbians, compared to the groups mentioned above, can be described as feeling relatively happy, full, free, sociable, energetic, and satisfied with their work (that is, on these dimensions the women ranked above the median of the rank order.) However, the ranking shifted on various of the other dimensions. The lesbians ranked the highest

on scales measuring feelings of social respect, harmony, love and sex, companionship, and self-confidence. On the other hand they ranked low on the scales tapping feelings of anxiety and guilt. In terms of variability of hedonic level, both over time and within-day, the lesbian group ranked highest. Related to these measures of variability, the group's rankings on the peak and trough of the elation-depression scale were presented. Here, their highest ranking on mean peak, and relatively low ranking on mean trough, demonstrated that, as a group, these women experience a great range of feeling.

These comparisons led to a composite description of the group: women who feel relatively full, responsive, free, outgoing, satisfied with work, energetic, and happy; who feel extremely self-confident and respected, as well as being most satisfied in their relationships with lovers and friends; and who feel relatively anxious and guilty. In addition, they experience much variation in their feelings of happiness from day to day, as well as a great within-day range.

Accepting One's Homosexuality: The Process Over Time

This section presented verbatim material from the interview which revealed the process that characterized many of the women as they moved toward a greater acceptance of their feelings for women. What emerged was the critical importance

of positive role models in eroding previously held negative stereotypes of what "a lesbian" was. Too, the ability to tell another person, and receive acceptance was important. Several women emphasized the positive role that feminism had played in allowing them to emerge comfortably, and the importance of finding peers in the gay community was stressed.

Being-in-the-World: The Issue of Self-Disclosure

This final section documented the experiences most of the women face when confronting the problem of disclosing their identities in various situations. What was revealed was that these women, as lesbians, are often faced with juggling information about themselves: to parents, at work, and in public. Also documented, was the process toward a greater openness.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

The primary emphasis of the current study has been on revealing the reality of individual experiences, and in exploring the relationships between these experiences (and not just the category "lesbian") and a woman's overall adjustment.

Both the differences that emerged, as well as the shared concerns of the group, have important implications. In addition, the relative standing of the group as compared with other groups has relevance for a general transcendence of stereotypes.

These issues, as well as some speculations about changes currently underway, will be addressed below.

Self-Actualization in Lesbians: Implications
For Healthy Adaptation

The significant relationships between certain experiences and overall psychological adjustment gives us a good idea of what experiences go along with health in this group. This has been accomplished by removing any connotation of sickness from the label of lesbian, and considering the feelings and experiences that distinguished the women.

By focusing on each woman's life, and her unique experiences coming to terms with a facet of her being, her lesbianism, we have learned not only what happier, healthier lesbians are like but can find agreement with theories about human potential in general.

The important step in this process was to avoid stating that either "homosexuality is unhealthy" or "homosexuality is healthy" but rather "certain experiences do not go hand in hand with health and happiness."

I think we can safely say that, based on the results, certain experiences definitely are not 'good' for a person: internalizing a negative self-image is not good for a person; finding disconfirmation in the environment is not good for a person; trying to squelch a major part of one's feeling is not good for a person.

Whether the fear, guilt, and shame that the unhappy women experienced were pervasive qualities, established long before their acknowledgement of their homosexual feelings, or whether their early recognition of their "differentness", and subsequent lack of environmental support, produced these feelings we cannot know with certainty. Possibly, they were already somewhat more vulnerable, and having to deal with their homosexuality relative young, and relatively alone, compounded their difficulties.

This description of what experiences characterized the unhappy women is in full agreement with Maslow (1968) when he speaks of personal adjustment:

No psychological health is possible unless this essential core of the person is fundamentally accepted, loved, and respected by others and by himself [herself]. (p. 196)

It seems reasonable enough to include the direction of one's sexuality within the rubric of an "essential core." Certainly it was experienced as something integral, although distressing, by most of the unhappy women who tried so hard to suppress their feelings. And in fact, they report feeling more integrated when they were able to finally act on their feelings. But for a long time, there was neither self-acceptance nor acceptance by others.

