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WOMEN AND ACHIEVEMENT: THE ROLE OF SEX STEREOTYPES IN THEORY, REALITY, AND PSYCHIC STRUCTURE

by

FAYE R. MARGOLIS

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

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Abstract

WOMEN AND ACHIEVEMENT: THE ROLE OF SEX STEREOTYPES IN THEORY, REALITY, AND PSYCHIC STRUCTURE

by

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This theoretical investigation seeks to clarify women's under-representation and achievement conflicts in traditionally male-dominated professions; despite extensive previous research, little consensus emerges about the critical issues, appropriate modes of inquiry, and interpretation of results, although women have often been portrayed as lacking both an interest in achievement and the psychological independence needed to succeed.

Central to organizing our understanding of this problem are the sex stereotypes that often arbitrarily define the behavior appropriate for each sex. These stereotypes strongly influence the major psychological theories about woman, the social realities facing women who seek careers, and the identity and self esteem of people who seek to transcend them.

If sex stereotypes have deterred women from actualizing

their potential because achievement was felt to conflict with femininity, they have also limited men's capacity for intimacy, which is perceived as unmasculine. Women may *appear* more conflicted than men in seeking to overcome their stereotyped role, especially in the pursuit of careers, but this is largely because men have little incentive to assume generally devalued "feminine" attributes. Thus, women's underachievement, so often portrayed as a flaw in their character, is better reformulated in terms of sex stereotypes, a dynamic common to both sexes.

These sex stereotypes originate during the oedipal phase, when gender identity is consolidated not only by identification with the same sex parent, but also by psychologically traumatic restrictions on behavior perceived as gender-inappropriate. As these influences filter through the moral realism of the child's preoperational mind, sex stereotypes become structuralized in the personality and highly resistant to change. In psychoanalytic terms, the stereotypes enter into the formation of the ego ideal, assuming a rigid moral meaning for the superego, no matter how much the mature ego, under the impact of legislation or education, may later endorse equal opportunity and flexible gender roles.

The way gender identity is consolidated at the oedipal period creates a narcissistic inability to love and accept in oneself behavior outside the stereotype, with each sex perceiving such behavior as "bad" and alien. As a result,

both men and women have limited success integrating "masculine" and "feminine" attributes.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The dramatic increase of women into the labor force in recent years tends to overshadow their continued under-representation in traditionally male dominated professions with potential for status, power, and monetary gain. Further, many of those women who have recently entered high status, traditionally male professions report conflicts between their newly acquired career identity and traditional feminine roles and values (Herron, 1984; Menaker, 1982; Moulton, 1981; Symonds, 1974, 1978, 1980). These conflicts have significantly diminished the pleasure gained from their hard-earned successes as well as inhibited career advancement for some. Moreover, there remains a sizable number of women whose early adult lives were occupied primarily with the traditional role of wife and mother and who, as their children have become more independent, express a desire for a career but remain too conflicted to take even preliminary steps toward this goal.

Why women have not had more success in higher status, professional and executive occupations is the subject of this investigation. A search for the answers involves complicated social and psychological factors, which have occupied social scientists for a hundred years.

Although this problem has generated extensive research and staggering amounts of data, there is little consensus about the issues to be studied, the appropriate modes of inquiry, and the interpretation of results. The vast majority of studies on women and public achievement have been highly structured experimental encounters that seem, in retrospect, myopic and premature. An example of this approach may be seen in the literally hundreds of studies on women's "fear of success." As a whole, this body of research has produced inconsistent results, in large measure because researchers proceeded to study the phenomenon from widely disparate theoretical perspectives, used approaches that had neither been standardized nor validated, and ignored the fact that the original research by Horner (1968/1969) was poorly integrated into the Atkinson-McClelland model of achievement motivation (Shaver, 1976, 1977; Tresemer, 1977). Additionally, the results of the fear of success studies were generalized from college-age students to the entire population.

The problems and lack of consensus that apply to the studies of achievement conflicts in women also apply to the studies of women with respect to power and affiliation. After reviewing the literature on women's relationship to achievement, affiliation, and power, Denmark, Tangri, and McCandless (1978) concluded:

> The field is quite chaotic, and it is

> difficult to derive solid conclusions about any of these motives in women, let alone use them as building blocks for the theoretical framework of the relationships among them. (p. 445)

The lack of consensus seems to have resulted mainly from an imperative to state general "truths" within the specialized disciplines and languages of psychology (e.g. social psychology, cognitive psychology, psychoanalysis), seeking confirming evidence while ignoring the anomalies. This approach has led to theories and more theories that cannot easily be reconciled--in part, because it is not certain that each specialty is describing the same phenomenon.

In addition, it has been a critical omission that few studies of females and achievement have considered their results in terms of the *motive to become an adult,* which undoubtedly preoccupied the vast majority of college-age experimental subjects. In other words, these studies have relied more or less exclusively on theories of child development (when there have been any theoretical underpinnings at all), with little appreciation of how later issues or adult versions of early childhood issues might play a role.

Rather than amass even more data, it seems better to reconcile what is available. This study, therefore, is an attempt to review and integrate information from a variety of sources on the major achievement issues for the adult

female. In doing so, emphasis will be placed on the deficiencies of existing models, the problems of work and love in the adult woman, and the extent to which gender identity influences the different patterns of development in both sexes.

This effort will consist of an initial historical review of women and work since the industrial revolution. Chapter 2 will critically review the major theoretical models that have guided inquiry into the problem of women's under-representation in areas of public achievement. Chapter 3 will continue the critique of the theoretical models begun in Chapter 2. Broadly, it will address the role sex stereotypes have played in the analysis of data and the construction of theory. Included in this discussion will be an analysis of the elements of stereotyping, the relationship of the female stereotype to psychopathology, and the broader function of stereotypes as seen in cultural myths about women. Chapter 4 will focus on the social and cultural realities that confront the contemporary woman who wishes a life that allows her an integration of career and relationship commitments. To illuminate this issue, it will draw upon Levinson's (1978) study of adult male development, in which career development was central, and which has been applied to women in studies by Stewart (1977) and by Taylor (1981).[1] These studies afford a unique comparison between the sexes with respect to the social supports for career

development as well as the differences in norms and pressures brought to bear on each of the sexes. Some of these include a relative absence of supporting figures, significant others who often undermine the woman's efforts at achievement, a biological clock for childbearing which ticks in opposition to career development, and a society which, at best, ambivalently sanctions her achievement strivings.

Although many women approach traditional male pursuits in ways that are different from men and less successful, it is equally true that women as a group face external constraints not normally encountered by males and therefore do not compete with them on equal terms. Moreover, when midlife males attempt to integrate "feminine" attributes, they are no more successful--and perhaps less--than women trying to mobilize "masculine" attributes needed for public achievement.

Chapter 5 continues the discussion of the timeless and ubiquitious force of sex stereotypes as seen in social institutions and adult developmental norms. Sex stereotypes have not only deterred women from actualizing their achievement potential, but have also limited men from making more intimate and enduring relational commitments that allow for "feminine" expressions of nurturance and dependency.

Unfortunately, as that chapter will document, sex stereotypes are not readily dispensed with. Efforts to

combat the constraints imposed by stereotyped gender roles through education, political action, and consciousness-raising groups have had limited success. They have failed primarily because sex stereotypes reflect long standing ideals cherished by both sexes, ideals that do not easily yield to the influence of reality. As a result, individuals often carry conflicting perceptions, consciously endorsing equal opportunities for the sexes while, at the same time, paradoxically experiencing guilt and diminished self esteem when violating sex stereotypes.

To illuminate this issue, observations that have emerged from experiments, case studies, and interviews about the violation of sex stereotypes will be described. The evidence suggests that perceived violations are often intrapsychically interpreted by both sexes as so destructive and dangerous that they must be offset through hyperconformity to one's gender-appropriate stereotype. In practice, this has resulted in women inhibiting, minimizing, compartmentalizing, and withdrawing from their successful achievements in the "male" career world. Similarly, men are apt to inhibit or withdraw from intimate relationships where their "feminine" dependency needs may be exposed.

To account for the persistence of sex stereotypes and the condemnation that arises when individuals knowingly cross their gender boundaries, Chapter 6 investigates the origins of sex stereotypes, and their relationship to gender

identity and psychic structure. To accomplish this, data from child development studies will be integrated with psychoanalytic and self psychology models. It will be shown also that the persistent appeal of the feminine stereotype derives in large part from its resemblance to the "good mother" before separation, whose ideal is cherished by both sexes. Thus, the woman who, at times, places her achievement needs above the needs of others, may unconsciously experience herself as the "bad mother" of separation and suffer condemnation from her conscience as well as a loss of identity. The chapter follows Stoller's (1977) model, which proposes two periods of gender identity development: a nonconflictual preoedipal period with no implication for stereotyped role restrictions, which is followed by the conflictual and traumatic oedipal period.

In general, it is proposed that the socially-guided consolidation of gender identity at the oedipal period is traumatic and conducive to a narcissistic disturbance in areas of functioning perceived as cross-gender. That is, the gender restrictions placed on the child result in cross-gender self representations that become defensively regarded as alien. The trauma results from gender restrictions being processed through the child's preoperational mind. The moral realism and immanent justice characteristic of preoperational thinking at the oedipal period become structuralized in the ego ideal and harsh

conscience of the superego, and the effects of the early trauma are reinforced during latency and adolescence with frequent reminders that crossing one's gender boundaries is dangerous to one's self esteem and identity.

The implacability of the superego in enforcing sex stereotypes is discussed in terms of Freud's formulations about psychic trauma at the oedipal phase. In brief, Freud said that trauma resulted in avoidance and other defenses against re-experiencing the early danger situation, "which involve permanent restrictions on further development" (1940/1964, pp. 184-185). It is proposed that when men and women cross their gender boundaries, the early trauma associated with gender consolidation is rekindled, leading to reaction formation in the form of hyperconformity to sex stereotypes.

As a result, both men and women generally have limited success integrating behavior and identifications viewed as cross-gender. If women *appear* more conflicted in their pursuit of careers, it is because they have stronger incentives to adopt socially valued "masculine" pursuits; by contrast, the difficulties that men have in cultivating intimacy, generativity, and nurturance have been obscured by the fact that they have less incentive to attempt an integration of generally devalued "feminine" attributes.

Thus, the issue of women and achievement is here redefined as an instance of how gender organizes identity,

self representations, and self esteem, a dynamic common to both sexes and not, as so often portrayed, a problem unique to women.

Historical Background

Women have always worked, but the relatively recent trend toward employment outside the home is widely recognized as a difficult and complex phenomenon, both on a personal level and for society at large.

The so-called traditional women, who devoted herself exclusively to the low-status, unpaid occupation of housewife-mother, is, in fact, not so traditional after all. Although women have nearly always had major or exclusive responsibilities in childrearing, meal preparation, housekeeping and the like, the woman who performed only these functions was relatively rare until the industrial revolution (Chodorow, 1978; LaGanga, 1984; Thompson, 1941/1974).

In the pre-industrial era, there tended to be more of an integration of such family-centered work with other, "breadwinner" employment, in which women labored at home with their husbands, children, and, often, extended family members to provide goods for their own use, for sale, or for barter (Chodorow, 1978). Thus, women's economic role more nearly equaled their husbands', except that professions with

potential for power, status, and fortune were open only to men (Epstein, 1970; Rohrbaugh, 1979).

The industrial revolution had significant effects on work and its relationship to the home and family. Increasingly, families relocated to urban centers to be near factories, where husbands soon became solely responsible for the economic support of their families. The result for women was a decline in their work roles, because industry produced more efficiently what had previously been made at home and because a smaller family size became increasingly desirable (Smith-Rosenberg & Rosenberg, 1973). In Chodorow's (1978) analysis of the impact of the industrial revolution on women's work roles, she stated that "women's emotional role in the family grew just as their economic and biological role decreased" (p. 6). At the same time, it appears that men's emotional role in the family decreased as their economic role expanded (Mehren, 1984). As women's domain increasingly became associated with the domestic sphere and men's with the public sphere, the masculine and feminine social roles became more sharply defined (Chodorow, 1978).

There were serious attempts to elevate the new status of women's work by regarding it as "domestic science and engineering" or "home economics" (Williams, 1977), but there were also signs of dissatisfaction with these roles, expressed in the nineteenth century feminist movement

(Flexner, 1968; Thompson, 1941/1974). The value of more flexible role options for women was also a thematic concern for late nineteenth century fiction writers such as Ibsen and James (Smith-Rosenberg & Rosenberg, 1973). In the expanding economy of the United States, a growing number of women wished to share in the American dream of upward social and economic mobility. Moreover, there were an increasing number of women who found themselves part of the urban poor and truly needed to support themselves (Smith-Rosenberg & Rosenberg, 1973).

Contemporary Context

Today, many of the external barriers to women's public achievement have diminished. Over the past decade and a half, there have been dramatic increases in the numbers of women who have joined the paid labor force. As of 1982, 52.3% of all women were working for pay. This percentage respresents an increase from 36.5% in 1960 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1984). The increase appears related to a number of factors, which include greater enforcement of legislation against discrimination in employment, more favorable attitudes toward the working woman, greater economic need for both spouses to work, and an increasing number of self-supporting single women (Morrisroe, 1984; Spake, 1984; Sweeney, 1984; U.S. Census Bureau, 1980).

Although the large influx of women into the paid labor force represents an important change, a close examination of the statistics reveals that the vast majority of women continue to gravitate to lower status and lower paid jobs that duplicate or are similar to the roles of wife and mother. Thus, in 1982, women accounted for 82.4% of elementary school teachers, 99.2% of secretaries, and 95.9% of housecleaners (U.S. Census Bureau, 1984). Norwood (Serrin, 1984) added that only 8 out of 1,000 employed women occupy high level executive and managerial positions, and women occupy only 3% of the boards of the thousand largest corporations listed by Fortune Magazine.

Notes

1. The studies by Stewart and by Taylor consisted of 18 case studies of white women, predominantly middle-class, and whose age ranged from 31 to 41. Additional information will be provided by Rubin's (1979) investigation of the lives of 160 white women between the ages of 35 and 54. Rubin's sample consisted of 45 percent working class, 24 percent middle-middle class, and 31 percent professional or upper-middle class. Although Rubin's research does not strictly conform to Levinson's adult developmental model, it also employed the case study method to study the life cycle and resulted in data that easily conform to that model. Their decision to include only white women was, in large measure, determined by an effort to avoid a confounding effect due to the different cultural experiences of white and black women. Rubin said that some black women within the same age range as her sample were consulted and read her manuscript. She found

> Their collective response does indeed suggest that, while similarities are to be found, many of the issues I have dealt with in this work would be experienced quite differently by black women; others, touched on only lightly here, would be central--a potentially fruitful area for comparative research. (1979, p. 218)

Chapter II

PSYCHOLOGICAL MODELS OF WOMEN AND ACHIEVEMENT

The Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Models

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the infant science of psychology directed much of its attention to the study of sex differences, with important implications for the role of women in public achievement. As women began to press for role expansion which included public achievement, men of science attempted to demonstrate why their efforts were doomed to failure (Smith-Rosenberg & Rosenberg, 1973).

To accomplish this task, many early psychologists (Ellis, 1905; Patrick, 1895; Romanes, 1887) sought to apply Darwin's theory of evolution to the study of sex differences. These investigators set out to "prove" through hundreds of experiments that the female sex had not made as much evolutionary progress as the male sex and consequently that women were incapable of the mental, emotional, and physical strain required of work in the public domain.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, a few psychologists (Hollingworth, 1914; Nevers, 1895; Wooley, 1914) sharply criticized the design, methods, and interpretation of these experiments. They also pointed out

that social pressures for women to enter the profession of wife and mother essentially precluded any fair test of women's ability to make their mark in the public sphere. As Hollingworth (1914) put it, "Eminent housekeepers and eminent mothers as such do not exist" (p. 524).

The evolution-based theory of female inferiority eventually was abandoned, though not because of the criticisms just mentioned. Its theme of female deficiency was carried on in the new, psychoanalytic model that was beginning to emerge (cf. Shields, 1975).

The Freudian Model

The late nineteenth and early twentieth century views of women were derived from a Victorian society that held strongly to patriarchal values and favored a sharp division between the sexes (Mitchell, 1974; Janeway, 1974; Mead, 1974).

This was the same culture that nurtured Sigmund Freud's views of women. Early in his life, Freud, too, believed that women's abilities and personalities were the opposite of men's and were best suited to the roles of housewife and mother (Jones, 1953). Although he speculated that changes in childrearing possibly could lead to some women achieving parity in performance with men in public work, he concluded that this could be accomplished only at the cost of a

woman's feminine character. Moreover, he held to the belief "that all reforming action and education would break down in front of the fact that, long before the age at which a man can earn a position in society, Nature has determined a woman's destiny through beauty, charm, and sweetness" (Jones, 1953, p. 176).

These personally held views found formal expression much later in Freud's papers on female psychosexual development (1925/1961, 1931/1961, 1933/1964a). In the earliest of these papers, Freud (1925/1961) attempted to answer the question of what motivated the female child to negotiate the oedipus complex, given that she lacked a penis and, therefore, castration anxiety. His answer was that the female oedipus complex was set in motion by the girl's "momentous discover" (1925/1961, p. 252) of her "original sexual inferiority" (1933/1964a, p. 132), that is, her lack of a phallus. But unlike the boy, the little girl could rarely achieve an adequate resolution of the oedipus complex.

In the main, resolution was opposed by two difficult tasks not encountered by the male child. The first of these was the necessity of renouncing the active masculine mode associated with clitoral masturbation in favor of the passive feminine one associated with vaginal receptivity. The second task required a transfer of love to the father from the now devalued ("castrated") mother. According to

the theory, the motivation for this change in love objects consisted largely of the little girl's desire to regain her "lost" penis. Freud believed that most females never recovered from their "castration shock" and that much of their mental lives was consumed by penis envy and associated character traits such as jealousy, vanity, and shame (1931/1961, 1933/1964a).

Inadequate oedipal resolution had dire implications for women's potential to engage in publicly achieving activities. In as much as superego and ego development were dependent on adequate oedipal resolution, Freud deduced that women were deficient in these structures. Thus even the normal woman was possessed of a lesser sense of justice and ability to reason logically (1925/1961), had weaker cultural interests, and was less able to sublimate instincts (1933/1964a).

Freud also described two pathological outcomes to female development. In the first, the female repressed all sexuality in reaction to her "castration" and the news that she could not compete successfully with males (1931/1961). In the second case, the female refused to accept her feminine fate, clung to the active mode, and developed what Freud called the "masculine complex" (1925/1961, 1933/1964a). This concept appeared to cover a wide range of phenomena, which included psychotic denial of the missing penis (1925/1961), homosexuality (1931/1961), and to a

lesser degree, the pleasure gained from giving birth to a male child (1933/1964). The extreme penis envy of the masculine complex was also responsible for "the literary strivings and the literary productions of 'emancipated' women" (1918/1957, p. 205) and, by implication, for all female professional efforts.

Helene Deutsch (1944) whose work on female development was largely in the tradition of Freud, related the "masculinity complex" more specifically to women whose career interests deviated from the traditional feminine role. In this group, she included the intellectual woman, the dual career woman, and the prostitute. In Deutsch's view, the pursuit of traditional masculine goals could rarely be accomplished without seriously sacrificing a woman's femininity. In her discussion of the intellectual woman, she stated that this woman abandoned her feminine "gift" of intuition for an objective, masculine approach to knowledge "against which women can rarely compete" (p. 291). The result was that "warm intuitive knowledge has yielded to cold unproductive thinking" (p. 291).

Although Deutsch made some provision for nonneurotic functioning for the dual career woman, it was an ideal rarely actualized because the "stronger demands are made either upon the affective-feminine life or on the masculine efficiency" (p. 297).

Like Eve who was created from Adam's rib, the Freudian

model of woman explains her psychological existence not in its own terms, but as derivative of male concerns with castration anxiety. The theory is constructed in such a way that no woman who transcends the prescribed feminine role can ever be considered normal.

The Neo-Freudian Model

The first major opposition to the orthodox Freudian view of women came from those who became known variously as the Neo-Freudians, culturalists or revisionists. These individuals broke away from the classical tradition to argue for an approach which favored more interpersonal and cultural factors, as opposed to intrapsychic and biological ones (Hall & Lindsay, 1970; Munroe, 1955). In regard to women, they objected to the psychoanalytic view that depicted women as biologically inferior to men and incapable of the same levels of achievement. They tried to recast women's development in terms of how societal attitudes and childbearing practices interfered with women's pursuit of public achievement.

This group tended to see personality development more in terms of opportunities to master the environment, rather than in terms of mastering the instincts (Horney, 1939/1973; Schultz, 1975). Horney, in particular, criticized as a male bias the Freudian view that female development was largely

an attempt to compensate for the absence of a penis (Horney, 1926/1974).

The Neo-Freudians argued that training for the traditional female role restricted the child's range of opportunities for mastery, resulting in impoverished experience of the wider world, feelings of inadequacy, and, often, neurotic symptomology (Adler, 1927/1973; Moulton, 1974; Thompson, 1942/1973).

Although the Neo-Freudians made important steps toward recognizing the influence of social factors, women nonetheless continue to appear pathological in their theories, though now for social, rather than biological reasons. The traditional feminine role of marriage and motherhood tended to be viewed as a defense against anxiety associated with self assertion and independent achievement (Horney, 1926/1974); as an "emergency exit" from life (Adler, 1927/1973, p. 41), or as a choice made out of ignorance of the realities of marriage and motherhood (Thompson, 1941/1974, 1942/1973). Conversely, a woman who rejected the traditional feminine role or subordinated it to public achievement was usually portrayed as defending against the intimacy of marriage and motherhood (Horney, 1926/1974). It seems that regardless of which role a woman chose, defensive avoidance of some other role was the suspected motivation. Only Thompson (1941/1974) allowed that it could be normal for a woman to choose the

traditional feminine role or to combine career with intimate relationships, though she admitted that the latter was rare, and even rarer when it included motherhood.

In addition to portraying women as most often pathological in their development, the Neo-Freudian view of women's achievement, suffers from an overreliance on social factors, with too little emphasis on how these are internalized and on more strictly intrapsychic considerations (Chodorow, 1978; Hall & Lindsay, 1970; Schultz, 1975). As Chodorow stated, this school of thought neglects the mediating intrapsychic processes (identifications, defenses, fantasies, etc.) which creatively inform the meanings of the social realities.

The Achievement Motivation Models

Following World War II, the topic of achievement motivation was extensively studied by McClelland, Atkinson, and other investigators (McClelland, Atkinson, Clark, & Lowell, 1953). Biological determinism had no place in their formulations, which attributed sex differences in achievement to differential sex-role socialization. The model's experimental approach, mathematical formulas, and intellectual underpinnings in social learning theory gave a scientific credibility to the investigators' reports that achievement was simply not a significant component of the

female sex role, and that whatever motives women did have to achieve were largely in the service of winning the approval of others (affiliation). Men, by contrast were said to be motivated to achieve by virtue of their intelligence and leadership.