On the other hand, the experiences revealed by the four happiest women, who also emerged as self-actualized in the more complete description afforded by the factor analysis, are quite congruent with Maslow's description of the healthy person: "What such a person wants and enjoys is apt to be just what is good for him [her]" (p. 208). This was precisely the attitude revealed in the complete histories of Libra and Genya, as well as in the excerpts of Margery and Bowie: an acceptance of one's satisfying feelings.

Wessman and Ricks (1966) reported a similar characteristic of their happier men:

In short, these men were capable, by and large, of finding adequate satisfaction for most of their major needs and drives. Vital motives had not become overly compounded and checked with distressing and disturbing affect. (p. 173)

The clear difference in the amount of conflict experienced by the unhappy women over their homosexual desires and the lack of such conflict in the happy women once again reveals that general theories of healthy adaptation have specific relevance for adaptation to one's sexual orientation.

What does all this mean in terms of a woman being happy as a lesbian? One would expect that the greater the opportunity for internalization of a positive identity of lesbian, the greater the chances of being a well-adjusted lesbian. Again, the more energy directed as suppressing strong, subjectively felt homosexual feelings, the more likely will be the psychological cost to the individual. (The implications for therapist will be discussed below.)

Obviously, this does not mean that becoming a lesbian is a panacea. It is merely meant to point out what sorts of feelings, reactions from others, and experiences foster a healthy sense of self-as-lesbian rather than an unhealthy one.

Transcending Stereotypes and Generalizations, Old and New

Specific Characteristics of the Current Group That Limit Broad Generalizations

Before discussing what the group means on various dimensions of feeling contribute to some commonly held stereotypes about "lesbians", it is important to see what other

characteristics the 18 women in this study have in addition to their 'eligibility' for a study on lesbians.

What these women are is a group of bright, articulate, introspective individuals, tending to be young, energetic, and constantly in a process of self-evaluation. Most had given their life processes a great deal of thought, and were able to pinpoint important changes. In addition, most of these women could be described as being feminist-oriented. By this I do not necessarily mean in an active political or movement sense (though several were quite committed in this area), but more in an ideological sense. In their own lives they tended to emulate many of the values of feminism, both in terms of departing from the conventional roles of women (in addition, of course, to their non-traditional sexual orientation), and breaking away from sex-roles in relationships. They can be described, in general, as role-innovators, insisting on an equality with men much as any feminist (lesbian or not) might. Finally, they have all, at this point, come out of the closet, have integrated their homosexuality into their lives, and for the most part, notwithstanding secrecy in certain specific areas, consider themselves part of the gay community, and report the importance of other gay friends.

What they are not: Obviously, they are no longer in the closet, they are not the women (whose number we cannot estimate) who are still struggling against their homosexuality,

who might know of no positive validation for their feelings. (This is perhaps one of the most serious sampling problems of all: the inability to gather experiences of women who have perhaps experienced the most torment.) They are also not the women who, while perhaps engaged in a homosexual relationship, tell nobody, and know no other lesbians. The group is also not a radical one in terms of having completely departed from all societal convention. They tend not to be actively involved with politics. Their commitment to education, and the kinds of occupations they have indicate they have not 'dropped out.'

Value of Group Comparisons In Modifying Stereotypes

While the study wasn't primarily aimed at comparisons between groups (and sampling difficulties make this so ambiguous an endeavor), and with the above characteristics of the current group of women in mind, one can find important social, political, and scientific reasons for looking at group trends. One reason is the importance of modifying stereotypes.

Stereotype: an unvarying form or pattern having no individuality, as though cast from a mold. (Webster, 1968)

The study provided much indication that there was no mold, that differences prevailed, even in this homogeneous group, in many areas. And yet, if we ask ourselves why most of the women don't tell their parents, or why there is fear

about discovery at work, the answer must be because society has chosen to stereotype this group. Consider some commonly held stereotypes and see what the findings can contribute to their modification, as well as whether there is value in any statement that begins: "Lesbians are . . ."

"Lesbians are unhappy." What we can say to this is: No - lesbians aren't unhappy--because these women who, among other things, happen to be lesbians, do not, as a group, emerge as unhappy. But nor do we have to jump to a new generalization and say "Lesbians are happy," at least not based on a small segment of the population--a segment that has many other things going for it outside of sexual orientation. This group no doubt emerged as feeling relatively happy, full, responsive, and energetic partly because of these other characteristics.

"Lesbians are lonely." To this we say an emphatic "No!" Again, lesbians aren't lonely, because the women in the study ranked the highest of all groups on feelings of both love and companionship. The section on the process of accepting one's homosexuality demonstrated that support and friendship of other gay women is a highly important and valued experience. In addition, the factor analysis revealed that feelings of love and feelings of companionship are the same for the group, indicating the presence of "friendly lovers" and "loving friends." Because the very nature of their minority status is an affectional one the areas of

love and friendship become so important. But the statement "Lesbians aren't lonely" is equally invalid. As we pointed out, many of the members of the group have come a long way from earlier feelings of isolation and "apartness" from others. Most have come to know the very special community that has enabled them to find positive models. Doubtless one could find very lonely lesbians, some perhaps so guilty and ashamed they have not even told their best friends, some perhaps whose extreme fright precludes venturing into the gay community where possible validation and companionship might be encountered.

"Lesbians are immature." While the study provides no clear indicator of this, if one thinks of the growth and process that has characterized some of the lives presented, as well as the group tendency to remain open to experience, it would appear that this characteristic is hardly more descriptive of lesbians than were the previous two.

Clearly any generalization that begins "Lesbians are . . ." is innately suspect because of the great variation that exists among lesbians. And perhaps the most suspect are clinical generalizations. One of the significant findings of this study was that more of the unhappy than the happy women sought therapy at some time. Therapists making generalizations about "lesbians" have probably never seen a Libra, or a Genya--don't know that full, happy, self-actualized living is not incompatible with the choice of loving one's own sex.

No wonder certain clinicians have made statement like the following, implying generalization for the whole group of lesbians:

Homosexuals of both sexes . . . are basically unhappy because normal family life can never be within their reach. The label gay behind which they hide is a defense mechanism against the emptiness, the coldness, the futility of their lives. (Romm, 1965, p. 291)

If the current study were the only one of its kind, it alone repudiates such a generalization. Likewise the following:

In addition, there is no doubt that identification with a homosexual group adds disturbing elements to the already disturbed psychopathology of the female homosexual. (Wilbur, 1965, p. 281)

As retold by various of the women in the current study, whether happy or unhappy, the discovery that "there are others like me", and the subsequent break-down of previously held stereotypes was usually a particularly supportive experience.

Anxiety and Guilt: Intra-Psychic or Existential

Numerous generalizations have been made about the "neurotic complaints" of "lesbians." Compared with others, the participants did rank relatively low on two dimensions: tranquility vs. anxiety, and self-approval vs. disapproval. Rather than making any generalizations about lesbians, let us recall some of the characteristics of this particular group that might help in interpreting these findings.

As mentioned, while the women depart from convention in both choice of love object and departure from traditional female role values, they are, for the most part, still dependent upon the larger society, have not adopted very radical positions. Because of this, they might be described as "jugglers", having to watch what they do and say at times. As the section on self-disclosure of information revealed, for most of the women, there is a certain vigilance that accompanies being gay. They share their space with a world that is not gay, and are aware of the negative sanctions that exist at work, with their families, and on the street. That this sort of "on-guardedness" could result in relatively high levels of anxiety does not seem unreasonable. Because the group does emerge as feeling good in many areas, and in fact is quite high in feelings of self-confidence, this sociological and existential explanation for their level of anxiety is as plausible as an intra-psychic explanation. While I have no data to support it, my guess is that many feminists, who are also re-defining their relationship to conventional role demands, might well be experiencing similarly high levels of anxiety.

How might the finding that the group scored low, compared to other groups, on self-approval be interpreted? Turning again to a more sociological explanation, it will be recalled that various women felt they were not living up to their own standards when they had to lie to cover their

identities, when they had to "pass." Goffman (1963) states, "Those that pass experience 'indeeperism,' having to elaborate lies further and further to prevent a given disclosure" (p. 74).

Just as high levels of anxiety can stem from external situations, so too can guilt emanate from a type of "not living up to one's standards" that various of the women describe. Maslow (1968) has talked about several types of guilt, and his following description might best explain the finding:

Intrinsic guilt is the consequence of betrayal of our inner nature or self, a turning off the path to self-actualization, and is essentially self-justified self-disapproval. . . . It is not just a symptom to be avoided at any cost but is rather an inner guide for growth and its potentialities. (p. 210).