The scientific credibility of these conclusions is open to question, however, inasmuch as the experimental procedures were standardized and validated on male subjects only (Denmark et al, 1978), but then applied to both sexes. Thus, it is not surprising that males scored higher on achievement than females, who, after about 1963, were systematically excluded from achievement motivation studies.

In addition, although the achievemnt motivation researchers examined motives to achieve and affiliate, as well as motives to *avoid* achievement, they did not attempt to measure motives to avoid affiliation (Denmark et al., 1978), on which males might have been expected to score much higher than females. As long as the Atkinson-McClelland model was concerned only with achievement motives, the omission of a variable like "motive to avoid affiliation" might not be a serious problem. But once an affiliative motive was found important (in women), a balanced experimental design would have required that it be studied in both sexes, in both its positive and negative forms, as was done with the achievement motive. Constructed as they

were, however, the studies of achevement and affiliation gave a distorted picture of the personalties of both sexes, emphasizing women's achievement difficulties while obscuring men's problems in the area of intimacy and nurturance.

Matina Horner (1968/1969) challenged the view that women were concerned only with affiliation, and not achievement. Instead, she maintianed that many women *did* want to achieve, but were conflicted about doing so, especially in traditionally male-dominated professions. Horner called this conflict "fear of success" which she used to explain why many high achieving female college students modified or abandoned their career plans as their graduations drew near.

The female was seen to have internalized a sex role stereotype that made competition and its aggressive overtones a threat to her femininity by provoking male disapproval and rejection. In addition, many successful female college students were thought to be motivated by maternal demands for academic excellence, which, as graduation approached, shifted to pressure toward marriage and motherhood. By implication, the approval of male peers and mothers weighed more heavily on women than autonomous career motives.

Horner's work, completed at the height of the feminist movement, provided preliminary support for her thesis and generated hundreds of modified replications in an effort to

confirm the theory and to indentify other variables associated with the fear of success phenomenon.

Unfortunately, there were major methodological problems with these experiments. "Fear of success" was so global a concept that it lent itself to being operationalized in numerous ways, undermining the construct validity of the concept and making comparisons between studies problematic. Overall, the fear of success studies did not even consistently show that women were more prone to fear of success than men, nor did they succeed in identifying further variables that could be predicted from fear of success scores (Shaver, 1976; Tresemer, 1977). As Shaver summarized this body of work,

> For every study showing a relationship between fear of success and a specific variable, be it gender, performance, sex-role traditionalism, nature of the competitive situation, etc., another study can be found with contradictory results. (1977, p. 9)

Although Horner's premise--that women do indeed want to achieve, but are conflicted about doing so--may well have had merit, it was obscured by these methodological problems and inconsistent results.

Although the experimental data in achievement studies sparked by McClelland and Horner are probably not consistent enough even to justify the narrow conclusion that women were more highly motivated by affiliative issues than by achievement, some investigators have made remarkable leaps

of inference from the nature of social pressures on women to the nature of the female personality.

Interpreting the fear of success literature, for example, some authors have described the woman who compromises her career goals because of maternal or heterosexual disapproval as evidencing inadequately developed internal autonomy (Bardwick, 1971; Hoffman, 1972/1975; Porjesz, 1974). Women who postpone careers in favor of the affiliative roles of wife and mother or who seek careers in traditionally feminine professions are thought to possess personalities lacking in independence simply by virtue of these career decisions.

According to Porchesz, the characteristics of the high achiever belong to the "competency cluster" (p. 58) associated with males and the positive masculine stereotype; independence, high standards of excellence, realistic and well-articulated goals and evaluative criteria. By contrast, women who fear success are assumed to be motivated by the external approval of others and to possess attributes of the feminine "warmth-expressive" cluster (p. 58), which include positive characteristics such as interpersonal sensitivity and aesthetic interests. By themselves, these formulations could well reflect differential sex-role socialization, implying nothing about other personality characteristics. But Porjesz proceeded to equate affiliation with a host of research findings mentioned by

Maccoby (1966) to the effect "that females are more passive, conforming, suggestible and dependent upon the approval of others, and that their interests lie predominantly in the social aspects of a given situation" (p. 58). While it may be the case that persons who are inclined to be "passive, conforming, suggestible and dependent" will have a greater tendency to affiliate, it hardly follows that affiliation in general implies the presence of the same traits. Nor can a relatively greater tendency to affiliate be equated with an interest that is *predominantly* "in the social aspects of a given situation."

Such unsubstantiated conclusions are not confined to the fear of success literature, but are widespread in the larger body of experimentally-based achievement studies. Bardwick (1971), for example, concluded from data suggesting that women's achievements are dependent on the approval of others that "girls are *characteristically* more dependent...than boys" (p. 121, emphasis added). Moreover, as boys develop and become more independent, girls remain dependent, resulting in relationships characterized by "early kinds of dependency interactions" that are "usually accompanied by conformity and passivity since they all originate from the lack of an independent esteem" (p. 121). Thus Bardwick inferred that the female's tendency to gravitate to more interpersonal and traditionally female roles results not only from the positive social sanctions

given to those roles, but also from unresolved childhood needs from which women, as contrasted with men, have not extricated themselves.

To take one final example, Hoffman concluded that women's "excessive affiliative needs" have a "compelling neurotic quality" (1972/1975, p. 743). They are, therefore, motivated toward marriage, motherhood, and traditionally female careers in order to gratify their allegedly greater dependency needs and to shelter themselves from the wider world of male achievement, which is assumed to require more independent initiative and fortitude.

From experimental findings that at most support a stronger affiliative motive in women and a stronger achievement motive in men, in both cases the result of different emphasis in sex role socialization, how can one then brand women's affiliative needs as "excessive" and pathological, replace social reinforcement for traditional occupational choices with purportedly "neurotic" motives, and finally, neglecting the social pressure on men to assume the role of breadwinner or "go-getter," attribute their differential performance to a self-generating achievement motive that reflects a more mature level of development?

On the basis of the data, it would be just as plausible to assume that men's achievement motives are excessive, reflecting a pathological need to achieve in order to compensate for a lack of "independent esteem."

It is almost as if the social learning model were more applicable to women than men, that is, that women are subject to social influence (affiliation) regarding their behavior by virtue of their inadequate development, while men are internally motivated. The more conservative (and more neutral) hypothesis that men are socialized toward achievement and women toward affiliative connections is thus abandoned and replaced with a more speculative and biased view that places men beyond the influence of social approval or disapproval and sees the social factors that shape female behavior as significant, not in themselves, but because of some greater "need" to obtain approval and avoid disapproval.

The foregoing review raises a number of complicated questions having to do with methodology, the interpretation of equivocal data, and the extent to which a theoretical orientation is subject to bias arising from widely-held cultural stereotypes. But most relevant to this investigation is simply the issue of whether women achieve or fail to achieve because of extrinsic motives to win love and approval, while males achieve or fail to achieve because of internal motives involving excellence, mastery, and the like.

In one experimental study addressing this question, Kagan and Moss (cited in Denmark et al., 1978) found that males' achievement motivation was indeed influenced by

social factors such as recognition and status considerations.

More generally, Denmark et al. (1978) and Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) found the empirical evidence to be at best inconclusive for the hypothesis that females achieve to win praise and approval, whereas males are more motivated by the intrinsic value of the task. In fact, in their analysis of studies to assess the effects of reinforcement on achievement strivings, Maccoby and Jacklin found that until the age of six, female subjects exhibited more "autonomous achievement strivings" than males (p. 138). At later ages, they found the evidence of differences between males and females in achievement motivation to be "thin and inconsistent" (p. 137).

This position by Maccoby represents a retraction of her earlier view in 1966. Previously, she had concluded that poorer performance by girls on certain intellectual tasks was due to their greater affiliative concerns and the ease with which they were distracted by interpersonal cues associated with their greater dependency. Reversing herself eight years later Maccoby stated that "there is now good reason to doubt that girls are more 'dependent' in almost any sense of the word, than boys" (p. 132); she faulted her 1966 report regarding females greater dependency needs and their greater affiliative concerns because it

> began by *assuming* the existence of certain

> sex differences in intellectual performance that have not turned out to be consistently present; it then attempted to explain these on the basis of personality differences that have also proved to be more myth than reality. In this view, the senior author can do little more than beg the reader's indulgence for previous sins. (p. 133, emphasis added)

To summarize, the achievement motivation model has attempted to account for women's lesser public achievement by postulating a more powerful affiliative motive and even a more limited degree of autonomous personality development, while assuming that men's greater public achievements derive from their greater independence and internal motives for mastery. Such explanations go far beyond the actual experimental evidence and, at times, contradict it.

The Contemporary Psychoanalytic & Object Relations Model

Like those who have studied achievement motivation, comtemporary psychoanalytic and object relations theorists have also related women's achievement conflicts to their greater dependency as compared to men. Generally, they believe that little girls tend not to develop the independent identity necessary for negotiating the oedipal phase, with consequent failures later in life in the areas of competition, career choice, and commitment (Bergman, M., 1982; Chodorow, 1978; Eichenbaum & Orbach, 1983a; Krueger,

1984; Lerner, 1982; Lebe, 1982; Moulton, 1981).

But unlike the social learning theorists, who tend to give equal weight to all periods of child development, these investigators have focused closely on the females's preoedipal development, and especially on personality differences arising out of the first awareness of sex differences, which has been traced back as early as 16 to 22 months of age (Galenson & Roiphe, 1977; Mahler, Pine, & Bergman, 1975). This preoedipal emphasis is in keeping with Freud's recommendation (1933) that to understand the female's development and her relationship to the oedipal stage, it is necessary to investigate her earlier life more closely.

Preoedipal sex differences are most often evaluated within the framework of separation-individuation theory (Mahler et al., 1975). According to that theory, a beginning awareness of sex differences at age 16 months or so is closely followed by the rapprochement subphase (18-22 months), which optimally culminates in the child's greater acceptance of separateness and individuality. The little boy's discovery that he and his mother are anatomically different is seen as aiding his separation-individuation, while the little girl's discovery that she and her mother lack a penis is thought to make her separation-individuation problematic because it fosters the idea that mother and daughter are the same. Lacking a penis also makes the girl

vulnerable to castration shock and penis envy, exacerbating the expectable fears of object loss during this period and intensifying ambivalence toward the mother, both of which make it more difficult for the female child to resolve the rappochement crisis and acquire the optimal degree of psychological separation (Bergman, A., 1982; Galenson & Roiphe, 1977; Mahler et al., 1975).

Of course, the outcome of this separation-individuation process depends also on the mother's actual personality integration, her attitudes toward her own sex, her ability to tolerate devaluation and ambivalence by her daughter, as well as on the role of the father, his availability, and his attitudes toward females (Bergman, M., 1982; Krueger, 1984; Lachman, 1982a, 1982b; Mahler et al., 1975; Silverman, 1982).

But those who follow the object relations view frequently find little in the behavior of the mother that fosters individuation in her female offspring. She is likely to tolerate and promote autonomy in her sons more readily than in her daughters. As Chodorow put it,

> mothers tend to experience their daughters as more like, and continuous with themselves. Correspondingly, girls tend to remain part of the dyadic primary mother-daughter relationship itself. This means that a girl continues to experience herself as involved in issues of merging and separation, and in an attachment characterized by *primary identification* and the fusion of identification and object choice. (p. 166, emphasis added)

Similarly, in another passage she wrote:

> As long as women mother, we can expect that a girl's preoedipal period will be longer than that of a boy and that women, more than men, will be more open to and preoccupied with those very relational issues that go into mothering - feelings of *primary identification*, lack of separateness or differentiation, ego and body-ego boundary issues and primary love not under the sway of the reality principle. (p. 110 emphasis added)

Chodorow stated that most females are "cognitively" differentiated from others. "In relation to their mothers, however (and similarly, the mother in relation to her daughters), they experience themselves as overly attached, unindividuated, and without boundaries" (p. 137). Along similar lines, Rubin (1979) suggested that many women may be more prone to borderline pathology. She said

> My own clinical observations suggest also that there may well be more women who meet the classical borderline definition precisely because of their early and more difficult problem in separating from mother--a problem...that arises because the primary parent and survival figure is of the same gender...and that sameness means that both mother and daughter are less able to distinguish the boundaries between self and other, making it extremely difficult for the infant daughter to take the necessary steps toward individuation and autonomy. (p. 252)

For a variety of reasons, then, the female is thought to lack the ability to separate and individuate sufficiently to develop *secondary identifications*, where by selected aspects of the mother and father are represented intrapsychically. These secondary internalizations,

buttressed by the libidinal object constancy acquired in the last subphase of the separation-individuation process, normally allow the child to loosen its ties to the mother and to maintain a stable and positive sense of self across situations (Hinsie & Campbell, 1970; Mahler et al., 1975; Jacobson, 1964). In the case of the little girl, however, the implication is that she may not reach object constancy, may lack an internalized, differentiated object world, may not be able to maintain a purely internal equilibrium, and must supplement her internal structure with external objects in the form of her mother or maternal substitutes.

As applied to achievement issues, object relations theory suggests that the female child's problems in pursuing public careers reflect her need to remain in a primary identification with her mother. That is, without her mother or a mother substitute, the female's psychological existence becomes threatened should she pursue the more impersonal world of public achievement. Instead, she has been seen to shore up her precarious sense of self by exchanging the dependency bond from mother to husband, by entering traditionally feminine careers that offer nurturing roles similar to mothering, or becoming a mother herself in an effort to recreate vicariously the early mother-child union and minimize object loss. Lebe, for example, wrote that the incompleteness of women's separation and oedipal resolution is "a reason for fewer original discoveries and creative

contributions by women than by men during the course of history" (1982, p. 72).

The object relations view of early female development has sometimes been cited as an advance over classical psychoanalytic theory, according to which the girl's absence of a penis indicates a constitutional inferiority and the development of a female identity is a secondary or compensatory reaction to castration shock (Mendell, 1982; Stoller, 1968; Schafer, 1974). The newer theory avoids such a blatantly phallocentric view, but presents an equally devastating picture of female development.

To be sure, female identity is no longer seen as derivative of male identity; a sense of femaleness is regarded as primary and arising very early in life (Bergman, A., 1982; Galenson & Roiphe, 1977; Mahler et al, 1975; Parens, Pollack, Stern, & Kramer, 1977; Stoller, 1977). But this early female identity prevents the girl from gathering enough distance from her mother to individuate, integrate secondary identifications from both parents, and reach an oedipal resolution at an appropiate age. Nor does the object relations view dispense with the importance assigned to castration issues, which are now thought to obstruct the separation-individuation process and inaugurate lifelong problems with depression (Bergman, A., 1982; Mahler et al, 1975), self esteem maintenance (Applegarth, 1977; Silverman, 1982), and competition and achievement (Applegarth, 1977;

Bergman, M., 1982; Lebe, 1982; Lerner, 1977).

Indeed, the classical Freudian view offered some advantages to the little girl now no longer believed possible. Freud portrayed her development as less troubled and more parallel to the male's until the oedipal stage, when she discovered her "castration" and was obliged to give up her masculine strivings and identifications. The current view places her castration reactions at an earlier and more vulnerable age than Freud postulated and strongly suggests that her preoedipal failures in development may prevent her from making identifications beyond the primary maternal ones that leave her unable to individuate, much less navigate oedipal issues of competition, assertion, and achievement. Now, too, there is a mother who is liable to fail in making the necessary distinction between her daughter and herself and to react ambivalently to her daughter's efforts to separate.

The current view, however, is open to a number of criticisms and qualifications:

The Quality of the Evidence: In nearly all of the cases chosen to illustrate the role of castration shock and penis envy in obstructing the separation-individuation process and oedipal resolution, Mahler et al (1975) and Bergman (1982) relied on evidence contaminated by other factors. The majority of these children experienced precipitous separations, underwent treatment for genital infections, or

had surgery at about the same period they became aware of anatomical differences. And all of their mothers were intolerant of or depressed in the wake of their daughters' efforts to separate. Thus, the independent effects of sex differences, early traumata, and maternal obstacles to psychological growth can only be guessed at. Nor, given that the quality of mothering is itself a focus of object relations theory, it it clear how representative these mothers were.

A second major psychoanalytic research group frequently cited in the literature is Galenson and Roiphe (1977). They, too, emphasized the importance of the discovery of sex differences, calling it "the turning point" (p. 47) in the girl's growth. Castration shock, they believed, led to a "basic depressive mood" (p. 48) in extreme cases and "expressions of sadness" (p. 48) in milder cases. In addition, they noted a diminishment or abandonment of masturbation [1] and a preference for crayons and pencils in defensive attempts to cope with "castration fantasies" and "renewed fears of object loss and self annihilation" (p. 49).

Methodological problems loom large in Galenson and Roiphe's research. Although they attempted to gain a *normative* understanding, their sample was deliberately biased by selecting for inclusion at least two children per year "who sustained, during the first year of life, either

some important trauma to the developing body image, such as serious illness and surgical procedures, or had suffered a serious disturbance in the mother-child relationship, due to such factors as prolonged separations or depression in the mother" (p. 33).

Their research, then, was confounded in ways similar to that of Mahler et al. Did they describe castration shock resulting from the discovery of sex differences, or was it a disturbance of body ego resulting from the traumata just mentioned?

Other methodological problems extend beyond the sample selection, as Formanek has pointed out:

> It is unclear, for example, how they established that only little girls asked for their father's pens. Did they observe it? Did they ask the parents? What were the questions? Did the boys reach for anything? Did the mothers have pens? (1982, p. 14; cf. Fliegal, 1982).

There may indeed be a crippling amount of castration shock in some females, with lifelong consequences. There may even be a universal experience of castration reactions, with great or small implications for later life achievement. But unless cases are presented without the confounding effects of other variables, the effects of castration shock per se will remain equivocal. Moreover, without comparisons of this phenomenon to the equivalent castration anxiety in males, there is no way of knowing whether castration shock in females interferes with the

separation-individuation process any more than does castration anxiety in males.

The Role of the Penis: In the psychoanalytic and object relations view, the penis means only one thing for each sex; for the boy, an aid to individuation; for the girl, a dificiency that impedes it. There can be no dispute about the *fact* that the boy's penis differentiates him from his mother, but the biological differences do not translate so simply into discrete psychological patterns. It is the hallmark of the rapprochement subphase that the child is ambivalent about separation (Mahler et al., 1975) sometimes seeking it, sometimes fleeing from it, always with a goal of finding a comfortable balance. If the boy's penis assists him in distancing himself psychologically from mother, it is also a reminder of his difference at those times when he would prefer to remain in her orbit -- in other words, a potential source of conflict. Conceivably, the boy's discovery of anatomical differences could also be precocious, arriving at a point in his life when he is not yet ready to renounce his primary identification with the mother, and making the discovery a traumatic one that interferes with individuation. Likewise, for the girl, if her lack of a penis provides her with an additional reason for remaining "the same" as the mother, their anatomical similarities offer a potential source of reassurance when her ventures into independence have momentarily carried her

too far and aroused separation anxiety.

These arguments are, of course, speculative, but they are entirely consistent with separation-individuation theory, and they illustrate the one-sided fashion with which that theory has been applied to the study of sex differences during the preoedipal period. Less speculative and often overlooked in the object relations research is that children of both sexes have many more ways to distinguish themselves from the mother than by their sex organs.

Identification and Individuation. The object relations model portrays women as insufficiently individuated from their mothers and sees in their adult relationships an effort to secure substitute gratification for the original mother-daughter bond. In reaching this conclusion, however, the issues of identification and individuation become blurred. That women identify more with their mothers than with their fathers is hardly evidence for a lack of individuation, any more than the fact that males identify more with their fathers is proof of individuation. Similarly, it would be a dangerous oversimplification to suggest that the less a woman is like her mother, the healthier the degree of her individuation. Maternal identifications, by themselves, indicate little or nothing about the ego development necessary for the maintenance of adequate self-other differentiation. Likewise, it seems unwarranted to assume that primary identifications cannot be

transcended within the context of the mother-daughter dyad. Here, as so often in the literature reviewed above, there appears to be an underlying androcentric bias; because it would be disastrous for the little boy's development not to renounce primary maternal identifications and relace them with secondary, predominantly paternal identifications, it must be equally disastrous for the little girl, who lacks access to this avenue of resolution and who must, by this logic, be unable to maintain any bond with her mother other than the original one with the omnipotent preoedipal imago.

The issue is not whether women as a group are less individuated than men. Rather, discussions about the *degree* of individuation only make sense within the context of the *kind* of individuation appropriate for each sex. That is, it can be meaningful to ask whether one woman (or man) is more or less individuated than another woman (or man), but quantitative comparisons between the sexes are inevitably confounded by the way gender consolidation during the oedipal phase requires of males a greater renunciation of maternal identifications. Female individuation follows a more continuous and male individuation a more discontinuous line of development, with important implications for the kind (but not the degree) of individuation in each case. Crucial to the resolution of the separation-individuation process is not how much of mother is left in the adult, but to what extent intimacy between a well-differentiated self

and object has relaced narcissistic object relations.

It may be that the typical failure in individuation for a female involves, in Mahler et al.'s terminology, lingering wishes for "shadowing" or "refueling": the typical failure for the male may lie in continuing fear of reengulfment, along with defensive "warding off" and "darting away" (1975, p. 77). Both of these failures arise from intrapsychic developments at the same stage, even if the latter superficially resembles successful individuation. But surely no one would argue that the woman whose wishes for merger lead her to confuse her own needs with those of her infant is any less individuated than the man whose fears of regression and intimacy prevent him from relating to the same infant with any empathy or warmth. In neither case has individuation been fully accomplished, in part because the continuity of female development has left her closer to shared experiences with mother, while the shift in identifications required of the male has had to be assisted by defensive splitting and disavowal of maternally-derived self representations.

The "Normal" Woman. A further problem with the object relations view of female preoedipal problems is that it places females as a group on a developmental trajectory indistinguishable from that of a personality disorder. Inadequate negotiation of the phase-specific tasks of the preoedipal period has been linked consistently to serious

psychopathology; the earlier the onset of difficulty, the graver the disturbance (Chessick, 1977; Hartocollis, 1977; Kaplan & Mahler, 1977; Kernberg, 1975, 1976; Masterson, 1976, 1978; Rinseley, 1977). To say that separation issues are more common in women is, therefore, to predict that they are more prone to fixation at an earlier level. Do researchers really want to take this position? That is, do they really want to say that the typical woman is a narcissistic or borderline personality disorder?