To give an example of this exact phenomenon, I quote Bowie (one of the most self-actualized and happy women) as she speaks of the price she pays at times as a gay person:

The ongoing process is that I still don't have all of myself: when I hide the fact that I am gay, take my hand from her shoulder--That's a part of myself that I lose. It's a lack of courage. But someday--I'm still in the process--I hope to someday. That's the basic gnawing thing, don't always stand up for myself.

So again, it becomes plausible to interpret the lower score on self-approval in an existential manner, as with an intrapsychic formulation.

Additional Implications for Theory

The Varieties of "Happinesses"

When Wessman and Ricks (1966) described the happiest man in their group, Winn, it was clear that in addition to being extremely happy, Winn was also cautious and controlled. The implications of their book are for a certain kind of conventionality. The life-styles of the four happiest women in the current study however, all of whom were happier than Winn, rule out this idea of a happy conventionality. If we recall the style of experiencing life and seeking pleasures that was revealed in the histories of Libra and Genya, one sees a more classical kind of hedonism, not just a sum of satisfactions minus dissatisfactions, but a certain epicurian style of satisfactions. They do not dwell excessively on the consequences of their actions, yet neither do they emerge as hedonistically "callous": Libra worked hard at resolving old conflicts with her parents, and Genya emerges as a woman capable of important and long-lasting relationships. There are clearly many ways to be happy, and happiness need not imply a conventional way of life, nor an emphasis on control of one's passions.

"Going With One's Feelings"

Coinciding with the above, and to again emphasize one of the major findings of the relationship between health

and lack of suppression, another theorist's views are presented. Marmor (1965) made this theoretical statement:

Because homosexuals don't change even when there are powerful sanctions against it points to some deficits in ego-adaptive capacity. . . . Deviants are more likely to feel inadequate and to show evidence of less adequate ego-formation. (p. 19)

Marmor, of course, is first of all guilty of the kind of generalization-making that was already discussed. Secondly, the data from the current study alone refutes the notion that "homosexuals feel inadequate." The women in the present study felt extremely adequate and confident compared to other groups. But the most important inaccuracy, and perhaps most damaging if read by a person caught in their own ambivalence, is the statement that changing is healthier than not changing, and that living one's homosexuality is a lesser state of affairs than changing it. The evidence demonstrates the most self-actualized women, those highest in ego-strength, were those that spontaneously followed their feelings and saw no need to suppress or change them.

The Role of Positive Models

While this chapter has made clear the caution that must characterize any generalizing of the findings to lesbians in general, one is on safer ground in drawing broad conclusions when talking of a process that was revealed. Specifically, the emergence of the critical role played by the discovery of positive models in one's growing acceptance

of her lesbianism is a finding that would probably be true for most lesbians. Goffman (1963) makes this point explicit in his description of the "turning point" that occurs in "realizing that others in the group are human, like everyone else" (p. 34). It would seem that this process is important for any person learning to deal with a facet of their being that departs from the majority.

Implications for Therapy

In several of the cases presented, it was the therapist's disqualification of the woman's feelings, the invalidation of their reality, that proved particularly detrimental. "Homosexual panic" in the therapist greatly interferes with helping the patient find fulfillment. The findings indicate that suppression of homosexuality was not related to health in the women. In addition, once a therapist's own negative attitudes are evident, they reinforce any guilt the patient is experiencing.

Naturally, what would be helpful would be for the therapist to become aware of the inaccuracy of many stereotypes about "lesbians." In this way, he or she can be very attuned to the patient's possible negative stereotypes, and can thus become instrumental in helping provide accurate information when necessary. The therapeutic task should be to help the individual make autonomous and informed decisions. Every therapist should be prepared to question his or her

own position for there are many ways to appear neutral while not being so. These things are, of course, particularly important when it is the very guilt and conflict about homosexual feelings that has brought the patient (often the younger patient) into therapy.

Of course, many women who are homosexual enter therapy for various other reasons. Here the therapist would be most helpful in not "rubricizing" the person.

Rubricizing is a quick, easy cataloguing. . . . To place a person in a system takes less energy than to know him [her] in his [her] own right. . . . What is stressed in rubricizing is the category in which the person belongs, of which he [she] is a sample, not the person as such--similarities rather than differences. (Maslow, 1968, p. 127)

By avoiding this categorizing, the therapist is in a far better position to listen to the themes that do emerge.

Waves of Change

Naturally, in listening to the taped interviews of 18 women, many things were revealed that did not find their way into the presentation of results. I would like to explain some impression I got of the directions in which social change is moving.

Sexual Identity and Object Choice

One thing I frequently encountered in reading through the theories about lesbians was the almost one to one association made between an individual's gender identity and their

homosexuality. This assumption has begun to be challenged by various writers. Altman (1968) stated:

The majority of homosexuals do not have doubts about their own masculinity or femininity, nor do they wish to be taken for the opposite sex. . . . The confusion of roles with sexual preference continues to influence the public, and even the psychiatrist's imagination. There is a connection between sexual roles and preference, but it is more complicated than the assumption that homosexuality is a matter of wanting to be the opposite sex. (p. 18)

My own personal impressions were that more (though not significantly more) of the unhappy women had been confused about their gender identity, perhaps quite dissatisfied with the role of female. And, because they had become aware of their sexual preference for women early, they seemed to experience a "double-stigma": on the one hand they did not "fit" into society's notion of what a girl was in some of their interests that were labeled "masculine" at that time, and on the other, confounding their sense of shame about these interests, was the fact that their sexual preference was also not the typical female one. They thus found no validation on either front, and, I believe, developed a particular sense of shame about who they were, a real self-consciousness about being "masculine." On the other hand, some of the happy women, of whom Libra is a fine example, were also quite discontented with the general lot of females. However, Libra was "saved" from feelings of embarrassment about being an active female because she had not yet acknowledged her homosexual feelings. She could see herself as a

"real woman" because she was able to fulfill what is probably the major requirement: heterosexual interest. My impression is that more of the unhappier women had themselves confused the issue of their lesbianism with masculinity, while the most happy and healthy women seemed to have achieved, relatively early, an acceptable sense of their own identity as women, even if they did depart from certain traditions of the female role.

MacDonald (1974) wrote along a similar vein:

My nonscientific personalistic observations lead me to believe that gays who reject the sex-role stereotypes are extremely healthy psychologically. Many have worked through the issues and emerged with an inner strength that is hard to shake. I further believe that this is not the case with those who confuse homosexuality with masculinity and femininity, those who believe that, because of their sexual orientation, they must be this or that. (p. 179)

Again, my impression was that more of the unhappy had confused the two issues, and were thus more ashamed of anything they did that departed from traditional feminine interests.

The "Old" vs. the "New" Lesbian

In listening to the women talk of personal chronology, and in contrasting the unhappy, who had seen themselves as lesbians years before the happy had, it became clear that the image of the "old" lesbian had moved to an image of a "new" lesbian. The "old" image of lesbian, and the only one available to most of the unhappy women at first, was that of a sexual anomaly--to herself as well as others--a freak

of nature, in possession of a dreadful secret. It was assumed that she was a "masculinized" female, an inhabitant of some twilight land, somewhere between male and female. Again, this was the period of direct association between what one loves and what one is.

The histories of the happy women, and some of the unhappy as well, (especially those that emerged in the context of feminism) suggests the emergence of a "new" image of lesbian. In fact, all of the women, regardless of their own beginnings with their homosexuality, reveal their own growing sense of "new" lesbian. (In order not to be guilty myself of the very generalizations that I warned against, let me say that while I believe these changes are social in nature, any particular lesbian may or may not perceive it that way. This is similar to acknowledging that social change is clearly underway regarding sex-role stereotypes, but a large number of individuals are unaware of or unimpressed with these changes.)

Central to the emergence of the new lesbian, and the changes that have recently occurred in those who first fit the stereotype of the old lesbian, has been the philosophy of feminism. For many, the women's movement allowed a far richer definition of one's identity as a woman so that behavior previously considered to be "non-feminine" could be re-evaluated by the woman. Those women who had previously felt that certain of their behaviors precluded their ability to feel like women, found new ways to think of themselves.