In some cases, at least, that is clearly not the intent. Chodorow (1978), for example, believed that women were successful at mothering and capable of greater intimacy and empathy as compared with men. But she also described women as, for the most part, unable to resolve the separation-individuation process in the first few years of life and motivated to become mothers (instead of pursuing careers) by the need to recreate a symbiotic fusion and avoid independent functioning. Given the clear implications of disturbances in separation-individuation, it is this investigator's conclusion the Chodorow's view of women as "preoccupied" with preoedipal issues requires women to be classified as borderline or narcissistic personality disorders. Compare, for example, the object relations view of the female with the following description of the borderline personality disorder by Sarwer-Foner (1977):

> These patients cannot function independently

> over time; they cannot function alone. They must always symbolically to re-create this symbiotic fusion (p. 347)....[these patients] have not adequately worked out their adult separateness ...in terms of Mahler's separation-individuation stages (p. 348). [They suffer from a] feeling of incompleteness [which] stems from very early roots in that whatever they felt they were able to integrate into their ego, superego, and the concept of self at the completion of the Oedipus complex, somehow does not complete their individuation (p. 349). [With respect to achievement,] the majority of borderline patients lead restricted lives; do not achieve their full potentials; aspire to be many things but somehow fail in their achievement. They develop depressive, ruminative, oscillating, obsessional states with marked inhibition to succeeding or completing a task; to being an adult individual, to being able to stand on their own; but they have little difficulty in being a childlike person. (p. 348)

Individuation and Achievement. It would be a vast oversimplification to suggest that the presence or absence of achievement in the public sphere is closely related to how well the separation-individuation process was resolved. Male achievement does not necessarily grow out of the adequacy of his individuation any more than the female's choice of more relational interpersonal occupations (including housewife) reflect the inadequacy of her individuation. If there are women whose preoedipal development restricts them to the most traditional female roles, there are also men for whom work is a flight from intimacy, a counterdependent effort to deny the need for nurturing by a mother figure, a way defensively to overcome infantile feelings of helplessness engendered by untempered

fantasies of the omnipotent preoedipal mother, a way to merge with mother in the security of a large bureaucracy, and the price that must be paid in order to secure the affection of the wife-mother at home (cf. Chodorow, 1977).

Achievement in the public sphere, then, is no guarantee of success in the consolidating process of individuation and the establishment of an intact and secure sense of self. It is true, however, that the nature of the preoedipal resolution differs for each sex, and that the differences interact with their typical occupational roles, resulting in different strengths and weaknesses for each sex. Thus, errors by women in the direction of fusing self-other boundaries can reflect unresolved individuation problems in the particular context of roles requiring intimate contact with others and where the major goal is caretaking. Conversely, errors by men in the direction of aggression and insensitivity to others can reflect defensively resolved individuation issues in the particular context of occupational roles where intimacy may be an obstacle to the success of an impersonal task. In a sense, these lapses by both sexes are a kind of occupational hazard resulting from the way labor has been divided between them.

Preoedipal Development in Context. The preoedipal life of the little girl is one chapter in her development, not the whole story. It cannot be made to explain her gender identity in full, nor her subsequent occupational choices.

Even within the narrowest intrapsychic scope of psychoanalysis, later vicissitudes appearing in the oedipal phase, in latency, in puberty and beyond will be important, at the very least as a check on the validity of inferred preoedipal concerns. The nearly exclusive focus of object relations theorists on the preoedipal phase, however, tends to make such further inquiries seem unnecessary. It is as if the suspected separation-individuation problems foreclose all opportunities for further growth and take precedence over all other issues.

In addition, the way reality is internalized in relation to gender and identity is a larger issue than the girl's discovery that, like her mother, she lacks a penis. Sex-based discrimination and social sanctions for violating prescribed sex role behavior, for example, are real occurrences, with implications for the way self representations are structured and for the dynamic operation of the ego ideal and conscience.

Specifically in relation to achievement, concepts such as conflict, ego strength, and the quality of adaptation cannot be developed independently of the woman's social context, including realistic opportunities and obstacles as compared with men.

Obviously, all such issues cannot be reduced to problems in separation and individuation. But, just as surgery and other traumata in infancy have been seen only as

exacerbating separation-individuation problems rather than as independent influences on early development, the realities of later life have been slighted by construing them as relevant only in relation the the "real" preoedipal issues. Thus, Lebe (1982) evaluated adult socialization experiences for women only as they facilitated a loosening of the preoedipal mother-daughter bond, and Oliner (1982) tended to see female patients' reference to cultural factors in relation to the achievement failures as smokescreens to cover preoedipal mother-daughter struggles.

In summary, the object relations' view that female preoedipal development, as compared to male, is more problematic in terms of separation-individuation has been examined and found wanting. It's infant observational data were contaminated by the selection methods and were collected without employing a male reference group for comparison. Too great an emphasis has been placed on the role of the penis as an aid to separation-individuation, without considering its possible role in increasing ambivalence about separation. Identification and individuation have been confused in the theory, implying that maternal identifications are an obstacle to individuation and ignoring the unique set of individuation problems associated with male development. And a portrait of normative female development has emerged that cannot be distinguished from character disorders.

In the particular area of female achievement, object relations theorists have relied too heavily on preoedipal explanations, again failing to make comparisons with males and disregarding later phases of development and realistic obstacles to achievement. Like each discipline's specialized approach to understanding the problem of female achievement, the object relations view has tried to explain the whole problem while holding only some of the answers. Thus the social psychologists tend to enumerate factors in the environment antagonistic to female achievement (e.g. a lack of role models and social supports, blatant discrimination), mentioning only as an after-thought that these are somehow "internalized." Similarly, psychoanalytic investigators steep themselves in intrapsychic issues, with at most a nod to social realities that interfere with women's pursuit of success in the public sphere. The lack of an interdisciplinary approach with a true cross-fertilization of ideas continues to be a major obstacle to more complete understanding.

Notes

1. Mahler et al. (1975) reported increased masturbation in girls as evidence of castration shock.

Chapter III

THE ROLE OF SEX STEREOTYPES IN THEORY

A hundred years of studying and analyzing the topic of women and public achievement have produced a variety of methodological approaches and a variety of explanations. By and large, these models support the traditional division of labor in which public achievement is assigned to the male sex and the work of women is limited to the nurturing of others and the maintenance of domestic harmony. Having set out to discover psychological truths about men and women, these theorists and researchers have instead succeeded in proving the extraordinary persistance and ubiquity of sex stereotyping. Comparisions of the evolutionary and Freudian models with contemporary views indicate that the explanations have changed, but the stereotypes of the normal man and woman have not altered in any appreciable way (cf. Shields, 1975).

Although these stereotypes do have some relationship to actual male and female behavior, they go far beyond the available evidence of sex differences. People often violate the stereotypes, even in those occupations traditionally seen as gender typed. Spence and Helmreich (1978) have noted that the public sphere of work no longer places a premium on male dominance, physical strength or aggression.

Rather, success within a bureaucratic or institutional setting requires cooperative as well as competitive interpersonal skills. Similarly, the traditional female sphere of home and family cannot be effectively managed by emotional sensitivity alone, but calls for a variety of instrumental skills to rear children and manage households effectively. Such information may ultimately influence how social scientists (and the general public) think of male and female characteristics, but the persistence of stereotyping suggests that it cannot be overcome by information alone.

Sex Role Stereotypes: Descriptive or Prescriptive?

If stereotypes account for our theories of women and achievement, then what is urgently needed is a theory to account for our stereotypes. In a lengthy review of the literature on sex differences, Spence and Helmreich (1978) have noted some of the characteristics of stereotyped views of masculinity and femininity that have guided much of the social science research on the topic of sex differences. These include a *polarization* of sex roles, a *prescribed* mode of behavior based on these polarized norms, and a tendency to equate the narrow stereotype with a complete identity--a kind of psychological *metonomy*. Each of these will be discussed in more detail below.

Polarization. A polarized view of masculine and feminine

attributes perceives them as mutually exclusive, with little or no overlap.

> Women, for example, are often described not only as interpersonally sensitive and concerned with others but therefore also dependent and noncompetitive. Conversely, independence and competitiveness are thought to be associated with a relatively low degree of sensitivity and concern for others. (Spence & Helmreich, 1978, p. 17)

It may be that stereotyping along gender lines serves an important psychological need in "confirming" a sense of identity whose core is organized in terms of a polarized view of gender. As Erikson put it, "a clear elaboration of the sexual types is always essential for the polarization of the sexes in sexual life and in their respective identity formation" (cited in Tresemer, 1977, p. 76).

Prescription. When behavior that deviates from the assumed norm for each sex is seen as inappropriate or pathological, the leap from description to prescription takes place. Spence and Helmreich (1978) concluded from a review of the literature and their extensive experimental work on sex stereotypes that:

> One of the cores of women's and men's self-concept is the degree to which they believe they measure up, or believe it important to measure up, to their abstract conception of what it is to be a proper woman or man. The forging of a self-concept permitting an adequate sense of self worth may often necessitate efforts to integrate contradictory elements or perceived lacks within a personal belief system. In an attempt (which may or may not succeed) to preserve their own self-concept and feelings of worth, men or women who possess cross-sex characteristics, or

> who lack a sufficient degree of stereotypically appropriate ones, may variously relabel these characteristics under neutral headings, deny them, or consider them as irrelevant, basing their judgments of their own masculinity or femininity on those conventionally accepted characteristics they do possess. (p. 116)

The denial and relabeling to which Spence and Helmreich referred has been demonstrated by experimental and clinical studies in which female subjects ascribed their success on "masculine" tasks to luck or greater effort, while males attributed their success to greater competence (Deaux & Emswiller, 1974; Frieze, Parsons, Johnson, Ruble, & Zellman 1978, cited in Rohrbaugh, 1979); where males tended to overestimate and females to underestimate their own achievements (Crandall, 1969); and, more recently, where women in graduate school (Herron, 1984) and female physicians (Moulton, 1981) viewed themselves as inadequately instrumental in fulfilling their professional goals despite demonstrated high performance levels.

In one series of studies, achievement productions were artibrarily assigned "male" or "female" authorship and evaluated by male and/or female subjects. In this way, interactions between the sex of the subject and the "sex" of the author could be assessed.

The prototype for these studies was an experiment by Goldberg (1968) where college women rated an essay as significantly lower in value and competence when it was assumed to be of female authorship than when it was given

male authorship.[1]

It is not simply that female achievement tends to be devalued. Rather, both sexes are inclined toward negative bias when evaluating achievements which are seen to violate prescribed sex roles (Bem & Lenney, 1976; Deaux & Emswiller, 1974; Mischel, 1975; Pheterson 1969, cited in Rohrbaugh, 1979; Touhy, 1974).

Metonomy. According to this feature of stereotyping, how people describe themselves in relation to sex role stereotypes is assumed to represent how the "really" are as men and women. That is, the attempts they make to live up to the required stereotypes are confused with their actual nature, ability, or potential. The part-truth of the stereotype comes to stand for the "whole truth" of masculinity or femininity. A few studies have investigated this phenomenon, which, in some respects, marks the limiting case of prescription: the denial and relabeling of the forbidden attributes has proceeded so far that they are expelled from the psychological identity, even though they persist in behavior. Rubin (1979) for example, interviewed 160 women and 35 men who were all middle-aged, married parents. Regardless of whether the women lived primarily as wives and mothers or combined this with challenging career commitments, they clung to the traditional female stereotype of the wife and mother who is "warm, sensitive, kind, outgoing, considerate, caring, concerned, responsible"

(p. 54). Virtually none of the working women offered a description of herself as independent, self sufficient, logical or assertive--though, obviously, many were. Further, when the interviewer noted that they held positions of power, the women tended to react as if they has been insulted. Similarly, all of the males described themselves in terms of their work, a few as fathers, but none as husbands. In fact, one man, who was unemployed at the time, confessed "I haven't worked regularly for two years....so, you see I can't say who I am right now" (p. 59).

Psychopathology and the Female Stereotype

Sex stereotypes foster a view of the sexes as opposite or complementary. It would be possible to infer from this that neither man nor woman possesses a complete personality, one that, in Freud's words, is able "to work *and* to love" (emphasis added). In this view, women and men would differ in their relative abilities, but remain roughly equal in their overall adjustment. But the female stereotype, reflected in the models reviewed above, is far from value-free. Instead, it reflects a conception of normality that is strongly skewed in favor of males.

In a study by Broverman, Clarkson, Rosenkrantz, and Vogel (1970), for example, mental health practitioners were asked to select attributes to describe the "mature, healthy,

socially competent" man, woman, or adult (sex unspecified). In the eyes of these professionals, the mentally healthy woman was seen as submissive, passive, dependent, vain, and unable to separate her thoughts from her feelings. In contrast, the mentally healthy man was viewed as dominant, aggressive, independent, and objective. Most revealing of all, the portrait of the mentally healthy *male* was indistinguishable from the mentally healthy *adult*, supporting the investigators' conclusion that the ideal of mental health is perceived as masculine.

A similar and perhaps largely unconscious bias has influenced the thinking of the investigators whose models were reviewed above. There are obvious indications of psychopathology when women are portrayed as dependent, passive, and prone to self-other boundary confusion, when the choice of marriage, motherhood, and traditional careers is though to reflect continuing preoedipal issues such as the need to escape from independent functioning in favor of symbiotic fusion, and when women's public achievements are said to be motivated primarily by a need for love and approval as opposed to the more "autonomous" motives of males. Indeed, as noted in chapter 2, such a portrait can scarcely be distinguished from the characteristics of the borderline personality disorder.

Specifically in the area of achievement, the equation of "normal" and "male" has made career development the primary

measure of psychological growth, independence, and individuation. All evidence to the contrary notwithstanding, men who hold jobs are assumed to possess these qualities and women who do not, to lack them.

This view of women follows in part from an androcentric assumption that normal development, follows the pattern of male development. Thus, growth and maturity take place by moving away from attributes associated with the female sex; the male child negotiates the oedipal stage by trying to give up identifications (Gilligan, 1982; Miller, 1973). For boys in particular, and by implication, all "normal" people, intimacy and nurturance are necessarily linked to regressive fantasies of merger that threaten the secondary identifications of the oedipal period. To protect himself from the expression of this regressive need, "the boy is encouraged to turn to the world of men, where processes are structured to limit direct emotional engagement with anybody, male, or female" (Miller, 1973, p. 387).

By contrast, women are thought to show more dependency and less autonomy, as a result of unresolved preoedipal issues of separation-individuation (Chodorow, 1978; Eichenbaum & Orbach, 1983a; Lebe, 1982; Lerner, 1982; Moulton, 1981; Oliner, 1982).[2] These imputed characteristics are then used to explain women's achievement conflicts as well as their decisions to marry and bear children. Surely there are women whom this description fits quite accurately, but

as a stereotype it is made to apply to all women and to exclude other explanations of women's career and family decisions, such as discrimination in employment, the biological clock for childbearing, or a mature, generative interest in childraising.

As seen in the last chapter, stereotyped conclusions about women rest heavily on the following assumptions: that self-object differentiation between mother and daughter is problematic because they share the same sex and because the mother treats her daughter more like herself; that optimal oedipal resolution requires the repression of maternal identifications; and that successful individuation may, in large measure, be gauged by career development, particularly in those more impersonal careers traditionally associated with males and in which females have been less represented, less successful, and more conflicted.

The idea that normality derives from the *male* sequence of development makes it possible to conclude that, as judged by the male shift from maternal to paternal identifications and by male career accomplishments, women's development is deficient or less advanced. But such a one-sided conclusion can only be reached by overlooking the difficulities men have in the areas of intimacy, nurturance, and collaboration as opposed to competition.

Instead of viewing men's autonomy simply as a developmental advance that transcends infantile modes of

personality organization in which self and other are not always clearly demarcated, it is possible to understand this "autonomy" as a defensive retreat from relationships, reflecting a conflict in psychosexual development whose place could well be preoedipal. For example, if investigators were as interested in men's motivation for marriage as they are in women's, the dymanics could easily be conceptualized as an ambivalent mother-son dyad in which the husband recapitulates his early life separation-individuation struggle in his oscillations between the "freedom" from mother/wife at work and the "haven" of home, where his wife "refuels" his depleted self while also providing a holding environment and safe transitional space where he can plan for himself.

Woman and Myth

Thus far, this analysis has demonstrated how using the male as the standard of normal development and behavior fosters negative stereotypes of women, while obscuring alternative and less flattering views of male development itself. It might, naively, be supposed that the way for women to look and be more normal is to look and behave more like men, for example, by taking jobs, being more competitive, and shedding their domestic role. But, in a pernicious sort of double-bind, not only are women perceived

as inferior or pathological (according to male norms) when they live up to their sex role stereotype, they are also seen as pathological when they deviate from that role. In chapter 2, this was seen most clearly in the Neo-Freudian model. A study by Wolman and Frank (1972) in which professional women's behavior was evaluated by co-workers illustrates the propensity for negative stereotyping when a female steps out of her gender role:

> Most coping mechanisms carry sex-role labels in our culture. If she apologized for alienating the group she was seen as a submissive woman taking her place . . . if she asked for help, she earned a 'needy' female label. If she became angry . . . she was seen as competitive, in a bitchy, unfeminine way (cited in Williams, 1977, p. 340).

It would appear, then, that negative stereotyping of women is not simply a matter of their having been judged androcentrically and found wanting by comparison. Rather, in the process of polarizing the sexes, it is perhaps inevitable that the most fundamental polarity of all, that of good and bad, has been drawn into the picture

To understand why women are "bad" no matter what they do, one needs to begin with the prescriptive nature of stereotyping. Whoever, male or female, violates his or her sex role stereotype, will be judged as deviant. Thus, women who work violate their stereotype and are held accountable for doing so. By the same logic, men who nurture or display other "feminine" qualities should be similarly condemned by

men and women alike. In practice, though both sexes employ stereotypes and disapprove of deviations from them, men may have more incentive than women to disavow, devalue, and project aspects of their personalities that derive from their earliest maternal identifications, which are more difficult for men to integrate with their oedipal identifications.

To illustrate this phenomenon and to show how widespread and deeply ingrained it is, this section will briefly review some of its broader cultural aspects.

The devaluation of women can be traced back to neolithic times, with the advent of warrior hunting tribes and patriarchal societies, which placed a premium on male dominance and physical power (Moulton, 1973). Prior to this period, most cultures were primarily agrarian and the female was seen as the symbol of fertility and the giver and the taker of life (Moulton, 1973; Williams, 1977). As patriarchy was established, the worship of the mother was, for the most part, replaced by phallic worship. Moulton stated "It is as though once man's strength became necessary he looked down on women's nurturing qualities, became ashamed of his dependency on women, and has tried to deny his need for her ever since" (1973, p. 48). Williams added "she was that part of nature which he could not control, which could destroy him with her capricious whims" (1977, p. 3).

It is likely that woman came to symbolize all that could

not be comfortably integrated with the self concept of masculinity. To cope with and control these unwanted parts of self, myths, taboos, initiation rites, and other social systems were instituted (de Beauvior, 1949/1961; Moulton, 1973; Rohrbaugh, 1979; Williams, 1977).

Central to many of these practices was surely a powerful motive to control or limit women's influence over men and over the world at large. An independent woman was mythically thought to have enormous potential for destruction. Empowered, she was Eve who seduced Adam to eat the forbidden fruit and, as a consequence, caused them to live a life of wandering in barren terrain; she was the Greeks' Pandora who succumbed to temptation by opening the box that contained all of the evils from which man has since suffered; she was the Babylonian Lilith, Adam's wife before Eve, a demon who seduced, emasculated, and killed men and male children; and she was the witch of Puritan New England (Moulton, 1973) casting spells and causing all manner of evil.

By contrast, woman would be considered good only if she were powerless, inferior to man, frail, and intellectually limited.

As old as these myths are, they continue to influence the way women are represented. In contemporary television series, for example, women are no longer portrayed exclusively as contented housewives in a patriarchal

family. But career women who possess power are nearly always portrayed in negative terms, often as ruthless in business and in love.

If such representations of women reflect the male desire to escape from and control the omnipotent preoedipal mother and to defensively turn an emotional position of passive dependency into one of active mastery, they necessarily involve an all too abrupt resolution of separation issues, in which early representations of the mother are frozen in an unrealistic form, with little potential for future modification. From this development, man approaches woman with a sharply limited capacity for empathy. She becomes a mystery, a Sphinx, a Mona Lisa, an enigma whose "feminine soul" defied description by Freud (Jones, 1955, p. 421).

In describing this mythic view, de Beauvoir (1949/1961) stated that woman is the personification of good and evil, which man cannot integrate and directly experience. She is the madonna and the whore, the good mother who gave and the bad mother who took and devoured, the mysterious and the inscrutable other. In a sense, she is also the male preoedipal unconscious in general, less threatening because she is repressed, but dimly perceived, nonetheless, through the barrier of repression.

As the inscrutable other, woman is a kind of fantasy with whom a relationship of mature intimacy is not possible. Thus, she is kept at a distance and, in turn, as a myth

(deBeauvoir, 1949/1961). In the context of women's entrance into the sanctuary of male dominated professions, she is both a threat to male equilibrium and an opportunity for demystification as she confronts him with a fuller, more realistic picture of herself than he would prefer.

Although both sexes, as infants, develop similar fantasies of the preoedipal mother, the male's fantasies are less subject to modification by subsequent, intimate contact with her. To become a "masculine" male is to break the early identification with mother and to dissociate those representations of himself as like her, or "feminine." Given the enormous challenge of this task, the oedipal boy must employ whatever means are necessary to accomplish it, including representing as "bad" both the preoedipal mother and his preoedipal, feminine self.

The girl, by contrast, works her way to a feminine identity without having to break her maternal attachments as suddenly or as completely. Her earliest experiences do not have to be split off, but remain more accessible, more capable of modification by reality, and more fully integrated into her gender identity.

As conflicted as women may be about crossing their traditional gender boundary and assuming "male" employment, they are probably less conflicted than men would be devoting a major portion of their day to infant care and other "wifely" chores. Indeed, it does not seem an overstatement

that female gender identity is, in general, both more secure and more flexible than is true of males.

The biblical story of Lot's wife has usually been understood in terms of her being punished for disobedience. It is also possible, however, to conceive of the couple's departure from Sodom as a separation crisis, which each handled differently. Lot turned his back once and for all on the "evil" of the city he was leaving behind, all traces of which were to be destroyed. His wife, who seems to have doubted the necessity of forsaking the past so completely, sought one last look that might preserve in her memory her former life, and was turned into a pillar of salt by the lord, the (male) god that, even now, dictates the "proper" route from preoedipal to oedipal development as the turning of one's back to the primary identifications of early life.

Notes

1. Although these results suggested that women had internalized the prejudice contained in the feminine sex role stereotype, replications did not consistently support this view. The problems in replication do not necessarily undermine the view that both sexes have internalized sex role stereotypes. These experiments were intended to tap latent needs. However, the years that followed the Goldberg experiment were precisely those during which contemporary idealogy about equality for both sexes was strongly promoted. Thus, it is possible that a confounding influence of a liberal public endorsement obscured the less accessible internalizations. Added to these potential confoundings is the fact that replications utilized different subject samples. For example, Baruch's study (cited in Porchesz, 1974), which did not find the devaluative response by females, used a selective group of high achieving females from Swarthmore College.

2. This investigator is not arguing that women have no preoedipal psychopathology. In fact, the above-cited authors provide cogent early life data (competition from mothers and fathers, threats and actual precipitious abandonments, depressed mothers, etc.) from clinical cases which are appropriately interpreted in terms of unresolved preoedipal issues. The question is whether these findings can be generalized to women in conflict over their careers.

Chapter IV

REALITY PROBLEMS OF WORK AND LOVE IN WOMEN'S LIVES

Male Career Development: Levinson's Findings

The preceding chapters have been concerned primarily with theories about the intrapsychic realities that are thought to determine or explain women's relative lack of success in careers outside the home. For the most part, this internal focus has characterized even social psychological theories, such as those interested in achievement motivation. But a more complete understanding needs to take into account external realities as well, especially those that affect men and women differentially.