While I have been using the label "new" lesbian, I believe that out of these changes will emerge a general reduction in labeling. That is, along with the changing of sex-role conceptions of masculinity and femininity, and a conception of androgyny as perhaps being more in line with full human potential, there seems to be a similar conception that "heterosexuality" and "homosexuality" might be starting to outlive their usefulness as descriptive labels. Many people, influenced by the increasing visibility of people who refuse to be categorized as "this" or "that" are discovering that there exists a fuller range of feeling and behaving than has been previously acknowledged. This is not to be taken as a paen for bi-sexuality, but a suggestion that full, optimal psychological functioning implies an ability for each individual to move towards what feels right, and to be able to experience this without debilitating conflict, and with as free a choice as possible.

Growth forward . . . therefore requires courage, will, choice, and strength in the individual, as well as protection, permission and encouragement from the environment. (Maslow, 1968, p. 204)

APPENDIX 1

THE MOOD SCALES

- I. Fullness vs. Emptiness of Life (how emotionally satisfying, abundant or empty, your life felt today)
10. Consummate fulfillment and abundance.
 9. Replete with life's abundant goodness.
 8. Filled with warm feelings of contentment and satisfaction.
 7. My life is ample and satisfying.
 6. Life seems fairly adequate and relatively satisfying.
 5. Some slight sense of lack, vague and mildly troubling.
 4. My life seems deficient, dissatisfying.
 3. Life is pretty empty and barren.
 2. Desolate, drained dry, impoverished.
 1. Gnawing sense of emptiness, hollowness, void.
- II. Receptivity towards and Stimulation by the World (how interested and responsive you felt to what was going on around you)
10. Passionately absorbed in the world's excitement. My sensations and feelings incredibly intensified.
 9. Tremendously stimulated. Enormously receptive.
 8. Senses lively. Great interest and delight in everything around me.
 7. Open and responsive to my world and its happenings.
 6. Moderately interested and fairly responsive.
 5. Slightly disinterested and unresponsive.
 4. Bored. Life pretty monotonous and uninteresting.
 3. Dull and apathetic. Almost no interest or desire for anything.
 2. Mired down in apathy. My only desire is to shut out the world.
 1. Life is too much trouble. Sick of everything, want only oblivion.
- III. Social Respect vs. Social Contempt (how you felt other people regarded you, or felt about you today)
10. Excite the admiration and awe of everyone who matters.
 9. Stand extremely high in the estimation of people whose opinions count with me.
 8. People I admire recognize and respect my good points.

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7. Confident that some people think well of me.
 6. Feel I am appreciated and respected to some degree.
 5. Some people don't seem to see much value in me.
 4. I am looked upon as being small and no account.
 3. People have no respect for me at all.
 2. I am scorned, slighted, pushed aside.
 1. Everyone despises me and holds me in contempt.
- IV. Personal Freedom vs. External Constraint (how much you felt you were free or not free to do as you wanted)
10. Absolutely free to consider and try any new and adventuresome prospect.
 9. Independent and free to do as I like.
 8. Ample scope to go my own way.
 7. Free, within broad limits, to act much as I want to.
 6. Can do a good deal on my own initiative and in my own fashion. No particular restrictive limitations.
 5. Somewhat constrained and hampered. Not free to do things my own way.
 4. Checked and hindered by too many demands and constraints.
 3. Hemmed in, cooped up. Forced to do things I don't want to.
 2. Trapped, oppressed.
 1. Overwhelmed, smothered. Can't draw a free breath.
- V. Harmony vs. Anger (how well you got along with, or how angry you felt toward other people)
10. Boundless good will and complete harmony.
 9. Enormous good will and great harmony.
 8. Considerable good will.
 7. Get along well and rather smoothly.
 6. Get along pretty well, more or less good feeling.
 5. A little bit annoyed, somewhat "put out." Minor irritations.
 4. Annoyed, irritated, provoked.
 3. Very angry. Ill will.
 2. Enraged. Seething with anger and hostility.
 1. Violent hate and fury. Desire to attack, destroy.
- VI. Own Sociability vs. Withdrawal (how socially outgoing or withdrawn you felt today)
10. Immensely outgoing and sociable.
 9. Highly outgoing, congenial and friendly.
 8. Very sociable and involved with things.

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7. Companionable. Ready to mix with others.
6. Fairly sociable. More or less accessible.
5. Not particularly outgoing. Feel a little bit unsociable.
4. Retiring, would like to avoid people.
3. Feel detached and withdrawn. A great distance between myself and others.
2. Self-contained and solitary.
1. Completely withdrawn. Want no human contact.

VII. Companionship vs. Being Isolated (the extent to which you felt emotionally accepted by, or isolated from other people)

10. Complete participation in warm, intimate friendship.
9. Enjoy the warmth of close companionship.
8. Thoroughly and genuinely liked.
7. Feel accepted and liked.
6. More or less accepted.
5. Feel a little bit left out.
4. Feel somewhat neglected and lonely.
3. Very lonely. No one seems to care very much about me.
2. Tremendously lonely. Friendless and forlorn.
1. Completely isolated and forsaken. Abandoned. Ache with loneliness.

VIII. Love and Sex (the extent to which you felt loving and tender, or sexually frustrated and unloving)

10. Feel the rapture of full, joyous, and complete love.
9. Tremendous gratification, delight, love, and trust.
8. Warm sharing of intimacy and affection.
7. Pleasant companionship and some affection. Sharing interests and good times.
6. Fairly satisfying experiences or expectations. Some mutual interest and understanding.
5. Not much feeling of mutual understanding. Some lack of interest. Slightly frustrated.
4. Little feeling of relationship. Considerable indifference. Moderately frustrated.
3. Feel unable to maintain good relationships. Unloved. Much frustration.
2. Hurt, bewildered, incapable of loving or being loved. Vast amount of frustration.
1. Hopeless, cold, unloved and unloving.

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IX. Present Work (how satisfied or dissatisfied you were with your work)

10. Tremendous, intense delight in my work. Proud of my purpose, skill, and accomplishment.
9. Great pleasure and enjoyment in my work. Much fulfilment through work.
8. Considerable satisfaction with my work. Eager to continue.
7. Satisfied with my work. Encouraged to go on with it.
6. More or less satisfied with my work. Keep plugging along.
5. Somewhat dissatisfied with my work. Not much enjoyment doing it.
4. Dissatisfied with my work. Can't see much good in it. Moderately frustrated.
3. Greatly dissatisfied with my work. Not doing a good job. Markedly frustrated.
2. Tremendously dissatisfied and frustrated in my work. Befuddled. Disorganized.
1. Completely dissatisfied and frustrated in my work. Hopeless, useless chaos.

X. Tranquility vs. Anxiety (how calm or troubled you felt)

10. Perfect and complete tranquility. Unshakably sure.
9. Exceptional calm, wonderfully secure and carefree.
8. Great sense of well-being. Essentially secure and carefree.
7. Pretty generally secure and free from care.
6. Nothing particularly troubling me. More or less at ease.
5. Somewhat concerned with minor worries or problems.
4. Experiencing some worry, fear, trouble, or uncertainty.
3. Considerable insecurity. Very troubled by significant worries, fears, uncertainties.
2. Tremendous anxiety and concern. Harassed by major worries and fears.
1. Completely beside myself with dread, worry and fear. Overwhelmingly distraught and apprehensive. Obsessed or terrified by insoluble problems and fears.