In addition, even though early developmental experiences have lasting consequences, an understanding of women and achievement must also include a consideration of adult developmental experiences, for it is as adults that women make and seek to implement decisions about their careers.

A new approach to some of these issues is found in the adult development literature, which has employed the case study method. A principal exponent of this approach has been Levinson and his associates (1978), who studied the lives of 40 men[1] between the ages of 35 and 45 across four

occupations. Levinson was quite explicit that without benefit of a female sample, his results and conclusions would be generalizable only to males. A major part of the motivation for his study was the recognition that storehouses of data existed about isolated, stressful adult events such as retirement and the "empty nest" syndrome, but that a unified adult developmental theory was lacking, through which to understand what the data meant.

Although Levinson did not deny the impact of childhood, he considered adult development to be much more than an arena in which childhood fantasies and conflicts are replayed. Thus, instead of Freud, he relied more on Jung and Erikson, both of whom developed theories covering the entire life cycle.

And for Levinson, not only psychological factors are important, but also biological and social ones--"How the self is in the world and the world is in the self" (1978), p. 42).

Like Erikson, Levinson viewed personal development as the manner in which the individual negotiates predictable life crises that occur in an epigenetic sequence. He relied on a concept called the *life structure*, "the underlying pattern or design of a person's life at a given time" (p. 41). As such, the life structure is a dynamic concept which encompasses biological, psychological, and social factors.

Levinson found that for men "the life stucture evolves through a relatively orderly sequence during the adult years (p. 49), consisting of a series of alternating stable (structure building) and transitional (structure changing) periods.

A stable period generally lasts six or seven years, and in some cases 10 years. "The primary task of every stable period is to build a life structure; a man must make choices, form a structure around them, and pursue his goals and values within this structure" (p. 49). Levinson stated that a stable period does not necessarily imply that it is a period without turbulance or change. In addition, each stable period has a number of tasks which are unique to its time in a man's life.

A transitional period, which usually lasts four to five years, is described by Levinson as a "bridge" or "boundary zone" between two stable periods (pp. 49, 50). A transitional period is initiated when the existing life structure is brought into question and must be modified for either internal or external reasons. A transitional period

> terminates the existing life structure and creates the possibility for a new one. The primary tasks of every transitional period are to question and reappraise the existing structure, to explore various possiblities for change in self and world, and to move toward commitment to the crucial choices that form the basis for a new life structure in the ensuing stable period. (p. 49)

Transitional periods were often experienced by the men

in Levinson's study as times of immense stress and inner conflict. One subject described feeling "in a state of suspended animation" while in the gap between the past and the future (p. 51). These feelings seem to be activated by the tasks required during these periods; to take a hard and sober look at one's life and to decide what needs to be altered, added, or renounced in order to make the next stable period livable or satisfactory. (For Levinson, the satisfactoriness of one's life structure is determined by "the extent that it is viable in society and suitable for the self" (p. 53).

Because a transitional period involves ending a period of time in one's life, it is inherently a period of separation or loss [2]. For this reason, it requires one to grieve what has to be given up, which entails being able to experience the past in both positive and negative ways. Levinson noted that under "reasonably supportive conditions the process of separation leads to enrichment, differentiation, and development of the self" (p. 51) in much the same way that the normal separation process in early childhood promotes greater psychological differentiation and individual development.

Transitional periods come to a close "when the tasks of questioning and exploring have lost their urgency, when a man makes his crucial commitments and is ready to start on the tasks of building, living within and enhancing a new

life structure" (p. 52).

Levinson also found that there are serious consequences for those who have not been able to negotiate adequately the developmental tasks of a transitional period. For some, he said

> the decision to stay put is not always based on a reaffirmed commitment. It may stem more from resignation, inertia, passive acquiescence or controlled despair--a self-restriction in the context of severe external constraints. This kind of surface stability marks the beginning of a long term decline unless new factors intervene (perhaps in the next transitional period) and enable him to form a more satisfactory life structure. (p. 52)

Adulthood, Manhood, and Career Development: A Compatible Fit

Levinson's study showed unambiguously that career development was the primary vehicle to the achievement of adult male status. Toward this goal of adulthood, society encouraged the male to separate from his family of origin by acquiring a vocation or vocational training to prepare him for greater financial independence.

Although Levinson was also interested in the personal history and love relationships of his subjects, it is clear that in their minds relationships and attachments were subordinate to career development. Somewhere along the line, the path to autonomy and individuation was reduced to the career path, and men with jobs but no friends became models of adult development.[3]

The first 20 years of a man's adult life--roughly until age 40--were devoted to choosing and establishing himself in a career. For most men, their twenties involved false starts and tentative choices as they attempted to find an occupation that suited them; few were established and secure by age 30.[4] The task of this period, according to Levinson, was the creation of a *provisional* life structure, balancing commitment and exploration. Although this pattern is predictable and perhaps inevitable in societies where men do not automatically assume their fathers' occupations, the corresponding uncertainty in women who likewise seek their own way instead of assuming traditional roles has been discussed far less in terms of their "provisional" commitments than in terms of their "ambivalence and confusion" (Stewart, 1977, p. 61) or "transitional weaknesses" (Taylor, 1981, p. 162).

Without a firmly established career, most men in Levinson's study entered a transitional period around age 30, in which they felt increased pressure to make more enduring commitments so that they could, in Levinson's terms, "go beyond the apprenticeship and become a full-fledged adult" (p. 141). Although establishing a family was part of this picture, occupational commitment and advancement were more essential to achieve adult status. Thus, for most men, their thirties were mainly a stable period concerned with career advancement.

Climbing the career ladder, said Levinson, epitomized the male's efforts to affirm his adult status through "masculine" pursuits; conversely, it required repressing and suppressing "feminine" parts of himself.

By his late thirties, a man often intensified his career strivings still further, believing that "if I get to the top of my ladder I will have everything I really wanted and live happily ever after" (p. 156). In this last ditch effort, said Levinson, there is a

> surge of masculine strivings, an intense effort to achieve a more senior, 'manly' position in the world and to reduce the strength of the "little boy" in the Self. Most men get to the late thirties with roughly the same balance of masculinity and femininity they had in the early twenties. (p. 236)

The stresses and strains associated with reaching the top of the ladder make this period, according to Levinson, "a fateful time in a man's life. Attaining seniority and approaching the top rung of his ladder are signs that he is becoming a man (not just a person), but a male adult" (p. 60).

Transitions

Transition Into Middle Adulthood. Levinson found that as most men reached 40 years of age, they entered a transition into middle adulthood. In contrast to preceding transitions, this one was described as a crisis by 80

percent of the men studied. In fact, the crisis reached such proportions for some men that others regarded them as 'sick' or suffering from some form of psychopathology (p. 199). Symptoms included intense anxiety, guilt, depression and/or emotional lability. What contributed to this crisis? Although this transition shared with others the task of reappraising the past to effect change, Levinson noted that at midlife it was more difficult to make major changes: "to change is to tear the fabric of his life, to destroy much that he has built over the last 10 or 15 years" (p. 157). In addition, his physical decline begins to make it more difficult to compete with younger men and more unlikely that his real life will resemble his Dream. Finally, there are few guides to career development or early retirement for the midlife male; there is, for example, no midlife equivalent to the "promising young man."

The man's concentration on career advancement has caused him to neglect and lose touch with important parts of himself that now press for expression. As Levinson described it

> Internal voices that have been muted for years now clamor to be heard. At times they are heard as a vague whispering, the content unclear but the tone indicating grief over lost opportunities, outrage over betrayal by others, or guilt over betrayal by oneself. (p. 200)

According to Levinson, a man must attend to these inner voices to effect a viable Dream for midlife adulthood. But

this is a conflictual process because the "voices" represent parts of himself which had been seen as obstacles to his achievements and to his masculinity. To reactivate these parts may allow a healing or integration of longstanding splits or polarities in himself, but it also threatens the ideal of masculinity he has pursued for so many years. For example, to acknowledge aging and mortality is to be confronted with diminished physical strength and to experience himself as feminine, "conceived of as frail, weak, vulnerable to attack, not having the bodily resources needed to sustain a persistent effort toward valued goals" (p. 231).

Midlife requires a man to disengage himself from external pressures and look within himself to ask, "What do I really want? How do I feel about my life? How shall I live in the future?" (p. 241). To answer these questions, however, he must become more in touch with his feelings and less concerned with the "masculine pattern" of "*doing, making, having*" (p. 233).[5]

One of the major developmental tasks of midlife, then, is the integration of the "polarity" of masculine and feminine. By integration, Levinson meant not only greater role flexibility but also an integration of the internal "archetypes" of masculine and feminine:

> The developmental task is to come to terms in new ways with the basic meanings of masculinity and femininity. A man must form a new

> relationship to the various archetypal figures in his head that represent maleness and femaleness... The change may involve a man's relationship to his mother, especially the figure of mother within his psyche. (p. 236)

The conception of integration as a developmental task is seen to provide men with license for greater empathy and nurturance as well as providing them with more creativity in their work endeavors. This integration, said Levinson, has been advocated for centuries by Eastern philosophers, more recently by Jung, and is certainly implied in Erikson's stage of "generativity versus stagnation." Such an integration permits a man to reclaim long-lost parts of himself and become whole and individuated as opposed to feeling completed by his female mate who carries these split-off parts. To heal the divisions within himself allowed a man to become less a slave to societal expectations, more self reliant, creative, and individuated. This integration provides him with the emotional responsiveness and generativity to mentor younger persons and permits him to engage in a relationship of equals where "he is more able to love a woman for herself, rather than for providing what he cannot accept in himself" (p. 236).

Levinson added that in addition to cultural traditions that oppose the integration of masculine and feminine roles and identities, a male in his twenties and thirties is too immature to resolve this issue; the young man attempts to

exorcise the feminine in himself rather than integrate it. That is, he attempts to validate himself first as an adult through gender appropriate pursuits such as career development. If his efforts go fairly well, he reaches his forties feeling more secure that his masculine strivings have earned him a position in the adult male world. What Levinson suggested is that the integration of masculine and feminine can only be addressed after one has achieved security within one's primary gender.

Some of the men studied by Levinson did make changes in the direction of tempering their career ambitions and valuing more their roles as husbands, fathers, and community members. However, despite the importance Levinson attached to this issue, very few of his subjects attained an integrated identity. Others made rather drastic changes (entering new careers, divorces, moving to a new home), but these were usually seen by Levinson as frantic efforts to maintain the youthful masculine perspective and to avoid coming to terms with the crucial adult tasks of midlife.

Levinson paid scant attention to men's striking failures in this area. He noted in a general way that most societies have divided gender roles along mutually exclusive lines and that integration of masculinity and femininity has rarely been achieved. Though he thought he detected "a slow reduction in the ancient gender distinctions," he concluded that "a considerable splitting between masculine and

feminine still exists in our social institutions and our individual lives," hinting that this might reflect "basic biological differences" (p. 229).

In discussing the midlife task of integrating masculine and feminine, Levinson seems to have lost sight of these realities in favor of an ideal vision. He seems to have been carried away by the optimism of Jung's theory of adult development, minimizing the inherent difficulty of transcending a stereotyped gender role.

Transitional Periods: A Boundary Space for Career Dreams and Plans. As will be recalled, Levinson noted a regular oscillating pattern to adult development marked by stable and transitional periods. Basically, a stable period referred to the implementation of decisions made during transitional periods. On the other hand,

> The task of a developmental transition is to terminate a time in one's life: to accept the losses the termination entails; to review and evaluate the past; to decide which aspects of the past to keep and which to reject; and to consider one's wishes and possibilities for the future. (p. 51)

Predictably, transitions were periods often filled with anxiety about the past as well as the future. Under supportive conditions, however, they facilitated growth and made the next stable period more creative and livable.

Levinson drew much from Winnicott's concept of "transitional phenomena" (Davis and Wallbridge, 1981;

Winnicott, 1953) to describe the nature of a transitional period. That is, a transitional period may be conceived of as a boundary space between reality and illusion where a man images himself in the future in much the same way that Winnicott described a child's play or make-believe. These conscious representations of self in the future Levinson termed "Dreams," which "serve developmentally as forerunners of later, more realistic and adaptive efforts in the social world" (p. 93). Dreams also induce the man to give up or modify past life structures.

For the majority of the men who aspired to professional and executive positions, their Dreams dated to preadulthood. Despite their deep roots, they stood as rather fragile entities during transitional periods, and their fate was largely determined by the quality of the transitional environment.

Facilitative Transitional Figures. Ideally, a transitional environment was nurturing and protective. Toward this end, two facilitating figures emerged as crucial in Levinson's study. First, there was the *special woman*, patterned after Winnicott's concept of the "good-enough" mother. This figure creates a "boundary region" between the child and herself where he can "play" at possibilities for himself without the exacting requirements of reality impinging upon him.

In adult life, the "special woman" was often the wife

who doubled as the "good-enough" mother.

> Her special quality lies in her connection to the young man's Dream....She facilitates his entry into the adult world and his pursuit of the Dream. She does this partly through her own actual efforts as teacher, guide, host, critic, sponsor....The special woman helps him to shape and live out the Dream: she shares it, believes in him as its hero, gives it her blessing, joins him on the journey and creates a "boundary space" within which his aspirations can be imagined and his hopes nourished. (p. 109)

Although Levinson's concept of the Dream refers also to love relationships, career Dreams are foremost for men. Special women, usually wives in traditional marriages, become part of the Dream, as Levinson said, in so far as they foster a man's career aspirations.

By midlife, however, a man must become more autonomous and less dependent upon the special woman's "actual or illusory contributions" (p. 109). A reduction in the male's reliance on the "special woman" at midlife may also reflect her waning availability to him. She, too, may be undergoing a midlife crisis, confronted with lost opportunities and attempting to make her way in the "masculine" career world. Thus, when he needs the growth promoting constancy of a "good-enough" mother, she may neither have the time nor the inclination to provide it.

The second transitional figure who acts as a "good-enough" parent is the *mentor*. He has faith in the young man's abilities and provides the supports necessary

for him to grow. In Levinson's study, mentors were exclusively males, several years older than the mentee, and more senior in the work world that the younger man was attempting to join. Serving in multiple capacities, the mentor initially helps the young man bridge the gap from preadulthood to adulthood. To accomplish this, he stands on the adult side of the transition, welcoming the younger man and his dreams for career growth.

As a role model or ideal, the mentor also serves as a reassuring example to the younger man that his career aspirations are possible. As such, the mentor relationship "enables him to form an internal figure who offers love, admiration and encouragement in his struggles. He acquires a sense of belonging to the generation of promising young men" (p. 334). On a practical level, the mentor facilitates the younger man's career development by being a teacher, counselor, and sponsor. As a sponsor, he uses his position to help the younger man in his efforts at career advancement.

Levinson acknowledged that many young men receive little mentoring because our educational system does not foster it and because the generativity and nurturance required for good mentoring are not consonant with the development of a "masculine" male. Without an actual mentor, Levinson found that men often utilized symbolic male figures whom they never met, but whose example served as an

ideal and guide to their own efforts.

A man in his thirties, however, finds the mentor relationship eroded and eventually terminated as he attempts to acquire greater independence and "become his own man" (p. 60). The task of casting off the mentor is an onerous one, sometimes reviving oedipal and preoedipal struggles, with an uncanny resemblance to the rapprochement crisis.

> The little boy [in the over-thirty male] desperately wants the mentor to be a good father in the most childish sense--a father who will make him special, will endow him with magical powers and will not require him to compete or prove himself in relation to would-be rivals. It is also the little boy who anxiously makes the mentor into a bad father--a depriving, dictatorial authority who has no real love and merely uses one for his own needs. The relationship is made untenable by the yearning for the good father, the anxiety over the bad father, and the projection of both of these internal figures onto the mentor, who is then caught in a bind. (p. 147)

In midlife, there are even fewer mentors available than for the novice adult. Without a mentor to serve as a midlife ideal or model, without a "special woman" to provide the "good-enough" environment where future dreams are nurtured and protected, and also without friendship--which was "largely noticeable by its absence" (p. 335)--it is not surprising that most men were unable to bridge this transition.

Commenting on the absence of facilitative figures at midlife, Levinson stated:

> We are still feeling our way in the dark. As

> I make the shift from early to middle adulthood, the tribe offers little instruction, support or cultural wisdom. What I am losing is much more evident than what I may gain. I know that a new season is coming, that my life will be crucially changed. But what are the options that await me? I get many explicit messages and vague vibrations about mortality, loss, restriction; feelings that time is running out and that I may soon die or, worse, have a life without meaning for myself or others. But I get few positive images of the middle-aged hero--the lover, friend or mentor, the person of dignity, wisdom, authority, creativeness. Where is the contemporary parallel to Abraham, Buddha or Odysseus on his mid-life journey? (p. 330)

Summary: Levinson's study consistently showed public career development to be the primary vehicle by which men achieved an adult masculine status, with the success of career Dreams heavily dependent upon the presence of a transitional environment that insulated the young man from life's blows. Repeatedly, two figures emerged as critical in determining the quality of the transitional environment and the fate of career Dream. Each had a parental counterpart. First, the "special woman," patterned after Winnicott's "good-enough" mother, who believed in the young man's abilities before he could demonstrate them and whose loyalty was shown through her provision of a developmental space protected from premature closure. The second figure was the mentor who, like the father, invited the man to join him in the publicly-achieving world. Through his own success, he enticed the younger man to follow his example, and through his sponsorship he provided real opportunities

and removed obstacles. As the men approached midlife, a crisis ensued. Compared to previous periods, the men appeared more anxious, ambivalent, and confused about how to proceed with their lives. In fact, others sometimes regarded the men's distress as mental illness. Levinson found that they were not mentally ill, but reacting to the realities of living in a youth-oriented society where, at midlife, the supports and other facilitating figures are withdrawn, leaving the man with few signposts or ideals to inform his Dream and to make his journey into midlife an exciting one instead of a frightening one. This crisis was intensified by the developmental task of integrating the masculine and feminine. That is, the masculine perspective of "*doing, making, having*" proved to be of limited value in assessing qualitative questions of how one *feels* about one's life and for utilizing these evaluations as a basis for future plans. To bring forth these formerly renounced and devalued feminine parts of self was tantamount to undoing a lifelong socially enforced internalized assumption that people must be masculine *or* feminine, but not both. Thus, the reclaiming of the feminine signaled becoming less of a man. All in all, the inherent difficulties of this integrative task coupled with the absence of supports for accomplishing it make more understandable the ambivalence and seeming psychopathology which men demonstrated as they approached midlife. As the passing of youth barred reentry,

the future promised loss.

Female Career Development: Levinson's Model Applied to Women

Adulthood, Womanhood, and Career Development: A Conflict.

Achieving adult status appears to be as important to women as it is to men and equally necessary to proceed with any confidence in defining and planning the years that follow.

Adult developmental studies for both sexes strongly suggest that achieving adulthood largely depends upon moving into traditionally prescribed gender roles. In other words, people become adults by becoming men or women; boys become men through work achievement in the public sphere, while girls become women through their achievements in marriage and motherhood in the domestic sphere. According to Bardwick,

> For most women maternity looms as a critical task because the internalized values of the culture have defined it as the most important task and symbol of normality and maturity because it gives them a feeling of having achieved adult status and of having joined the community of adult women. (1971, p. 212)

By contrast, women have "needed" a career in the way that men have "needed" parenthood, that is, less urgently than does the opposite sex.

Just as Levinson found that the male used career

advancement to validate himself as a adult man and "not just as a person" (p. 60), studies by Rubin (1979), Stewart (1977), and Taylor (1981) indicate that identity as an adult woman is intimately connected to taking on the roles of wife and mother. Stewart concluded that to fail as a *person* is one thing, and perhaps bearable, but to fail as a *woman* is terrifying.

Stewart offered this reason to explain, in large part, the hurried marriages and birthings by her sample of women in their late twenties and early thirties, who had remained single and self-supporting throughout most of their twenties. Despite their careers and financial independence, these women reported feeling like children because of their single status. As one nurse who urgently wished to marry and become a mother said, "No one wants to be a 27-year-old child....Being married, you could come home as an adult" (p. 30).

So long as women restrict themselves to traditional roles, they, like men, can expect to find a compatible fit between their endeavors and the wider social context. When it comes to building a career, however, women face oppositon both from within and from without. The internal opposition has to do with how to fulfill the requirements of adulthood for their own sex while finding time and energy to take on the adult developmental task traditionally assigned to men. The external opposition consists of environmental factors

differentially affecting men and women in the job market. These factors are the subject of this section. In general, the problems facing career women at *all* stages of adult life are at best comparable to the inhospitable midlife environment with which men are confronted when they, too, struggle (and largely fail) to achieve less polarized gender roles. Under comparable conditions, both sexes manifest ambivalence and behavior sometimes labeled pathological.

What follows is a review of the special problems confronting women in pursuit of careers.

A Lack of Facilitating Figures. As described above, Levinson found the fate of men's career Dreams to be highly dependent upon the supportive, self-sacrificing qualities of the *special woman.* But in the studies of Rubin, Stewart, and Taylor, husbands neither became *special men* who served the equivalent function by providing traditional women with safe, unconflictual transitional space where Dreams could develop, nor did they serve as guides or sponsors. These men may have facilitated the traditional family Dream, but "in no case did husbands take on the role of 'special woman' described by Levinson" (Taylor, 1981, p. 149). Although some husbands served as "friendly helpers" to their wives' career strivings, "none of these men subordinated his own pursuits to the other's needs and interests, as is characteristic of the 'special woman'" (p. 149).

The literature indicates that *mentors* are also largely

lacking. For most women, this is a serious handicap because the career world is generally an alien place with unwritten rules that are often antithetical to traditionally feminine ones, and because they must overcome negative sex stereotyping (Hendrix, 1984a; Klemesrud, 1984). In a survey of 400 professional women who had mentors, Collins found that, although intelligence, skill, and hard work were necessary, the mentor was the key figure in determining how far a woman's career progressed (Klemesrud, 1983). Reskin & Hartmann (1986) also found that promotions depended highly upon sponsorship by a senior person (see also Hendrix, 1984a).

In evaluating the research on woman and mentors, Reskin and Hartman concluded that men seldom mentor women because they continue to hold stereotypes that lead them to question a woman's ability and commitment and because they fear negative reactions from colleagues and wives. When a male does mentor a female, Levinson said that the relationship is often much less than optimal because he may treat her as a "pseudo-male or as a charming little girl who cannot be taken seriously" (1978, p. 98), or the relationship may become sexualized.[6]

Female mentors are even more rare than male mentors. Those few females available for mentoring have little extra energy for this position because they "are often too beset by the stresses of survival in a work world dominated by men

to provide good mentoring for younger women" (p. 98) and because female mentors generally don't occupy positions influential enough to effectively sponsor other women (Reskin & Hartman, 1986).

Some of the women in Stewart's and in Taylor's studies utilized older career persons for support and information on a short term basis, however, none enjoyed the kind of mentor relationship Levinson described.

Sex Segregation and Sex Discrimination. Contrary to what might be expected, the latest and most comprehensive research on equal opportunity for women shows little or no change from the historical pattern. This report, by the Committee on Women's Employment and Related Social Issues (Reskin & Hartmann, 1986) found that

> the overall degree of sex segregation has been a remarkably stable phenomenon; it has not changed much since at least 1900.[7] This stability is surprising in light of the enormous changes that have taken place in the structure of the economy: the turnover in occupations as obsolete occupations disappear and new ones develop; the narrowing of educational differentials between men and women, particularly since World War II; and, most recently, the increasing similarity in the work patterns of men and women over their lifetimes. (p. 1)

In practice, this segregation has contributed to the fact that a woman earns about 59 cents for every dollar earned by a man. "In the absence of occupational-level segregation, women would earn about 75 cents for every dollar a man earns" (Reskin & Hartmann, 1986, p. 123), the

equivalent of a 27% raise for the average working woman.

The consequences of sex segregation are quite serious because the majority of women work out of necessity, to support themselves and dependents, and because about 50 percent of all men and women work in sex segregated occupations (cf. Mills, 1984; Reskin & Hartmann, 1986). Not only does sex segregation contribute to lower wages for women; it also means less retirement income, less occupational mobilty, lower occupational status, and fewer opportunities for on-the-job training (Reskin & Hartman, 1986).

Despite the gains made by affirmative action programs, Reskin and Hartman projected segregation to decline only slightly by 1990. Although an increasing number of women will join the workforce, the majority will continue to work in relatively low paying fields dominated by women. In part, these predictions are based on reversals since 1981 of federal civil rights policy, which are likely to have negative effects on women's future employment opportunities.

The related problem of sex discrimination continues:

> despite recent changes in attitudes and new challenges to old beliefs, we found that a variety of barriers--legal, institutional, and informal--still limit women's access to occupations in which men have customarily predominated.[8]...Employers' acceptance of cultural stereotypes about the appropriate gender for certain jobs or their beliefs about women's and men's characteristics lead some to discriminate--to consider gender in

> hiring workers and assigning them to jobs. (Reskin & Hartman, 1986, p. 126)

At the core of these beliefs, Reskin and Hartman found an "axiomatic" one which guided both employers and employees as to what type of work was appropriate for each sex. That is, "women's primary sphere is in the home--and that of men in the workplace" (p. 125).

After evaluating extensive research and data from a variety of perspectives, they found no support for

> the argument that women's occupational outcomes result primarily from free choices that they make in an open market....women face discrimination and institutional barriers in their education, training, and employment. Often the opportunities that women encounter in the labor market and in premarket training and education constrain their choices to a narrow set of alternatives. (p. 125)

Inadequate Child Care Services. Society's response to the working mother's need for child care services has been seriously wanting. The inadequacy of surrogate child care does not appear to reflect a temporary lag in catching up with the sudden influx of working mothers. Rather, as with sex segregation and discrimination, it seems to reflect deeply ingrained attitudes about the female parent's unique responsibility to her children.

Child development specialists continue to debate the effects of surrogate care on children's psychological growth. According to Milne, this lack of consensus has resulted from mainly three problems. First, the research

data on child care historically have reflected prevailing social attitudes about employed mothers. For example, research in the conservative late fifties and the early sixties tended to emphasize the negative effects on children of working mothers, while research in the seventies focused on the positive ones. Secondly, large variations in viewpoint and methodology have made a coherent synthesis impossible. Thirdly, most research has studied more exclusively the role of the mother and has, until quite recently, ignored the role of the father and family dynamics. Milne concluded that in all likelihood "good studies will begin to come out in this field in about nine or 10 years, so we really won't know until then" (La Ganga, 1984, p. 24).

Currently, there are about 32 million children under the age of 18 who have working mothers. Of these children, two million are enrolled in licensed preschool day care centers, five million attend nursery school, uncounted millions are in the care of relatives, neighbors, and unlicensed child care centers, and six to seven million under the age of 13 simply go unattended (Mills, 1984). The approximately 1,000 employer-sponsored daycare centers serve only about one percent of all the children in daycare (Mills, 1984). The recent spate of publicity about the sexual molestation of children in day care centers has certainly not eased the minds of working mothers seeking

reliable child care.

The continued controversy over maternal employment by child development researchers, the cutbacks in government subsidies for child care since 1981 (Mills, 1984), and the continued widespread opposition to corporate responsibility for child care[9] communicate a message which reverberates with a mother's fear that work, not to mention a career, may be dangerous to her child's health.

Summary. As compared with men, women seeking careers outside the home are at a serious disadvantage. Occupational ambitions in men are not only socially sanctioned, they are fundamental to defining adult masculinity. For women, on the other hand, establishing a career means crossing traditional gender lines and must, somehow, be integrated with the competing developmental tasks of marriage and motherhood. In coping with this conflict, women are psychologically in the same position as males at midlife, whose efforts to soften their youthful masculinity with nurturance and generativity have shown little success.

In addition, women must contend with the comparative absence of special persons and mentors that are known to be crucial to occupational advancement, with sex segregation and sex discrimination that unfairly limit their earning potential, and with inadequate child care, which differentially affects their career opportunities in a

society that assigns childrearing responsibility primarily to women.

The rest of this chapter will examine three common patterns that women follow in attempting to build careers. Regardless of which pattern they follow, they are confronted with a unique set of dilemmas, decisions, and compromises with which males do not ordinarily have to contend.

Three Patterns of Female Career Development

Early Marriage, Late Career. This common pattern, which begins by adopting the traditional female role, characterized the lives of the majority of women studied by Stewart, Taylor, and Rubin.[10] It reflects the difficulties involved in combining work and love and attempts to resolve them by proceeding in serial fashion.

Although the goals of marriage and motherhood can be accomplished within a relatively short period of time, these investigators found the consequences to be far-reaching. Mothers and wives serve in more primary and demanding ways than do fathers and husbands, and the occupational demands of these roles decreased only as children became independent.

It will be recalled that Levinson found a man in his twenties required freedom from enduring commitments in order to have time to explore various career paths. As applied to

the traditional woman, however, such a provisional life structure is incompatible with the demands of homemaking, wifery, birthing, and child rearing; early decisions to marry and have children mean that women must either abbreviate exploratory career moves or else postpone careers altogether until they have discharged their major obligations as wives and mothers. This postponement can be as long as 20 years, about the same time a man needs to establish a successful career.

Typically, then, the traditional woman enters a transitional period at midlife when her children acquire independence and/or leave home. This period, which may be her first real opportunity to Dream of a career outside the home, corresponds to the males's midlife efforts to come to terms with developmental issues of nurturance and generativity. Unlike the midlife male, however, who may opt to continue in his career, the woman of the same age who has satisfied her obligations as wife and mother enters the midlife transition from a position of involuntary retirement (Scarf, 1980) or unemployment. The loss of her job is compounded by a loss of her reproductive functioning and a decline in her youth and beauty. Although the age-40 transition in males also involves a physical decline, in women the effects are more severe. Williams (1977) noted that

> woman especially has always had good reason

> to fear the passing of youth. Her most socially valued qualities, her ability to provide sex and attractive companionship, and to have children and nurture them, are expressed in the context of youth, which is endowed with physical beauty and fertility. As she ages, she becomes less physically attractive and desirable, and her reproductive and nurturant functions are no longer relevant. (p. 356)

Given the context of these losses, it seems appropriate that investigators of midlife development have characterized this period as a "danger zone" (Sheehy, 1981, p. 280) or an "anxious" time (Baruch, Barnett, & Rivers, 1983, p. 248) in the traditional woman's life.[11]

The anxiety and depression that often accompany the female midlife transition are sometimes explained in terms of the "empty nest" syndrome. But it does not seem to be the loss of children per se that troubles women (Baruch et al., 1983; Lowenthal, Thurnher, & Chiriboga, 1975; Neugarten, 1968a, 1968b; Rubin, 1979). In fact, many of those studied by Rubin actually expressed a sense of relief at their children's growing independence. Rather, it is the loss of the *role* of mother, coupled with the absence of gender-appropriate alternative roles. As with men at midlife who face the bankruptcy of their long-cherished masculine ideals and struggle to recover suppressed opposite ideals, traditional women also suffer at midlife from a too-narrowly based identity that no longer suits their stage of life.

For the most part, the traditional women studied by

Stewart, Taylor, and Rubin appeared confused about how to build a new life at this time. In fact, Stewart reported that some felt like children when confronted with the task of articulating what they wanted in the way of careers. Apparently, the achievement of an adult female identity through marriage and motherhood does not eliminate the need for a provisional life structure when beginning a career.

On an optimistic note, McCubbin and Dahl (1985) stressed the exciting challenge facing the midlife traditional woman: "the empty nest may finally allow an opportunity to pursue long-delayed ambitions and interests" (p. 266). In a similar vein, both Stewart and Taylor suggested that most traditional women were beginning to assert themselves in less traditionally feminine ways by their midthirties. Taylor added that the midthirties for traditional women is a time during which they "open out," meaning that they begin to explore questions of preference in careers that men are seen as accomplishing in their twenties.

But these hopeful views should not be understood as indicating that women move surely and readily at midlife along their new career paths. Rather, they appear to require the same extended provisional period of exploration and uncertainty typical of men in their twenties. Thus, although some women that Stewart and Taylor studied had indeed returned to college and some had returned to work,

very few of them appeared directed by inner career visions of themselves in the work world. They more often described themselves as "drifting" (Taylor, 1981, p. 96) and "in a limbo" (p. 102) about what the next step was after school. Rubin also found that few of her subjects, who were several years older than most of those studied by Stewart and by Taylor, had negotiated a viable solution to this issue and fewer still had succeeded in building careers by that point in their lives.

How well they fare will depend in part on their talent and energy, but also on the special circumstances in which they find themselves. Obviously, beginning a career at midlife is much more difficult in general than beginning it 20 years earlier (Levinson, 1978), as midlife blue collar men displaced by technology or foreign competition have discovered. For one thing, job training opportunities are mostly geared toward younger workers (Kaufman & Richardson, 1982).[12] In addition, the midlife woman who attempts to formulate and implement career dreams faces an intensified version of the same sex discrimination with which all women are confronted (Kaufman & Richardson, 1982; McCubbin & Dahl, 1985; Reskin & Hartman, 1986, Williams, 1977).

The absence of "special men" to serve as transitional figures has already been mentioned as a problem affecting women of all ages who seek careers. For the midlife woman, however, there is not merely an absence of support, but,

often, formidable opposition, as Rubin found in the majority of her sample. Although friends, parents, husbands, and children often gave tacit approval to the woman's new strivings, their behavior undermined her efforts. Sometimes this was repeatedly expressed through concerns about the woman's ability to cope with the stresses of her new endeavors. Thus, children and husbands expressed pride in the woman's new work, but became irritated that she neither cooked and cleaned nor was as emotionally available to them as before. "If the woman didn't respond to these family pressures by withdrawing from her new endeavors, children often intensified their efforts by getting into trouble just as their mother was becoming involved with school or a career" (Rubin, 1979).

If anything went wrong with her family (e.g., illness, accidents) the woman in transition felt intense guilt and anxiety. In part, this resulted from placing her needs above those of others (cf. Gilligan, 1982) which aroused not only her conscience but the ire of her family. As Rubin found, "even when she can deal with the internal pressures, she must face the external ones--wrought by a family and a community that are threatened by the challenge her activities pose to stereotypic conceptions about what and how a woman, expecially a mother, ought to be" (p. 186).

Two examples from Rubin's study illustrate how punitive family and friends (including female relatives and friends)

can be when the traditional woman steps out of her prescribed gender role and things go wrong at home. In the first, a woman's son fell ill with meningitis as she was being offered a promotion to a management position:

> A few days later, a couple of my neighbors dropped in, supposedly to find out how Timmy was. But in the course of the visit, they told me without mincing words that they believed he was sick because I was working and not taking proper care of him. I was just stricken....Within twenty-four hours I had a severe attack of ulerative colitis--my first but not the last--which put me in the hospital and resolved my dilemma about working. (p. 187)

In the second example, a woman reported

> my son had a terrible accident when I was halfway through school. I know it could have happened even if I had been at home all day, but I blamed myself anyway....But it wasn't just me, everybody around me blamed me, too. Even if they didn't say it straight out, their disapproval was made clear--my mother, my sister, friends. (p. 186)

Rubin, Stewart, and Taylor all described husbands who expressed strong resentment toward their wives' new activities. Rubin, in particular, noted that, all too frequently, the husband proved to be an obstacle to the woman's achievement efforts. Feeling neglected and deprived, the husband often became testy and withdrawn, suddenly demanded more of her time for joint activities, and/or repeatedly questioned if she was happy with her new work because she seemed so stressed.

A husband's resistances to a wife's newly evolving

identity are multiple, but seem to center around the anxiety and uncertainty that accompanies change. Likely, the stress is exacerbated by his own developmental issues. If he is in his late thirties, he is probably doubling his efforts to reach the top rung of his career ladder. If he is in his forties, he is dealing with a midlife crisis and the integrative tasks described above. In either case, he may need more of his wife as the steadfast "special woman" but instead may feel bereft that he has lost the woman he married. Moreover, he may feel threatened that he will be cast off as obsolete once she claims for herself a breadwinner role. Given this context, it is little wonder that such a man sees evidence of rejection when his wife turns her attention to a career.

In an attempt to regain his traditional wife, Rubin found that the husband frequently courted her. However, the formerly valued gifts and trips lavished on these women were no longer received with the same enthusiasm. As these women developed new internal identities, they became less interested in "fixing up the outside" (p. 184) by adding to their wardrobes or refurnishing their homes. Their gifts spurned, the men were bewildered. "And there's rage--both born of a new sense of precariousness in the family, a fear of being out of control in a world they thought they knew" (p. 183).

The fear of being out of control, of not being the

master of the home, and of not having the same devoted, traditional wife may signal to the husband that he is growing old, weak, and indeed, less of a man. To reconfirm his sense of masculinity, Rubin found, and not infrequently, that the husband of the late-career woman had an extramarital affair. The high incidence of marital infidelity and divorce at midlife (Kaufman & Richardson, 1982; McCubbin & Dahl, 1985; Rubin, 1979) is certainly not accounted for in total by disgruntled husbands of reentry wives. But for the woman who dares give expression to formerly prohibited behaviors, her husband's affair may be interpreted as punishment for deviating from her gender-appropriate role.

Rubin found that an extramarital affair was often more effective in discouraging a woman from pursuing a career than was her guilt over deviating from the traditional role. Given that economic powerlessness is a fundamental fact for the woman whose major occupation has been homemaker, divorce usually means a dramatic loss in income. Further, as compared to a man of her own age, the midlife woman has relatively little chance of remarrying or recoupling because there are fewer age-appropriate men available, and those who are generally seek women ten years younger than themselves (Kaufman & Richardson, 1982; McCubbin & Dahl, 1985). Rubin, 1979). These realities shed important light on women's "pathological" concerns with

separation and object loss.

Without a "special man," the woman in transition from the domestic realm to the public one is urgently in need of a mentor to provide instruction, reassurance, and sponsorship, but mentors are actually quite scarce. In Rubin's study, there were virtually no instances where the traditional woman spoke of a mentoring person who facilitated her career Dreams. As Stewart said

> The search for available mentors is difficult enough for women in their early twenties, let along for a woman in her thirties; yet the formation of exactly this type of relationship may be a critical source of support and identification if a woman is really to move beyond the familial world. (p. 115)

If all this does not dissuade the midlife woman from a career, there are other realities which cannot be ignored. Levinson found that the accomplishment of a career dream required fifteen to twenty years. The implication for the midlife woman is that she may begin to enjoy the rewards of her career efforts just as she and her husband (if he is still alive and if they are still married) approach eligibility for social security benefits.

In summary, a woman getting a late start on a career is at a distinct disadvantage in comparison with a young man entering the work force. Whereas his 10 to 15 years of establishing himself can be followed by 25 years at the peak of his career and earning ability, her own apprenticeship

and ladder-climbing will leave her perhaps 10 years of success before she retires. A late start inevitably translates into reduced possibilities for achievement. Unlike the young man, she faces an almost total lack of facilitating figures and, often, actual opposition by other members of her family and community. Her position is more comparable to that of a midlife male trying, like her, to develop and integrate cross-gender personality traits. But even this comparison does not do justice to the difficulties she faces. In particular, the midlife married woman whose children have grown and who fails to develop a new role for herself cannot simply continue in her old role, like the man who "resolves" his midlife crisis by burying himself in his work.

Early Career, Late (or No) Marriage. For those women of Stewart's and Taylor's studies who had not begun families until their late twenties or early thirties, early career development bore notable similarities to Levinson's male sample. They too experimented with different occupational roles and created a provisional life structure. Like most men, they usually chose careers (nurse, teacher, etc.) considered gender-appropriate.

As the women studied by Stewart and Taylor approached their thirties, a "get serious" attitude arose which was directed toward making more enduring relational

commitments. Unlike most men, however, for whom family life *complements* career, these women experienced a conflict between career and family life: they could not shed the need to legitimize their adult status through marriage and motherhood, nor could they take on family life without seriously compromising their careers. This conflict was likely fueled by the reality that the time and energy required of the wife and mother leave little reserves for the demands of a serious career commitment.

Early-career women also became acutely aware that the opportunities for marriage and parenthood were more time-limited for them than for men. As they approached their thirties, the tick of their biological clocks grew louder. Their fears were realistic, inasmuch as the fertility rate, which is about 90 percent at age 35, declines sharply as a woman enters her forties. By 45, the fertility rate drops to approximately ten percent (Speroff, Glass & Kase, 1982). In addition, opportunities to find an appropriate spouse diminish at an earlier age for a woman than for a man. This is especially true for the woman who defers marriage to go to college and to pursue a career. College educated white women who have not married by age 25 have only a 50 percent chance of marrying, those who are 30 have a 20 percent chance, those 35 have a five percent chance, and those who have reached 40 have only a one percent chance of becoming a wife (Greer, 1986); "contrary

to what is commonly thought, women are not getting married much later than they used to" (p. 48). Rather, the data suggest that fewer college-educated career women of today are marrying at all. According to Richardson, "whereas only 9 percent of college-educated women born in the mid-1930's never got married, it appears that 22 percent of college-educated women born in the mid-1950's can be expected to never marry" (Greer, 1986, p. 48). And, of course, a far-higher percentage of women finish college today than was true of women born in the mid-1930's--almost three and one-half times as many earned bachelor's or first professional degrees in 1980 as compared to 1960 (Bates et al, 1983, p. 419). Richardson's estimate of 22 percent translates into 100,000 more never-to-be- married women with each graduating class.

The reasons for the decreased probability of marriage for college-educated career women are complex but are certainly related to their professional status. In part, it appears that as these women approach (and in some cases exceed) the professional and economic status of males, they become more selective and prefer men of similar status (Greer, 1986). From interviews with investigators of this problem, however, Greer found that many males still prefer marrying women who are younger, less educated, and less successful.

Morrisoe pointed out that "single men in their thirties

enjoy a privileged position. They can choose a woman their own age, or they can select someone much younger" (1984, p. 30). This double standard of aging coupled with the fact that there are 30% more available women than men in their thirties, places the woman who is thirty or older at a serious disadvantage and contributes to what Siegler called the "spoiled-boy" phenomenon (Morrisoe, 1984). This phenomenon, according to Schwartz, has permitted males to avoid more egalitarian relationships with women by saying "O.K., I can be modern. I'll go out with a professional woman--but she'll be a *young* professional. That way she can have her career, but I can still assume the traditional role" (Morrisoe, 1984, p. 30, emphasis added).

Being a successful single career woman in her thirties is, therefore, not necessarily an asset in terms of marriageability. Spake (1984) noted this phenomenon repeatedly in her interviews with successful single career women in their thirties who wished to be married. As one woman said, "I seem to have become too powerful for any man". Another lamented, "I'm about to give up. I don't think there's a man left out there for me" (p. 48).

Some unmarried professional women in their thirties and forties have reconciled themselves to being single, valuing their success and freedom. Although many of them would welcome marriage and motherhood, they express the view that managing both a career and family would not be possible

without far-reaching compromises. An unmarried cardiac surgeon interviewed by Baruch et al. (1983) said "and if I had a sick baby and they'd be calling me from the O.R. 'come on, it's your turn now, what's the matter with you?' That would just tear me apart. I just couldn't do it" (p. 214).

On the other hand, many successful single career women in their thirties and early forties urgently wish for marriage and motherhood and are not satisfied with the rewards of their careers. Baruch et al. found that single women obtained the lowest scores on measures of pleasure of any group of women studied. Loneliness appears to be the major problem, only partially eased by friendships. These women missed the sustained intimacy ordinarily found in family life. Although many of them have come to accept that in all probability they will neither marry nor have children, there remains a lingering bitterness toward the women's movement which did not warn them of the consequences of their choices. This is captured in the statement of one woman who said, "We were never told 'while you're climbing up the corporate ladder, don't forget to pick up a husband and a child'" (Morrisoe, 1984, p. 30).

Career women now in their thirties and forties represent a transitional generation, reared on traditional values and then, in young adulthood, exposed to feminist ones. They frequently feel "out of step" (Baruch et al., 1983, p 211; cf. Gerson, 1985). The values of the feminine

mystique planted the notion that they were incomplete without a husband, but the later feminist attitudes warned them of the hazards of being a full time housewife and mother. Comparing themselves to their mother's generation, they sometimes feel like failures. As one single career woman said, "I never thought I'd be one of those women my mother always felt so sorry for, thirty-five and desperate" (Spake, 1984, p. 48).

Younger professional women, those in their twenties, often take for granted the gains of the feminist movement and feel less conflict about their careers. This group seems to represent the women most responsible for the increased female representation in business, law, medicine, and other nontraditional careers (Reskin & Hartman, 1986). Stumbo (1984) found from her interviews with these "post feminist" women that they tended to view the feminist generation as unnecessarily militant. "They cannot relate to older women who often felt personally compelled to choose between families and careers or were forced into one role exclusively by social expectations. Their attitudes often range from polite disinterest to obvious contempt" (p. 12). Thus alienated from the experience of the older generation, these younger women, usually single or at least childless, assume they will be able to combine their careers with marriage and motherhood later on. But these women have yet to feel the effects of the biological clock, the declining

opportunities for marriage, and the consequences for their careers of increased responsibility at home. In ten years, they may find themselves in the same situation as their older sisters.

If an early career leads to greatly reduced opportunities for family life, adding a family tends to reduce career career opportunities. The majority of women in both Stewart's and Taylor's studies who delayed marriage and motherhood until their late twenties or early thirties abandoned or seriously modified their careers following the birth of their first child.

Shreve (1982) interviewed women in their thirties who were married mothers of small children while simultaneously engaged in demanding careers. All had devoted well over a decade to building a career before having children and nearly all seriously compromised their careers after their children were born. None of these women intended to reduce their career commitments once they became mothers, but they found that the time pressures and emotional strain of combining two primary occupations were more than they could manage. A pediatrician with a toddler described her life before reducing her work schedule and abandoning her goals for research: "Nothing gave me pleasure. I wasn't allowed to experience either Jeffrey or my career fully. But I didn't want to give up either of them" (p. 42). Although this physician's career compromises permitted her more time

for family, she continued to feel conflicted and anxious that her commitments to career and family were inadequate. Another woman, a lawyer who gave up an opportunity to become a partner in a law firm after the birth of her child said "After I left the law firm, it took me a year to get over it. Professionally, you don't want to expose your doubts. Everybody tries to make it sound like everything's working fine. But it isn't. I don't think it is for anybody" (p. 43). And a magazine editor said of her life before reducing her work schedule to part time "I felt insecure as a mother and yet deeply guilty because I wanted to go back to work. Nothing worked. I wasn't happy at work and I wasn't happy at home. I always felt as though I was doing the wrong thing" (p. 46).