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- XI. Impulse Expression vs. Self-Restraint (How expressive and impulsive or internally restrained and controlled you felt)
10. Wild and complete abandon. No impulse denied.
 9. Exhilarating sense of release. Say whatever I feel, and do just as I want.
 8. Quick to act on every immediate desire.
 7. Allowing my impulses and desires a pretty free rein.
 6. Moderate acceptance and expression of my own needs and desires.
 5. Keep a check on most whims and impulses.
 4. On the straight and narrow path. Keeping myself within strong bounds.
 3. Obeying rigorous standards. Strict with myself.
 2. Refuse to permit the slightest self-indulgence or impulsive action.
 1. Complete renunciation of all desires. Needs and impulses totally conquered.
- XII. Personal Moral Judgment (how self-approving, or how guilty you felt)
10. Have a transcendent feeling of moral perfection and virtue.
 9. I have a sense of extraordinary worth and goodness.
 8. In high favor with myself. Well up to my own best standards.
 7. Consider myself pretty close to my own best self.
 6. By and large, measuring up to most of my moral standards.
 5. Somewhat short of what I ought to be.
 4. I have a sense of having done wrong.
 3. Feel that I have failed morally.
 2. Heavy laden with my own moral worthlessness.
 1. In anguish, Tormented by guilt and self-loathing.
- XIII. Self-Confidence vs. Feeling of Inadequacy (how self-assured and adequate, or helpless and inadequate, you felt)
10. Nothing is impossible to me. Can do anything I want.
 9. Feel remarkable self-assurance. Sure of my superior powers.
 8. Highly confident of my abilities.
 7. Feel my abilities sufficient and my prospects good.
 6. Feel fairly adequate.
 5. Feel my performance and capabilities somewhat limited.

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4. Feel rather inadequate.
3. Distressed by my weakness and lack of ability.
2. Wretched and miserable. Sick of my own incompetence.
1. Crushing sense of weakness and futility. I can do nothing.

XIV. Energy vs. Fatigue (how energetic, or tired and weary, you felt)

10. Limitless zeal. Surging with energy. Vitality spilling over.
9. Exuberant vitality, tremendous energy, great zest for activity.
8. Great energy and drive.
7. Very fresh, considerable energy.
6. Fairly fresh. Adequate energy.
5. Slightly tired. Indolent. Somewhat lacking energy.
4. Rather tired. Lethargic. Not much energy.
3. Great fatigue. Sluggish. Can hardly keep going. Meager resources.
2. Tremendously weary. Nearly worn out and practically at a standstill.
1. Utterly exhausted. Entirely worn out. Completely incapable of even the slightest effort.

XV. Elation vs. Depression (how elated or depressed, happy or unhappy you felt today)

10. Complete elation. Rapturous joy and soaring ecstasy.
9. Very elated and in very high spirits. Tremendous delight and bouyancy.
8. Elated and in high spirits.
7. Feeling very good and cheerful.
6. Feeling pretty good, "O.K."
5. Feeling a little bit low. Just so-so.
4. Spirits low and somewhat "blue."
3. Depressed and feeling very low. Definitely "blue."
2. Tremendously depressed. Feeling terrible, miserable "just awful."
1. Utter depression and gloom. Completely down. All is black and leaden.

APPENDIX 2

Name _____

Date _____

DAILY RECORD OF MOODS Day of Week _____

(Please fill in completely, 3 ratings on each scale, before retiring every day. Remember to record the "highest" and "lowest" you felt even though they may have been experienced for only a brief moment. The "average" represents your overall summary of the day.)

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>I. Fullness vs. Emptiness of Life
Highest _____
Average _____
Lowest _____</p> | <p>VIII. Love and Sex
Highest _____
Average _____
Lowest _____</p> |
| <p>II. Receptivity towards World
Highest _____
Average _____
Lowest _____</p> | <p>IX. Present Work
Highest _____
Average _____
Lowest _____</p> |
| <p>III. Social Respect vs. Social Contempt
Highest _____
Average _____
Lowest _____</p> | <p>X. Tranquility vs. Anxiety
Highest _____
Average _____
Lowest _____</p> |
| <p>IV. Personal Freedom vs. Constraint
Highest _____
Average _____
Lowest _____</p> | <p>XI. Impulse Expression
Highest _____
Average _____
Lowest _____</p> |
| <p>V. Harmony vs. Anger
Highest _____
Average _____
Lowest _____</p> | <p>XII. Personal Moral Judgment
Highest _____
Average _____
Lowest _____</p> |
| <p>VI. Own Sociability vs. Withdrawal
Highest _____
Average _____
Lowest _____</p> | <p>XIII. Confidence vs. Feeling of Inadequacy
Highest _____
Average _____
Lowest _____</p> |
| <p>VII. Companionship vs. Being Isolated
Highest _____
Average _____
Lowest _____</p> | <p>XIV. Energy vs. Fatigue
Highest _____
Average _____
Lowest _____</p> |
| | <p>XV. Elation vs. Depression
Highest _____
Average _____
Lowest _____</p> |

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