Despite the increasing public endorsement of equal parenting by mothers and fathers, current literature suggests that it continues to be the woman who compromises or abandons her career when her children are born (Klemesud, 1983; Schwartz, 1985; Shreve, 1982). Early career women are aware that curtailing or temporarily abandoning their careers in their thirties is generally something that cannot be made up for later. As Schwartz (1985) noted in his interviews with dual career couples, "cutting back can sink a promising career" (p. 38), and overwhelmingly it was the woman who cut back her career efforts by taking positions which were less demanding, offered fewer possibilities for

growth, and dramatically decreased her income. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that those women who have temporarily left their careers to raise children worry that the career hiatus will make it difficult for them to reenter. As one lawyer said "the longer you're out the harder it is to get a job." "A lot of lawyers look askance when you're out of a job for several years. It's going to be very hard when I go back" (Klemesrud, 1983, p. C10)

The serial choice of early career, late marriage offers women the greatest possibilities for public achievement and the smallest rewards in family life. By getting an early start in the work world, women can compete more effectively, but the longer marriage and motherhood are postponed, the greater the likelihood of being single and childless for life. In order to have families, career women must do so by their early forties at the latest, just as they are beginning to enjoy the fruits of their labor in the work world; but starting a family frequently means abandoning or sacrificing a promising career. The plight of those women who attempt to maintain ongoing commitments in both spheres is the subject of the following section.

Career & Marriage Combined. The two preceding sections have rather schematically described serial attempts to contend with family and work obligations. Starting with one of these two, the woman concentrates on it exclusively and then turns to the other. Although these patterns do occur

in practice and are valid as generalized patterns of behavior, real life is not quite so tidy. It will surprise no one that there are women who marry early and begin careers while their children are still quite young, just as many early career women continue employment after establishing a family. The problems of this third pattern, the dual career woman, include many of those already discussed (such as discrimination, lack of facilitating figures, and inadequate surrogate child care) as well as additional stresses unique to the women who attempts simultaneous commitments to both family and career.

Because women continue to assume a larger responsibility for housework and childrearing than do men (Allgeier, 1983; McCubbin & Dahl, 1985), their participation in the labor force is more strongly influenced by these responsibilities (U. S. Census Bureau, 1980). Being both a full time housewife/mother and full time careerist outside the home, therfore, involves an inherently greater strain than is placed on the working married male.

Continuing to serve both family and career in primary ways, the dual career woman works longer hours, sleeps less, and has less leisure time than her husband (Allgeier, 1983; Hendrix, 1984b; Klemesrud, 1983; McCubbin & Dahl, 1985; Shreve, 1982). Allgeier concluded from this that "It should come as no surprise that such women, compared to men, feel more time pressure and less sense of well being" (p. 176).

Allgeier's comparison involved working women in general, lumping together such occupations as the nine to five clerical employee and the career professional. But the latter group faces even more difficult problems stemming from the greater educational requirements for entry into a profession, longer hours on the job, and the need for uninterrupted commitment in order to remain competitive and advance in the field.

Shreve stated

> they struggle to reconcile the antithetical skills and emotions needed to nurture and appreciate an infant on one hand and to succeed in the corporate environment on the other. Half mother, half careerist, such a woman often feels inadequate and unfulfilled in either role. (p. 40)

In an effort to live in two different worlds, the dual career woman is setting a precedent. Without role models, realistic standards of accomplishment, and adequate support systems, this new woman is often riddled with doubts, anxiety, and guilt. According to Cohen (Shreve, 1982), the dual career woman is increasingly seeking psychological help. Cohen stated that these women often measure themselves against their own families of origin, which were most often not dual career families. In this comparison with their own mothers, they feel like failures as wives and mothers. Nor, according to Stewart, should one "underestimate the influence of mothers who, themselves did

not believe that family and career could be combined; and women in the work world were not likely to be found who had resolved this problem satisfactorily, either (p. 118).

At work, they are likely to fare no better when comparing themselves to men, whose upbringing helped to develop the instrumental and competitive skills necessary for career advancement and whose role in the workplace is unambiguously sanctioned by society (cf. Berg, 1986).

Still, there appears to be a small number of dual career women who are coping better with the stresses of career and family. Critical to their better adjustment are adequate child care services and supportive husbands who are more equal participants in housework and childrearing (Baruch et al., 1983; Darnton, 1985; Reskin & Hartman, 1986; Shreve, 1982).

Summary. No evaluation of women's achievements in the public sphere can be complete without an understanding of the adult developmental tasks of both sexes and of the different realities men and women encounter in the work world.

Success in adult life is always in part a matter of succeeding as a man or as a woman, that is of approximating the traditional sex roles. This task can be delayed or compromised, but never wholly evaded. At the same time, both sexes must grapple in adulthood with the limitations of their traditional, narrowly-defined roles. For the typical

male who devotes the first 20 years of his adult life to establishing himself in the workplace and for the typical female who spends a comparable period raising children and managing domestic affairs, midlife becomes the time when these traditional roles are first called into serious question. Raising the question, however, is not the same as finding the answer, and the evidence for both sexes is that the optimal integration of cross-gender characteristics is seldom achieved. The competitive but nurturing person is a rarity in either sex.

Approaching the issue of women and achievement in this fashion means that explanations of women's failures cannot be formulated in terms of general inferiority or unique psychological disturbance. Rather, the indications are that neither men nor women seem able to penetrate very far into the mysterious ways of the opposite sex while simultaneously living out the gender-role obligations of their own sex.

It should not be assumed, however, that such internal struggles are the only obstacles to female achievement. The crucial facilitating roles of the self-sacrificing mate and the work-world mentor are largely unavailable to women and are often replaced by sabotage at home and discrimination in the office. Then too, the absence of affordable, good-quality child care, which ought to concern both parents, instead poses more of a burden to working women.

Motivated by compelling economic necessity and other

reasons, women have increasingly sought careers, even on these unequal terms. Depending on which strategy they employ, further problems arise. If, for example, a woman marries early, raises a family, and begins a career in midlife, she will be competing for opportunities not only with men, but with younger men and women alike; in addition to sex discrimination, she faces the problem of age discrimination. Her late start will not spare her the necessity of a typical decade of exploration before settling on a career, which leaves her a relatively short period of career success before retirement.

If, on the other hand, a woman postpones marriage and motherhood in favor of a career, her experience and success in the work world closely parallels that of men. It is such women who are currently making the deepest inroads into previously all-male occupations. But her success lasts only as long as she competes with men on approximately equal terms. Once she begins to take up her traditional adult task of raising a family, she is usually required to curtail her professional ambitions. Or, to her disappointment, she may find that years of devotion to her occupation have foreclosed her opportunities to marry and bear children. The man who devotes himself single-mindedly to his career can usually be a "weekend father" and sometime husband, but the woman who makes the equivalent career commitment is apt to find herself alone and lonely.

For those women who attempt a simultaneous rather than serial fulfillment of both career and family goals, the ideal of "having it all" is replaced by the reality of long hours struggling to meet the demands of both roles and the associated frustration and disappointment in being unable to give the required effort to feel successful in either role.

Notes

1. The same was true of Erikson's theory of psychosocial development (1963) throughout life, on which Levinson partly relied; virtually all of his case studies were of males, and women were discussed only insofar as they were in the role of mothers or as a backdrop to men's lives (Williams, 1977). Another researcher whom Levinson mentioned, Vaillant (1977) also used only male subjects in his celebrated longitudinal study of Harvard graduates.

2. Gould (1978) also described transitions in his adult development study of men and women. He referred to them as "separation situations" (p. 24) that are often tumultuous because they rekindle the separation anxiety experienced in childhood when the person had less resources with which to cope.

3. Conversely--as seen--women, who have relationsips but seldom careers, are often characterized as having major problems with separation and individuation. Gilligan (1982) noted this absence of friendships by the men in Levinson's study, and the lack of attention to the ways in which relationships contribute to maturity and interdependence. As she observed, "the emerging conceptions of adult development cast a familiar shadow on women's lives pointing again toward the incompleteness of their separation, depicting them as mired in relationships" (pp. 155-156).

4. Levinson found that executives required approximately 10 years of employment within an occupation before they began their accent of the executive career ladder. Similarly, scientists required about 10 years of training before they began to acquire secure and respected positions.

5. The distinction between "being and doing" is one which Chodorow (1971) says highlights differences in identity and sex role training from early childhood: By and large, women are expected to "be" and men are expected to "do." That is, a women is trained to be responsive to others needs and feelings. For males, masculine status is largely dependent on achieving mastery and power over people and things. While this distinction is extreme and does not do justice to Chodorow's essay, it does serve to emphasize that the ideal male midlife integration of polarities is quite similar to the integration of femininity into a masculine ideal.

6. Collins said that one-fifth of the 400 women in executive positions studied had sexual relations with their mentors. All regretted that they had done so because it diminished their credibility as serious, competent workers and created peer resentment.

7. Reskin and Hartman (1986) defined sex segregation in the workplace as physical/social separation by sex. They said the

> the measure of sex segregation in employment most commonly used in this report, and in other social science research, measures the degree of segregation against a standard of total integration. The index of dissimilarity, often called the segregation index, measures the degree to which the distributions of the groups being studied (women and men here) across a set of categories (occupations or jobs here) differ from each other. (p. 5)

Sex segregation in employment results both from involuntary restrictions and voluntary choice though Reskin and Hartman have concluded that restriction plays a larger role.

8. Reskin and Hartman enumerated some of the major barriers to women's occupational choices.

> These include recruiting systems that either depend on worker referrals or hire from male-dominated preemployment settings (e.g. vocational education classes, the military); requirements for nonessential training or credentials that women often lack; veterans' preference policies; promotion and transfer rules, such as department rather than plantwide seniority systems, that hamper women's movement between jobs and departments; preemployment barriers to relevant job training, such as age restrictions for apprenticeship; and factors such as work climate, harassment, and sponsorship. (p. 126)

9. When increased productivity and tax effects are taken into account, corporation-sponsored day care facilities actually cost employers little or nothing. Despite this, there continues to exist widespread opposition (Shreve, 1982). As one female bank executive

said "I don't see a corporate responsibility in providing day care. The responsibility should be a personal one. The *woman* should find someone in her neighborhood to look after her children" (Shreve, 1982, p. 56, emphasis added). Catalyst, a nonprofit organization that aids working women, surveyed the attitudes and policies of 374 major companies toward assisting working mothers. Of these, 20 percent favored on-site day care but only one percent provided it, nine percent favored subsidies for child care but only one percent had them, and 73 percent favored flexible work schedules but only 37 percent had this policy (Shreve, 1982).

10. Rubin's study focused on the traditional woman's attempts to redefine herself after the responsibilities of motherhood lessened. Thus, she selected only women who had chosen marriage and motherhood as their major occupation in young adulthood.

11. These women belong to the population of females called the "average" mature woman (Kaufman & Richardson, 1982, p. 120).

> If she a member of the cohort born between 1930 and 1939, she is likely to have married at the age of twenty; had her first child about a year later, and to have born her last child at thirty-one. By the age of fifty-two she can expect to see her last child married and within the next twelve years to attend her husband's funeral. She can anticipate five to ten years of widowhood. (p. 120)

12. Moreover, there is increased probability that the traditional woman will become part of the growing number of "displaced homemakers" (Kaufman & Richardson, 1982, p. 127). These women are generally 35 to 64, have served as fulltime homemakers for 20 to 30 years, and have lost their husbands through separation, divorce, abandonment or death. Because the majority of husbands do not fulfill their financial obligations, these women most often exist at poverty levels and are without an adequate societal response to their needs for retraining (Kaufman & Richardson, 1982).

Chapter V

SEX STEREOTYPES: EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL CONSIDERATIONS

The Assault on Stereotypes

Previous chapters have documented how often psychological theories and social institutions are guided by stereotyped conceptions of sex role behavior. Sex stereotypes have been a major impediment to understanding women's lesser contributions to public achievement because stereotyped conceptions of females as dependent, passive, and overly emotional do not explain their lesser hand in the public sphere any more than characterizations of males as insensitive and uncaring account for their lesser participation in the domestic sphere.

In chapter 4, women's lesser participation and success in the public sector were related to the social realities with which they are confronted; it is evident that external forces, guided by sex stereotypes, still serve as formidable deterrents to women's occupational choices.

In the face of evident bias and inequity, some social scientists have recommended a combative approach intended to redress these problems. Bates et al. (1983) stated that

> women will need to *attack* the economic, political, legal, social, psychological, moral,

> aesthetic, cultural, and biological forms our oppression has taken, and in a sense we will have to deal with all these factors all at once. (p. 592, emphasis added)

The same authors urged women actively to oppose elements of the traditional division of labor in the nuclear family structure. Referring to the need for equal parenting, they said "the opposition to such change is bound to be great" as is the "personal cost" to women who refuse to be dominated by men within the family structure (p. 601). They continued, however, that equal parenting "is to free women to be active, assertive, ambitious, and independent as men and to expect men to be caring, nurturing, and sensitive as mothers" (p. 601).

Along the same lines, Baruch et al. (1983) warned young women against the dangers of the sequential pattern of early marriage, late career. They believed that

> a more sensible prescription for young women today than early childbearing and later career entry is to *fight* hard for social change that will help women and men participate in family life and in work; better childcare services, more flexible schedules in the workplace, more involvement of fathers in raising children. (p. 236, emphasis added)

Part of this struggle has involved the promotion of a new ideal of femininity that integrates work and love. This ideal appears in the vast number of articles and conferences featuring women who have successfully combined a demanding career with family life (Bird, 1968; Darnton, 1985;

Dresselhaus, 1974; Karle, 1974; Reinhold, 1984), in studies suggesting that multiple roles result in a sense of well being for women (Baruch et al., 1983; Darnton, 1985), and in investigations supporting maternal employment and warning against the excesses of "smother love" (Baruch et al, 1983; Hoffman, 1974).

Such reports may help to moderate the influence of the female stereotype by making it consistent with work outside the home, but they tend to add a new option to the meaning of femininity rather than to modify the core stereotype. The best example of this is the ideal of "superwoman," who "has it all," combining the traditional role of wife and mother with a full time career and with no compromise in either sphere.

Superwoman was strongly promoted during the 1970's, often by feminists (Berg, 1986). Adopting this dual image of womanhood, numerous "how-to" books (p. 49) suggested that with better organization, increased efficiency, and earlier child training for independence, a woman could succeed in both roles.

On the whole, the combating of sex stereotypes has had some success in reducing external barriers to women's opportunities for achievement. As the doors to male-dominated professions have opened, women (especially young women) have increasingly entered them (Gerson, 1985; Reskin & Hartman, 1986), and there is now a greater

sensitivity to and reluctance to engage in sexist practices in the workplace.

To the extent that women can achieve equality by changing laws, institutions, husbands, and men in general, the future of female achievement looks bright. But such efforts presuppose that women are unambivalently committed to overthrowing the stereotypes that have prescribed traditional sex role behavior. Most women, however, do not appear to have made such a commitment. Chapter 4 documented how the dual career woman of today bears the major responsibility for housework and childrearing, suggesting that she continues to be impelled by the stereotype of the "good" woman as housewife and mother. Gravitation to the traditional role was also seen in the lives of women studied by Stewart and by Taylor, even though they had been exposed to warnings about the dangers of the traditional pattern and had expressed fears of repeating their mothers' lives. Nonetheless, they forfeited their careers for marriage and motherhood. Although the traditional division of labor is, in part, due to the husband's reluctance to engage in "feminine" tasks, other studies indicate that it is also enforced by the wife (Berg, 1986; Gerson, 1985; Poloma & Garland, 1971; Robinson, Yerby, Fieweger, & Somerick, 1977).

The way many women respond to organized "consciousness raising" efforts likewise tends to reflect deep ambivalence about altering the traditional female role. Rubin, for

example, found that conferences aimed at encouraging midlife traditional women to begin a career often left these women feeling misunderstood, demoralized, and even criticized for not taking career risks. Rhetoric and conferences fail to mobilize women to the extent that they ignore the desire by some women to live up to the traditional ideal.

The large numbers of young women in their twenties entering high level professional careers suggest that they feel less restricted by the need to fulfill the roles of wife and mother in the traditional mannner, but, even in this age group, traditional ideals of womanhood remain powerful. Berg's interviews with young single female medical students revealed that a major dilemma for them was "how will we combine our demanding careers with the equally demanding job of motherhood?" (1986, p. 50). Equally demanding, of course, because they expected to serve as traditional wives and mothers and would, therefore, be assuming two full-time jobs. Other young women have resolved this dilemma in favor of the stereotyped role. A 1980 survey of ivy league female college students (cited in Bates et al., 1983) found that the majority of them planned to live as rather traditional women, at least until their children were raised. They chose this pattern even though they represented the elite of highly motivated and academically superior students.

If many women remain ambivalent about tampering with

their traditional identity, there are others whose ambivalence has been settled in favor of the status quo ante. Opponents of the Equal Rights Amendment, for example, base their arguments on the feminine stereotype:

> Opponents contend that women are a special class of being, and need special protection....Those who demand equality and liberation from the old shackles of role and place were rejecting their femininity. They were frustrated harridans or lesbians or both. The more things changed, it seemed the more they remained the same. (Williams, 1977, p. 12)

Despite gains in expanded opportunity, then, a campaign for change that relies mainly on combating discriminatory social institutions may win every battle and still lose the war. This strategy presupposes that the struggle takes place "out there" and not in the minds of women and men, where the stereotypes live and, indeed, flourish.

Contributing to the urgency of a more psychologically-sensitive approach has been the growing recognition that achievement cannot simply be grafted onto traditional roles (nor substituted for them) without tragic consequences. The ideal of superwoman, intended to foster a new identity for women, has instead had a paradoxical effect, frustrating and alienating those who tried to live up to it and driving many back to the security of traditional homebound roles and values. Bates et al. (1983) suggested that "it is possible that this image, unattainable in reality, is the reason many women with

professional promise find the old traditional roles so appealing." They continued, "is it any wonder some women feel overwhelmed, and retreat from career ambitions to the imagined security of the traditional role?" (p. 589)

In the 1980's dual career women began confessing that it was impossible to live out two full-time jobs successfully without enormous strain and that superwoman was, after all, a myth (Baruch et al., 1983; Bates et al, 1983; Berg, 1986; Freudenberger & North, 1985; McCubbin & Dahl, 1985; Shreve, 1982). The exposure of superwoman as a myth has exacerbated women's guilt because the myth allowed women to believe in the possiblity of retaining the traditional domestic role: "If we could be our mothers and then some, who could be critical?" (Berg, 1986, p. 52). But the fall of superwoman created a gap in women's confidence, into which "flowed our guilt, our self reproach, our apology. Whether we wanted to go back to work, hated to go back to work or needed to go back to work, we felt guilty about it" (Berg, 1986, p. 52). The guilt, of course, results from not fulfilling the traditional role. Berg concluded from her study of 750 working mothers that

> The studies supporting maternal employment do not allay the guilt of working mothers one iota. Even those women who knew of them and referred to them and accepted them *still felt guilty*. (p. 60, emphasis in original)

The Struggle Within

Exposing the dangers of the traditional feminine role, providing absolution for deviating from it, and combating sexist institutions have had limited success in tempering the prescriptive power of sex stereotypes because they tend to view the problem mainly as an external one. That is, social institutions are seen as unidirectional forces acting upon individuals. This conception fails to address the interactive nature of the person and society, ignoring how social institutions *reflect* as well as promote sex stereotypes. The traditional stereotype is not only externally prescribed but internally prescribed as well, and in addition to the many outside forces against which women need to struggle, they must also combat themselves.

Neglecting the inner constraints imposed by sex stereotypes has left a source of resistance to more flexible gender roles relatively untouched. Those personally held stereotypes, often removed from awareness, appear less amenable to reality testing and persuasion even when they are maladaptive and unsatisfying. At times, they continue to co-exist with a public endorsement of equal opportunity for the sexes. It is not surprising, therefore, that investigators who have attempted social change by appeals to reason and by attacking discriminatory social systems remain perplexed by the continued existence of sex stereotypes.

It might be argued, of course, that this problem is temporary, that women have lagged behind the recent changes in social institutions and simply need some time to catch up to the reality of more equal opportunity. From this point of view, younger women form a transitional generation, ambivalently leaving the feminine mystique behind as they try to shape new identities. Perhaps so, but it is difficult to know whether recent gains in employment are accurate predictors of future trends in sex-role definition. They may not even be accurate predictors of future employment. In this regard, some examples from the past may be instructive. In 1930, 15 percent of the doctorates in the United States were bestowed upon women, but in 1950 only 9.7 percent--a decline that was not overcome until the mid 1970's. The employment gains women had made in the 1920's sharply decreased during the Depression of the 1930's when working women were seen to have taken jobs from men. Similarly, in the 1940's, women were provided with day care for their children so that they could fill jobs vacated by men who went to war. The gains were lost, however, when the men returned home and traditional patterns were reestablished (Bates et al., 1983).

Despite the fact that sex stereotypes are shallow and inaccurate characterizations of females or males, they have endured with remarkable consistency across otherwise

divergent cultures and economies since earliest times (cf. Gerson, 1985; Williams, 1977). Their force has been central in the theories of female psychology, in social institutions, in the personal lives of women, and even in the arguments of those who have opposed sex stereotyped roles (see below). Although many institutions, social systems, and theories guided by sex stereotypes have fallen, others have taken their place.

If women do not succeed in changing their minds as well as their behavior, they may find themselves accused of the same "complacency" that Heilbrun (cited in Bates et al., 1983) saw as a major factor in the history of the women's movement. Her choice of the word "complacency" amounts to a form of stereotyping, inasmuch as it portrays women as agreeable, passive people who have been so pleased by their progress that it blinds them to the dangers of continued oppression.

Locating woman's oppression mainly in external barriers has tended to promote such stereotyped views by accentuating women's status as victims with no minds or motives of their own. Gerson (1985) noted that by focusing on external coercion to the exclusion of internal factors,

> the problem of motivation, of what women want and why they want it, thus plays no independent causal role in these analyses. Women either are coerced to comply with male-dominated capitalist institutions or become victims of 'false consciousness.'....The unfortunate implication of these analyses is that women are so victimized as

> to lack either the intelligence to see their situation accurately or the strength to do anything about it. (p. 28)

Although lowering external barriers allows women to move in greater number into the career world, maintaining these gains requires them to overcome the internal barriers imposed by the traditional definition of what it is to be a "good" woman. Without this, it is hard to imagine women making any firm demands for equity with men in the public sector or, for that matter, to make unwavering career commitments at all. Indeed, the oscillating movement characterizing women's history of reform is likely less a history of "complacency" than of conflict and ambivalence.

As things now stand, many women feel entitled to enter formerly male-dominated professions only if they also take on the competing obligations of wife and mother in the mannner prescribed by the feminine stereotype. As seen, attempts to satisfy the robust requirements of both full-time occupations have resulted in overwhelming stress for most women and ultimately in compromises that favor the traditional role. Commenting on this dilemma, Berg said

> We may rail against the stereotypes, condemn the conventional thinking that woman cannot or should not work and be mothers, and yet deep within us we accept that early prohibition that we should not do both; that we are in violation of some sacred code. (p. 112)

Bates et al. (1983) have emphasized that understanding the appeal of the traditional stereotype is crucial if women

are to continue expanding their roles:

> Answering this question may help feminists to understand better some of the fears, conflicts, and survival strategies of many of our sisters. It may also provide information about a source of resistance that the women's movement must confront. (p. 588)

The rest of this chapter will focus on the persistent and pervasive appeal of sex stereotypes. As seen, they have not only been a potent guiding force in social institutions, and in the construction of psychological theory, but also in the personal lives of women and men. As such, they have served as ideals and standards by which behaviors are evaluated and regulated. The prescriptive and proscriptive force of sex stereotypes has led to narrowly-defined roles that are often unviable and unsatisfying. In practice, stereotypes have not only inhibited women from reaching their potential in the public realm, but they have also restricted men's more nurturant and vulnerable expressions of self in the personal realm of relationships (Ehrenreich, 1983; Goleman, 1984; Mehren, 1984; Osherson, 1986; Pleck, 1981).

Information on the nature and function of the internal world of stereotypes seems essential to understand their timeless appeal and formidable resistance to reality testing and rational persuasion. Although these personally and often less consciously held stereotyped assumptions appear highly sensitive to explicit or implied social criticism,

they also independently regulate behavior and self esteem.

In the following section, observations that have repeatedly emerged from interviews, case material, and experimental studies will be described. Analysis of these observations will help clarify how behavior that violates sex role stereotypes is interpreted intrapsychically. The descriptions apply mainly to women attempting to cross their gender boundaries by engaging in male-dominated activities. However, where possible, the parallel phenomenon will be described in men, with respect to their inhibitions about engaging fully in the world of intimacy. It is intended that the picture presented will illuminate not only why women have had a lesser hand in public achievement but also why men have had so few friends.

A View from Within:

Women's Stereotypes about Themselves

In noting the difficulties women have had in traditionally male-dominated areas of public achievement, two themes commonly emerge: women tend to interpret achievement as a destructive form of aggression and to minimize, disavow, or deny achievements that violate the feminine stereotype.

The Achievement-Aggression Equation. As described in

chapter 2, Horner (1968) hypothesized that "fear of success" was the result of a latent personality disposition developed early in life that became activated when women asserted themselves competitively against men. Horner believed that success-fearing women experienced the aggressive overtones in their achievements as failures in femininity that would invite social rejection by males. To avoid this consequence, females would compromise or abandon their achievement efforts in favor of more stereotypically feminine pursuits. To test this hypothesis, Horner instructed subjects to write stories about a same-sexed fictional character. As noted earlier, Horner's study and subsequent replications produced inconsistent confirmation of her hypothesis.

One finding that did emerge consistently, however, was a type of story told mainly by women, which contained bizarre and violent outcomes, suggesting that successful achievement in male-dominated professions would unleash aggressive forces capable of destroying self or others. In response to the cue, "At the end of first term finals Anne finds herself at the top of her medical school class," one female subject wrote

> She starts proclaiming her surprise and joy. Her fellow classmates are so disgusted with her behavior that they jump on her in a body and beat her. She is maimed for life. (Horner, 1968, p. 106)

The connection between destructive aggression and achievement was also noted in a study by Pollack and Gilligan (1982) in which women writing stories to picture cues of women in achievement settings depicted violent outcomes more often than did men. For example, one woman wrote

> Another boring day in the lab and that mean bitchy Miss Hegstead always breathing down the students' backs. Miss Hegstead has been at Needham County High School for 40 years and every chemistry class is the same. She is watching Jane Smith, the model student in the class. She always goes over to Jane and comments to the other students that Jane is the only student who really works hard, etc. Little does Miss Hegstead know that Jane is making some arsenic to put in her afternoon coffee. (p. 41-42)

This study suggested that a parallel phenomenon exists for males in interpersonal settings that stimulate dependency longings and other feelings associated with the female sex. In stories about intimate situations, males projected more violence than females. For example, one male wrote the following story to a "tranquil scene, a couple sitting on a bench by a river next to a low bridge" (p. 39-40):

> Nick saw his life pass before his eyes. He could feel the cold penetrating ever deeper into his body. How long had it been since he had fallen through the ice--thirty seconds, a minute? It wouldn't take long for him to succumb to the chilling grip of the mid-February Charles River. What a fool he had been to accept the challenge of his roommate Sam to cross the frozen river. He knew all along that Sam hated him. Hated him for being rich and especially hated him for being engaged to Mary, Sam's childhood sweetheart. But Nick never realized until now that Mary also hated

> him and really loved Sam. Yet there they were, the two of them, calmly sitting on a bench in the riverbend, watching Nick drown. They'd probably soon be married, and they'd probably finance it with the life insurance policy for which Mary was the beneficiary. (p. 40)

Gilligan used these stories in support of her thesis that male and female development yield different moral judgments. In particular, female development stresses the importance of maintaining ongoing attachment to others resulting in a morality based on empathic understanding and care of others. For males, masculinity is defined through increasing separateness and independence from others, with moral judgments based on a more impersonal and impartial code. One product of this differential development is a tendency in both sexes to perceive danger and aggression in situations where the moral code may be violated or compromised. Thus males may fear danger in intimate settings where the goal is maintenance of the connection to others through empathic caring that subordinates independent assertions and impartiality. Conversely, females may fear danger and aggression in impersonal achievement settings requiring assertion of preferences that could disrupt relationships.

Women's "confusion" of achievement and aggression, then, is no simple cognitive lapse requiring re-education. It is intimately tied to internal standards of right and wrong.

Drawing from clinical material and women's consciousness raising groups, Waites (1982) repeatedly observed that self assertions and aggressive fantasies in achievement or sex were promptly converted into omnipotent fears of massive destruction. Citing a clinical case, Waites said "it was as if her smallest aggressive impulse, if unleashed, could destroy the world" (p. 37). The effect of equating assertiveness and aggressive fantasies with catastrophic disaster was intense guilt and withdrawal from the "aggressive" activity in favor of stereotyped behaviors and images of compliant femininity. Waites said that "she had taken refuge from unresolved conficts over aggression in the feminine stereotype" and "expended considerable energy on maintaining her passivity" (p. 38). This resulted in the abdication of responsibility for her "aggressiveness" and, by extension, "she could not lay claim to her own achievements either, or make the most of her considerable intellectual capabilities" (p. 38). Other consequences were diminished self esteem and continual anxiety that her hyperalert defensive posture was inadequate protection against possible leaks in aggression.

In his studies of women and achievement, Krueger (1984) found also that equating achievement and destructive aggression frequently resulted in guilt, anxiety, and work inhibitions. As women became cognizant of their competence, especially in male-dominated professions, their self esteem

was diminished rather than enhanced. Krueger concluded that

> superego structures may demand that aggression be turned on the self rather than outwardly directed, even in an appropriate assertive manner. If the superego is especially critical of self assertion, equating it unconsciously with aggression, the result may be self-effacing or masochistic characteristics. (p. 143)

Why do women confuse aggression and achievement? Why do they condemn their own accomplishments and feel guilty about their success? And why do men confuse intimacy and aggression, feeling that nurturing or being nurtured undermines their masculinity? For both sexes, a small part of the answer appears to involve the intrinsic risks of the "dangerous" and feared behavior, for example (in men), the danger that intimacy will lead to a loss of autonomy or to engulfment, or (in women), the risk that their achievement will in fact hurt others. Although male/female differences are not in and of themselves evidence of stereotypes, the fact that the "dangerous" behaviors are those associated with the opposite sex's *expected* behavior suggests that the greatest dangers are not those just mentioned, but, rather the disequilibrium and self-condemnation arising from transgressing gender stereotypes in thought or deed.

The Subordination of the Contemporary Self Image to the Traditional Feminine Stereotyped Self Image. This second phenomenon has been previously touched upon in the discussion of metonomy as an element of stereotyping. That

is, behaviors that violate the stereotyped ideal of femininity are subordinated or excluded from the self image though they continue in behavior.

The wives and mothers studied by Rubin who simultaneously engaged in demanding and challenging careers were evidently more successful at combining both roles *in practice* than in forging an identity that integrated the two views of themselves. They clung to the traditional stereotype of the female. Most said that they never brought home the person who performed at the office. As one woman said "I have to park my professional self outside the door when I come home. The woman--the aggressive one, I mean--just couldn't live with my husband" (p. 61). It may be true that the "aggressive" woman could not live with her husband. However, it is also likely that she could not live with herself, that the more recently acquired image of the achieving woman could not coexist with the longstanding traditional one of wife and mother. Instead, the traditional feminine stereotype comprised her central identity and prevented the career identity from being integrated. As one woman put it "I have trouble telling people I'm the director of this institution. Somehow, it still doesn't feel like that's really me" (p. 60). Another woman said "being a lawyer is what I *do;* you asked me what I *am*" (p. 58). Commenting on this finding in Rubin's study, Krueger (1984) said "this disavowal of success, power, and

assertion epitomizes one of the conscious manifestions of a dichotomized perception of oneself" (p. 144). As one of Rubin's (1979) subjects said, "I have two selves--one at home and in the social world I live in, and one at work. My husband doesn't like aggressive women" (p. 46). These women feared, and perhaps realistically, that an integration of their two roles would result in rejection by husbands and friends. However, their self descriptions, even when interviewed at work, excluded any mention of their professional achievements, suggesting that the compartmentalizing of the "two selves" was also mandated by internal restrictions. Conversely, the males interviewed by Rubin held no consciously perceived identity outside of their work. "Even where men do work they hate...work was still the reference point for identity--not just the work they do by day but the do-it-yourself tasks they do by night" (Rubin, 1979, p. 58). As noted earlier, no man interviewed described himself as a husband and only a few mentioned that they were fathers.

The disavowal or minimizing of successful behavior by woman in traditionally male-dominated fields emerged also from Horner's research, where female subjects denied their effort or responsibility for attaining success or denied the success cue altogether. For example, one woman wrote "it was luck that Anne came out on top of her medical class because she didn't want to go to medical school anyway"

(Tresemer, 1977, p. 91). Horner said that some women wrote that "Anne is a code name for a nonexistent person created by a group of medical students. They take turns taking exams and writing papers for her" (1974, p. 709).

One way that women disclaim responsibility for their success in competitive spheres has been to convert "male" issues of achievement into "female" issues about relationships. In the research of Stewart (1977), Taylor (1981), and Rubin (1979), women deciding whether to make a move toward achievement in school or career tended to perceive their decisions as a response or reaction to significant others. In other words, they converted "I wanted to" into "I had to," "I wanted to but they wouldn't let me" or "I did it because they wanted me to" (cf. Waites, 1982). Thus, women tried to maintain a traditional feminine moral code and point of view while confronting questions and issues they regarded as masculine, and therefore foreign to their nature.

The feminine stereotype gathers its prescriptive force from the female's moral code. Central to this code is the relegation of personal needs and preferences to those of others. Thus, asserting individual preferences does violence to the feminine stereotype and threatens a loss of female identity. That is, to be feminine in the traditional sense is not to assert oneself, and by implication, not to plan logically and instrumentally for one's future. It is,

instead, to accommodate to the needs of others. Thus, the very process of engaging those faculties necessary to answer the question of "What do I want to do?" in the way of a career may not be allowed to surface in an unconflictual way or be integrated into the traditional feminine role. Significantly, the active and instrumental perspective necessary to negotiate questions of identity during transitions are the same ones necessary to plan adaptively and to maneuver in the career world.

In a effort to carve out a personal identity more independent of what others want, Gilligan's female subjects struggled with the conflict between abiding by the feminine moral code and conceiving of adulthood in terms of public achievement. Citing an example of this dilemma, Gilligan described a woman who was struggling with her wish to terminate her pregnancy but who felt "selfish" (p. 96) and fearful that

> It would be an acknowledgment to me that I am an ambitious person....To be ambitious means to be power hungry and insensitive. *Why insensitive?* Because people are stomped on in the process. A person on the way up stomps on people. (p. 97)

Interpreting this conflict, Gilligan said

> Because Ruth sees the acquisition of adult power as entailing the loss of feminine sensitivity and compassion, she construes the conflict between femininity and adulthood as a moral problem. The abortion dilemma then directs her attention to what it means in this society to be a woman and to be an adult, and the recognition of the disparity between power and care initiates

> the search for a resolution that can encompass both femininity and adulthood, in relationships and at work. (pp. 97-98)

The subordination of public achievements by women has sometimes taken a more extreme form, as in the *imposter phenomenon* (Berg, 1986; Krueger, 1984; cf. Moulton, 1977). Krueger said

> the imposter phenomenon designates an experience of dishonesty in which high-achieving women feel that they have 'fooled everybody.' They see themselves as imposters and think they are not really very bright despite outstanding academic and professional accomplishments. Their perception of themselves is not at all altered by objective evidence of superior accomplishment. (p. 89)

To illustrate this phenomenon, Krueger presented a case study of a high achieving woman who described herself as consisting of a "real self" and the "other woman." The preferred "real self" conformed to the traditional stereotype of femininity and served as her ideal. The "other woman" existed "as a kind of imaginary companion who emerged whenever her disallowed erotic or aggressive urges warranted expression" (p. 87-88). Assigning the more aggressive desires to the "other woman" served defensively to protect her from harsh judgments of her conscience for violating the stereotyped ideal of femininity. Unfortunately, this compromise left her with a feeling that her achievements were "fake", and, consequently, she retreated from her work commitments. Further, when she was

no longer able to compartmentalize the two images of herself, a conflict ensued accompanied by anxiety, depression, and feelings of inadequacy.

Berg (1986) found also that fraudulent feelings undermined the achievements of many of the women she interviewed:

> from all over the country voices of self-doubt combine in a chorus a inauthenticity. We're not really experts or professionals or competent to perform our jobs. We're imposters, fakes, tricksters. Unfortunately, these feelings reinforce themselves. We either mar our performance...thereby 'confirming' that we're not really so good, or we might do the reverse. Many of us become workaholics, because that way we can attribute our success to our extraordinary efforts. Without working harder than anyone else, we should be seen as failures. (p. 138)

As these examples indicate, violating the stereotype applicable to one's gender leads to conflict, guilt, and attempts to deny the transgression, quite apart from whatever social sanctions may also ensue. Deviating from one's stereotyped sex role is seen both socially and personally as a moral transgression. So rigid and unreasonable is this primitive code that it is little influenced by rational considerations. Thus, most women *know* (cognitively) the difference between aggressiveness and achievement; they *know* that they are entitled to an equal place with men in the work world, and that they are not required to fulfill the domestic role in the traditional manner. Despite this, they feel guilty for letting this

knowledge influence the behavior.

Chapter VI

THE ROLE OF SEX STEREOTYPES IN GENDER IDENTITY AND PSYCHIC STRUCTURE

As the previous chapters indicate, the large problem of women and achievement, when carefully considered, turns itself into the still larger problem of why men and women cling to stereotypes of themselves based on polarized views of the sexes. That such stereotypes have been potent forces in psychological research and theory, in the values of social institutions, and in the minds of men and women across countless generations can no longer be doubted. But documenting this pervasive influence is not the same as explaining it, nor can the explanation be located mainly in external factors of law, social custom, and institutional prejudice or in theories based on biological differences in sex organs and reproductive function. Instead, the deeply ingrained stereotypes that limit the scope of female achievement and male tenderness require a new theory, one capable of locating their origins in development and their whereabouts in the adult mind, of explaining their persistence and power in the face of conscious efforts to eradicate them, and of taking into account relevant cognitive and social factors. In short, what is needed is a new, or at least modified, theory of how gender identity

develops in its typical, stereotyped form.

An Overview of Gender Development

Gender identity begins to develop at birth when infants are immediately identified as male or female. This is the first step in the formation of what Stoller (1968, 1977) termed *core gender identity*, which refers to a sense of maleness in males and femaleness in females. Stoller said of core gender identity:

> It is a part of, but not identical with, what I have called gender identity--a broader concept, standing for the mix of masculinity and femininity found in every person. ('male' and 'female' refer to sex, or biological state; 'masculinity' and 'femininity' to gender identity, a conviction about one's self and one's role.)
>
> Core gender identity develops first and is the central nexus around which masculinity and femininity gradually accrete. *Core gender identity has no implication of role or object relations;* it is, I suppose, a part of what is loosely called 'narcissism.' (1977, p. 61, emphasis added)[1]

Although biology plays some part in the development of core gender identity (e.g., fetal androgens), Stoller believed that social factors (sex assignment, parental attitudes) are far more decisive (1968, 1977). Moreover, Stoller found that core gender identity is fairly well established within the first two and one-half years of life and that attempts to alter it thereafter usually result in disastrous effects on one's identity and mental

equilibrium.

Stoller's work on sex and gender presents a serious challenge to the classic psychoanalytic assumptions that anatomy is necessarily linked to gender identity and that female gender identity arises conflictually as a compensatory reaction to castration shock. The existence of an early primary femininity in girls refutes Freud's assumption that the preoedipal girl believed herself to be a "little man" (Freud, 1933/1964a, p. 118). Arguing against an early masculine period in little girls, Stoller said

> Unfortunately, I know of no systematic--only anecdotal--reports showing that little girls are feminine long before the oedipal phase, and I believe these reports do not exist merely because no one has bothered to measure the obvious. And it is obvious. Anyone who has observed little girls has seen that they can be feminine, as soon as any behavior appears that can be judged gender-related....Little girls of two already show differences from little boys in style, inflections, carriage, and fantasy life. (1977, p. 66)

Preoedipal Influences on Gender Identity. Stoller has proposed that gender identity develops from "two different ways of learning" (1977, p. 73). The first refers to a relatively conflict free period corresponding to the preoedipal stage. During that period,

> mechanisms like imprinting(?)[sic], conditioning, identification, and imitation contribute heavily to such learning and result in the automatized behaviors and convictions, attitudes, and fantasies that I call core gender identity. (Stoller, 1977, p. 73)

During this early period of development, there are more similarities than differences in the way boys and girls are socialized. In particular, parents allow and encourage independent behavior equally for both sexes; and they are no more prone to discourage aggressive behavior in girls than in boys (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974, p. 362).

Some essentially superficial gender differences do exist at this stage, however. Boys generally engage in more "masculine" large muscle or gross motor activities and girls in "feminine" activities that require more fine motor skills (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974; Rohrbaugh, 1979).

Both sexes seem to be socialized toward stereotypically sex-linked modes of dress, play and other behavior, but girls at least are under no particular pressure at this age to avoid or to give up cross-gender behavior. The picture is somewhat different in boys, whose fathers in particular do actively discourage "feminine" interests (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). Given the greater pressure on boys to choose sex-appropriate activities, it is not surprising that they are even at this early age less willing to transgress gender role boundaries than are girls (Rohrbaugh, 1979).

This preoedipal phase of gender identity acquisition, then, is relatively less conflictual for girls than for boys (at least for some boys). Moreover, the conflict between permissible and desired behavior is not likely to be understood by a child of either sex as a *gender*-related

conflict per se. Despite how typically feminine or masculine a preoedipal child may seem at times--a girl with her dolls and a boy with his trucks, for example--what these apparently sex-typed behaviors *mean* to the child is very different from what the adult observer may take them to mean. Core gender identity during the preoedipal period has, as Stoller noted above, no implications for gender role, and the child's response to gender training at this stage is more a matter of superficial conformity to parental requirements than of internalizing and integrating gender-linked standards for behavior. The preoedipal child is also the cognitively preoperational child, and the "constancy" of the concept of gender (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974) is as ill-established (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974) as conservation of the traditional Piagetian categories.

Indeed, gender constancy seems to parallel other cognitive developments. That is, the conceptions of gender held by the preoperational child of four (and even the five or six year old entering the concrete operational period) are quite limited. For children of these ages, thinking tends to be egocentric, magical, more intuitive than logical, and understanding is often based upon external but superficial characteristics (Ginsburg & Opper, 1969; Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). With respect to gender, genital differences are not seen as the central defining characteristic that distinguishes the sexes, but rather as one of many

differences, which are not hierarchically arranged (Rohrbaugh, 1979). Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) described the gender categories of the preschooler as "cartoon-like--oversimplified, exaggerated, and stereotyped" (p. 364). They are based on superficial characteristics such as clothes, hair, beards, occupations, and consequently are changeable. Kohlberg (1966a, cited in Rohrbaugh, 1979) found that most four or five year olds studied believed that, for example, a girl could be a boy if she played boy's games or dressed or wore her hair like a boy. Conversely, boys believed that they could be girls if they spoke with a girl's tone of voice and wore a wig. In 1955, Katcher (cited in Rohrbaugh, 1979) found that the majority of three year olds could correctly identify the sex of cutout figures by their clothes and hair, but 88% of three year olds, over half of four to five year olds, and one-third of six year olds incorrectly identified the sex of a cutout figure when genitals were the only distinguishing characteristic. This suggests that adult concepts of masculinity and femininity are unavailable to very young children and are not necessarily related to sex.

Only when they reach age six or seven do children understand that sex categories are invariable and that genital differences are the basis for this distinction (Rohrbaugh, 1979). Further, research suggests that until that age, the child's cognitive limitations interfere with

his ability to simultaneously classify one object in multiple ways (Ginsburg & Opper, 1969). As a result, membership in sex categories is also somewhat unclear:

> Early in development, he may not know precisely which other people share a sex category with him; a boy of 4 may know, for example, which other children are also boys, but he may class all adults together as 'grown-ups' and fail to make consistent distinctions between men and women or to realize that men and boys are similar in the sense of all being males. (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974, p. 365)[2]

Given that young children fail to make consistent gender distinctions, it should not be expected that they always imitate the same sex parent. Instead, studies suggest that children up to about the age of eight tend to imitate adults who are perceived as having power or dominance regardless of sex (Heatherington & Parkes, 1975; Rohrbaugh, 1979).

In summary, the preoedipal child develops a sense of membership in the male or female sex. This may coexist with, but is not yet integrated with behaviors ordinarily seen as derivative of that membership. Nor is being a boy or a girl understood as an unalterable characteristic by virtue of differences in sex organs. For both sexes, training in gender role is relatively nonconflictual as compared with the oedipal period, especially in little girls.

Oedipal Trauma and Gender Identity. Stoller's second mode of learning gender identity occurs during the oedipal

phase. Unlike the relatively conflict-free acquisition of gender-related behaviors characteristic of the preoedipal phase, the gender identity of the oedipal child is forged with the heat of conflict and the press of trauma. As Stoller put it,

> The [second] one that has been especially the domain of psychoanalytic study is learning that is the result of frustration, conflict, trauma, and resolution of conflict via defense mechanisms. Freud's theory of the development of masculinity and femininity is almost exclusively of this sort (except for his firmly though vaguely documented belief in biological contributions). (1977, pp. 72-73)

For the purposes of this discussion, the trauma and conflict associated with gender identity at the oedipal phase have to do mainly with the *negative* oedipus complex. At a minimum, the resolution of the negative oedipus complex involves, in the girl, a giving up of masculine identifications (i.e., identifications with her father *as a man*), and, in the boy, a renunciation of feminine identifications (i.e., identifications with his mother *as a woman*). It should be stressed that the girl does not relinquish all *paternal* identifications, nor the boy all *maternal* ones, but rather, in each case, only that subset of opposite-sex identifications most closely linked in the child's mind with sex and gender. In some cases, the identifications to be renounced may be associated with a rivalrous attitude toward the opposite-sex parent and with

what has traditionally been called a "homosexual" or "bisexual" attachment to the same-sex parent. Certainly it is to be expected that the child have an affectionate ("libidinal") relationship with both parents, though there is no good psychological reason to construe a boy's attachment to his father as homoerotic unless it originates in a feminine identification or seeks to gratify a sexual aim, nor to construe a girl's attachment to her mother as homoerotic unless it originates in a masculine identification or seeks to gratify a sexual aim. How often these conditions are met in the oedipal phase is not known. What is likely to be universal, however, is the "minimum" condition mentioned above, the existence of some identifications inconsistent with one's sex, which must be relinquished in the interest of consolidating gender identity into *either* a masculine *or* a feminine identity. Any wishes and behaviors associated with these identifications are also to be renounced.

The conflict and trauma associated with the negative oedipus complex will be described in more detail below. It should be noted in passing that the *positive* oedipus complex is at least as decisive in the consolidation of gender identity, but not necessarily as traumatic. Oversimplifying matters for the moment, the resolution of the positive oedipus complex essentially *reinforces* gender identity consistent with biological sex, a process that can involve

intense conflict (e.g., castration conflict), but not conflict with one's core gender identity. In that sense, the positive oedipus complex continues and consolidates the unconflictual preoedipal development of gender identity. The oversimplification just mentioned has to do with how rigid and arbitrary the gender role characteristics are that are socially and, during this phase, individually, assigned to each sex. Therefore, if the little girl's resolution of the positive oedipus complex requires her to identify with her mother's "passivity" or "masochism," then there is obviously potential for conflict and trauma in this resolution. In theory, though, resolving the positive oedipus complex should be conflict-free (in relation to gender) to the extent that gender role definition is derived from biology and not a perversion of it. In other words, the positive oedipus complex (unlike the negative version) has no potential for conflict with core gender identity, but its resultant internalized sense of masculinity or femininity may--for example, as stereotypes--involve traumatic or conflictual role definitions.

The resolution of the negative oedipus complex, by contrast, is necessarily a traumatic process because it requires the renunciation of pre-existing identifications and behavior that are either inherently or defined to be at odds with the required gender role. In the briefest terms, the positive oedipus complex adds to previous preoedipal

training along gender lines; the negative oedipus complex is essentially a subtractive process

The Oedipus Complex in Girls. In its positive aspect, the little girl's oedipus complex involves a wish to possess her father and be rid of her mother. According to Stoller, oedipal-stage feminine gender identity develops out of this process. To win her father, she may shape her behavior to what she knows or believes her father likes about females.

> She will convert the observations into behaviors. Those that feel right are likely to be repeated...they become chronic--what we conceptualize as 'a piece of character structure' or 'identity.' And when these fantasy systems-become-behavior focus on certain topics, we call what we see 'femininity.' (1977, p. 74)

Thus, in Stoller's view, the father is the medium by which earlier sex-typed behaviors are reinforced and consolidated into a meaningful feminine gender identity. In relation to her mother, the girl's task is to supplant her preoedipal attachment with maternal identifications.

The girl's father also plays a key role in her negative oedipus complex, essentially by discouraging "masculine" aggression and active (as opposed to passive) traits in general. According to Deutsch (1944), the father offers the girl a "bribe," promising "love and tenderness" if "she renounces any further intensification of her activity, most particularly of her aggressions" (p. 251). If the bribe is effective, the renounced aggression is converted into

femininity, passivity, and masochism tempered by narcissism, a condition that Deutsch considered essential to healthy femininity. Thus, the path to oedipal femininity (and ultimately a heterosexual orientation) involves a sharp turn from "masculine" aggression and becomes a condition for keeping the father's love.

Psychoanalytic accounts differ from one another in their understanding of the girl's negative oedipus complex, but all seem to interpret female aggressiveness as masculine and, therefore, as implicated in the negative oedipus complex. Sometimes this is because of an imputed constitutional bisexual orientation (Freud, 1933/1964a; Deutsch, 1944); sometimes her "masculine" aggression is seen as a defensive effort to cope with castration shock or to win possession of her mother (Stoller, 1977, pp. 74-75). Both views point to the female's aggression as a problem in the achievement of normal femininity. But aggressive behavior by little girls is neither evidence of psychic masculinity nor an indication of homosexuality. Rather, it is behavior that society stereotypically *construes* as masculine and, as soon as possible, requires the little girl to construe as masculine and, therefore, as prohibited to her gender. Thus, to be a feminine female has required that girls curtail overt expressions of self assertion and aggression.

Psychoanalytic accounts of the female oedipus complex

(especially in its negative aspect) have nearly always described it as more problematic in resolution than is true of boys, who "literally smashed it to pieces" (Freud, 1925/1961, p. 257). Deutsch, for example, concluded that the change in the girl's love object from mother to father "is never completely achieved" (1944, p. 20). One explanation for this more incomplete resolution arises from the inapplicability to girls of castration anxiety as a motive for giving up oedipal wishes. Another view points to preoedipal problems in individuation because the girl shares the same sex with her mother, which interferes with the establishment of separate boundaries. Manifestations of the girl's "incomplete" oedipal resolution are thought to include any continuing expressions of "masculine" aggression and any continuing suggestions of "homosexual" attachment to mother.

It may be safely assumed that little girls do not unambivalently renounce aggressive wishes and behavior, but, as discussed above, this reflects their difficulty in living up to a sex stereotype more than it does a problem in renouncing masculinity.

The extent to which an oedipal girl can and should substitute identification for her attachment to her mother is likewise subject to question. One significant problem is that her maternal attachment is often referred to as homosexual *by definition*--because it involves a love

relation between two persons of the same sex--and not by virtue of any sexual aim or psychic masculinity. If it were the case that girls' oedipal resolution leaves them with significant homosexual inclinations as compared with boys, one would expect this to be reflected in a higher incidence of adult homosexual behavior, which, of course, is not at all the case.

It might well be closer to the truth to say that the girl's continuing attachment to her mother demonstrates not so much a homosexual urge for union as it does a capacity for object relations.

These considerations do not rule out other, less commonly noted factors that may interfere with oedipal resolution in the girl. Her identification with her mother may be complicated by her recognition of femininity both as a socially devalued status and as an obligation to give rather than receive nurturance. In addition, her ability to exchange her attachment to her mother for the love of her father may be compromised by his relative absence, both physically and emotionally. Conflictual oedipal resolution stemming from these factors obviously reflects problems arising from patriarchy more than femininity.

In relation to achievement, the older psychoanalytic view was that female achievement was evidence of incomplete (negative) oedipal resolution because it demonstrated an unwillingness to give up active and aggressive "masculine"

identifications for more passive "feminine" ones. The price for this success was a continued "homosexual" attachment to mother and resistance to heterosexual involvements. The more contemporary view agrees that female oedipal resolution is incomplete, but uses this hypothesis to explain women's *lesser* public achievement. There are probably few analysts left who would seek a broad application of the older view, though there is no reason to doubt that psychic masculinity might motivate some career women. The advantage of the contemporary view is that, leaving aside the question of incomplete oedipal resolution, it is consistent with understanding gender role as an exceedingly powerful organizer of behavior. No child will readily make an oedipal resolution that appears to run counter to previous gender identity and training, and it should not be surprising that girls will "choose" to be feminine first, sacrificing their potential for achievement if this is seen to conflict with femininity.

The Oedipus Complex in Boys. In boys, the resolution of the negative oedipus complex involves renouncing his "affectionate feminine attitude to his father" (Freud, 1923/1961, p. 33). He is apt to have been prepared for this both by preoedipal gender restrictions and by a pre-existing, preponderate attachment to his mother. The latter, however, may make it more difficult and more traumatic for him to renounce identifications with her.

Likewise, in the positive oedipus complex, he faces problems identifying with a relatively absent father, problems that parallel those of the girl who is obliged to transfer her libidinal object tie to him. Despite the incentives provided by a society that values masculinity over femininity and despite the role of castration anxiety (essentially a dread of being like mother), it is by no means clear that the boy accomplishes a greater, deeper, or more thorough oedipal resolution than the girl.

Oedipal Trauma, Gender, and Psychopathology. In the course of discussing oedipal developments, Freud marveled at the enormous prohibitions and demands made by civilization on the young child, who "must pass through an immensely long stretch of human cultural development in an almost uncannily abbreviated form," (1940/1964, p. 185) and must do so with a "feeble" (p. 184) and "helpless" (p. 185) ego. This highly condensed series of developments he regarded as traumatic and as responsible for the emergence of psychopathology later in life.

Socializing children entails increasingly *conditional* parental approval and requires the child to suppress, repress, and sublimate not only behaviors that violate taboos against incest and injury to others, but also behaviors and identifications that are considered inappropriate to his or her gender.

Like the other accommodations the oedipal child must make,

those involving gender are implicated in later psychopathology. As with psychopathology in general, later events that are reminiscent of early gender conflict and trauma evoke the prohibited desires, the experience of danger and anxiety, and the early defenses used to contend with them. At these times, violations of gender boundaries revive the early trauma and the reaction formations that appear as hyperconformity to sex stereotypes. Thus women may inhibit their "male" achievements by disavowing/withdrawing from the "dangerous" behaviors and reinstating themselves as accommodating and compliant "good" females. Similarly, men who violate their sex stereotypes may withdraw from or undo the offending behavior by presenting themselves as independent and aggressive, masculine men. This defensive aspect of sex stereotypes is associated with two serious problems. First is the handicap that any defense provides in adaptation:

> The defense now prove[s] a hindrance in dealing with the new tasks of life, so that severe conflicts come about between the demands of the real world and the ego, which seeks to maintain the organization which it has painstakingly achieved in its defensive struggle. (Freud, 1939/1964, p. 77)

Among the "new tasks of life" are contemporary feminist issues, social legislation, female pursuit of power and success in traditionally male occupations, the rise of joint custody, and the need for men to adapt to all of these. The

second problem is that defensive hyperconformity to sex stereotypes is rarely adequate to stave off the early danger situation and symptoms of anxiety, guilt, depression, and diminished self esteem.

The trauma of gender training, the defenses invoked to contend with it, the recapitulation of the original danger situation later in life, and the inadequacy of the defenses to adapt flexibly either to current or past reality thus all follow the well established pattern of childhood trauma in general.[3]

Summary and discussion. Gender identity development depends far more on learning and on the intellectual development of the child than on biological sex differences. Broadly, gender identity development seems to parallel cognitive development.

The learning of gender identity has been divided into two types: an unconflictual or preoedipal mode and a conflictual or oedipal one. The first period results in some sex-typed behaviors and a rudimentary sense of maleness or femaleness known as core gender identity. It is rudimentary in part because the preoedipal child is also the preoperational child who lacks gender constancy, does not appreciate that the genitals discriminate between the sexes, and is inconsistent in making categories and classifications. This first period, therefore, does not imply any significant gender restrictions that might produce conflict or inhibit

achievement efforts.

The second period of learning gender identity arises out of the conflict-laden and traumatic oedipal phase. During this time, each child faces the inherently wrenching psychological task of casting off opposite-sex identifications and the potentially (and in this culture, typically) conflictual task of internalizing gender role characteristics that may be rigid, arbitrary, and stereotypical. What has, in traditional psychoanalytic discussion, been seen as the girl's relatively less complete resolution of these issues, may now be understood in terms of (a) her difficulty renouncing aggressive impulses stereotypically defined as masculine (the negative oedipus complex) and (b) her difficulties in accepting an arbitrary subordinate feminine role and transferring her affections from a mother-in-the-hand to a father-in-the-bush (the positive oedipus complex).

Gender and Psychic Structure

Although Freud's theories of female development and personality have rightly been criticized for their androcentric bias, his *structural* theory (1923/1961; 1933/1964; 1940/1964), along with subsequent elaborations, remains the most comprehensive and influential model of the mind that is available. As Hall & Lindsay (1970) said

> Over and above all of the other virtues of his

> theory stand this one--it tries to envisage a full-bodied individual living partly in a world of reality and partly in a world of make-believe, beset by conflicts and inner contradictions, yet capable of rational thought and action, moved by forces of which he has little knowledge and by aspirations which are beyond his reach, by turn confused and clearheaded, frustrated and satisfied, hopeful and despairing, selfish and altruistic; in short, a complex human being. For many people, this picture of man has an essential validity. (p. 72)

The Structural Model. The structural model was developed in response to conceptual problems with the earlier topographical model and aimed at providing greater clarity to intrapsychic functioning.

According to Freud, psychic structure consists of three agencies, the id, the ego, and the superego. The oldest is the id, which includes everything present at birth in the way of innate motivational factors. The second agency, the ego, develops out of the id. One major function of the ego is self preservation through perception and cognition of external events (1940/1964). Internally, the ego seeks to avoid danger, signaled by anxiety, when there is conflict between the id and reality or between the id and the superego. Thus, the ego must reconcile id, superego, and reality demands with one another.

The superego is the last agency to develop. Because of its role in enforcing sex stereotypes, it will be described in more detail.

The Superego as Enforcer of Sex Stereotypes. Freud

(1921/1955; 1923/1961) conceptualized the superego as having two substructures--the ego ideal and conscience. Whereas the ego ideal refers to the child's very early idealized and desexualized perceptions of parents, conscience judges behavior as it conforms to or deviates from this ideal (1933/1964b). Conflict occurs when conscience disapproves of the intentions of the ego, a disapproval felt as guilt. An equivalent account in terms of the ego ideal is that the ego's failure to measure up leads to a state of tension between ego and ego ideal (1921/1955), experienced as a loss of self esteem--ultimately and originally a loss of parental love as represented in the ego ideal. If on the other hand, "the ego has successfully resisted a temptation to do something which would be objectionable to the super-ego, it feels raised in self-esteem and strengthened in its pride" (1940/1964, p. 206).

The superego represents parental influences on the child in the context of the human infant's prolonged dependency (1940/1964). Freud said it was a "successful instance of identification with the parental agency" and "is the destiny of the oedipus complex" (1933/1964b, pp. 63-64). Freud noted that parents' education of children seemed to be based more on a model of their own superegos than on their actual behavior. For this reason, Freud saw the superego as an "important vehicle of tradition" (1933/1964b, p. 67). He said:

> The past, the tradition of the race and of the people, lives on in the ideologies of the super-ego, and yields only slowly to the influences of the present and to new changes. (p. 67)

The superego's role in representing traditional values helps explain why sex stereotypes are so resistant to change.

The superego, by itself, is not a reasonable agency. In this regard, it shares more with the id than with the ego (1940/1964). Freud said that the superego "calls the ego to account not only for its deeds but equally for its thoughts and unexecuted intentions of which the super-ego seems to have knowledge" (1940/1964, p. 205).

The "magnificent" editions of the parents that informed the ideals and conscience of the superego at the oedipal stage are followed by later ones, more homely and realistic. Although identifications with these less idealized parents and with other authority figures help shape personality, Freud believed that they "*only* affect the ego, they no longer influence the super-ego, which has been determined by the earliest parental imagos" (1933/1964b, p. 64, emphasis added). Thus mature conceptions of morality as conceived by the ego coexist (and are often in conflict) with the more archaic and more powerful standards of right and wrong as embodied in the superego. The ego, governed by the reality principle, may have learned that gender role flexibility is permissable and adaptive, but the superego

continues to operate along more archaic principles and, therefore, condemns the violations. In this state, the ego and superego coexist in a neurotic paradox.

Schafer's (1974/1977) critique of Freud's psychology of women provides some distinctions between ego morality and superego standards. He said

> superego is not morality at all, nor can morality grow out of it alone, for superego is fierce, irrational, mostly unconscious vindictiveness against oneself for wishes and activities that threaten to bring one into archaically conceived, infantile danger situations....This is the sense of Freud's conclusion that one aim of therapeutic analysis is to reduce superego influence on ego functioning (1933); by this, he did not mean any reduction of morality. (p. 338)

Schafer continued

> Like any harsh and arbitrary authority it continuously incites rebellion, hatred and self-destructiveness....Whatever superego does contribute toward eventual morality requires considerable tempering before that morality can be secured, and certainly superego cannot temper itself; it cannot achieve its own independence of its being and its emotional origins. (p. 338).

The superego provides a dynamic framework for understanding how stereotyped ideals of femininity are perpetuated. When women cross their gender lines by making professional commitments and by compromising their commitments in the traditional feminine role, a conflict ensues because their behavior is perceived not only through the objective eyes of the ego, but also through the judgmental lens of the superego where the stereotype of

femininity is enshrined in the ego ideal. The result is paradoxical guilt as if engaged in an unknowable crime of aggression.

Because the superego transmits traditional values and tends to be rigidly unyielding, contemporary ideals of female achievement inevitably bring condemnation by the superego. This state of tension that develops between the ego and the ego ideal is tantamount to being abandoned as unlovable by the parents whom this ideal represents. In a similar vein, Krueger (1984) concluded from his study of women with achievement inhibitions that when succeeding "she then experiences a sense of failure--failure to live up to her own ego ideal, which she unconsciously equates with success" (p. 94).

Up to this point, the superego has been described as an internalized form of *parental* influence. Although this is true, it is obviously also true that each person's superego is his or her *own* superego. In addressing this paradox, Northrup has recently made a strong case for conceptualizing the superego as a "transitional" mental structure, one that represents not only the self but the object world as well (1986, pp. 191-193). Expanding on this view, it would be possible to conceptualize the superego as having degrees of integration ranging from nearly completely identified with oneself to nearly completely identified with an object. This transitional property will be important later on in

describing the fate of cross-gender childhood ideals.

The Origins of the Ego Ideal. The stereotyped ideal of femininity draws much of its appeal and prescriptive force from its resemblance not to a woman's actual mother (who may even have been employed) but to mental representations of the "good mother before separation." For both sexes, the undifferentiated period before separation is one of blissful safety, omnipotence, and invulnerability (Mahler et al., 1975). This illusion is promoted by the infant's developmental limitations and by the mother's actual accommodations to the infant. This period of "paradise" is forever lost when the omminous awareness of separateness intrudes. At this time, the "good mother" is sometimes seen as the anxiety-inducing "bad mother" (Mahler et al., 1975; cf. Sullivan, 1953; cf. Winnicott, 1965). The "good mother" is the mother before separation who constantly molds to the child's needs and subordinates her own, while the "bad" mother is not always accommodating to the child's needs. Sometimes she is "bad" simply because she is not present when the child wishes her to be.

The child gradually regains some of the security of the undifferentiated stage by internalizing this "good mother" image as part of the ego ideal. Freud described this development as a reaction to failed oedipal strivings. He said "what he projected before him as an ideal is the substitute for the lost narcissism of his childhood in which

he was his own ideal" (1914/1955, p. 94).

The Male, the Female, and the Ego Ideal. It has been suggested that the feminine stereotype resides in the ego ideal and derives from the relationship to the "good mother before separation." As such, the stereotype is passed from generation to generation in relatively unmodified form. Today's career woman has greater support and opportunities to achieve publicly, but her ego ideal has not altered appreciably from that of her mother's or grandmother's. The achieving woman may thus unconsciously perceive herself as the "bad mother of separation," who is unavailable when needed, who is independently motivated, and who places her own needs above those of others.

Although the rest of this section is concerned mainly with the *female* stereotype, especially as it appears in the ideals of men, it is worth noting in passing that by a process equivalent to the little girl's assumption of a maternal ego ideal, the little boy acquires his father-figure's ego ideal and, thereby, a stereotyped sense of masculinity. A combination of the limited intimate contact boys tend to have with adult males, their heavy exposure to adult females, and the prevalence of rather mythic male cultural heroes in sports, literature, entertainment media and elsewhere tends to skew these masculine internalizations defensively, so that they are apt to be as rigid and unrealistic as the stereotyped ideals of

femininity.

These stereotypes of femininity exist, of course, both in the minds of women and in the minds of men, with important similarites and important differences. The boy, too, experienced the "bad mother" as the one who did not respond to his needs and wishes but was instead independently motivated. It will be recalled further that the resolution of the oedipus complex required the little boy to save himself from castration by relinquishing the exclusive tie to his mother (Freud, 1933/1964b; 1924/1961). But by identifying with the father, the boy was promised compensation by eventually regaining the love of his original, "good" mother. Drawing from Slater's work, Chodorow (1978) said that men retain unconsciously an idealized image of mother as the "one finally satisfying prize to be won" (p. 188). A similar view was presented by Balint in 1956 (cited in Chodorow, 1978) who said that the adult male is motivated to seek a relationship with a woman which revives the security of the exclusive symbiotic tie with the preoedipal mother.

In a longitudinal study of 370 successful male Harvard graduates, Osherson (1986) found that men's desire for the idealized wife-mother was most visible when wives went off to work. At that time, the men reported a range of feelings--rejection, punishment, betrayal, failure, rage, depression, grief, and even curiousity. As with the

husbands of the women studied by Rubin, Osherson's subjects often undermined their wives' achievement efforts.

As Osherson noted, gender training for males often requires a resolution "never to feel neediness again" (p. 241). He suggested that that the bargain the male struck with his wife was that his needs would be satisfied secretly, without requiring him to utter them. Thus when the wife went to work, the disallowed "feminine" expressions of neediness and dependency were threatened with exposure. As with women who violate the feminine stereotype, the consequences for men who violate their stereotype are guilt, shame, and reduced self-esteem. To avoid this attack on his masculinity, Osherson found that the male transformed his needs into more appropriate masculine expressions such as anger, violence, withdrawal, and depression (cf. Allgeier, 1983; Eichenbaum & Orbach, 1983b; Goleman, 1985; Pleck, 1981).

Thus, although both sexes share a feminine ideal derived from their mother who, as Jacobson noted, is "the first object of love as well as of primitive identifications" (1964, p. 116), through development the social significance of biological sex differences alters their relationship to it. This is where Northrup's (1986) transitional view of the superego becomes especially relevant. To the extent that gender identity is integrated with the ego ideal, sex stereotypes in the ego ideal carry different degrees of

integration with self representations. Typically, for each sex, the same-sex stereotype is closer to a self representation, while the opposite-sex stereotype is closer to an object representation, though in no case is any ego ideal "purely" self or other: the opposite-sex stereotypes are usually, in some furtive way, also aspirations, and the same-sex stereotypes may feel imposed from without. Under the expectable conditions of development, then, the male's ideal of femininity tends structurally to resemble an object representation more than a self representation, and the female's ideal of masculinity is likewise significantly alienated from the ideal self. In both cases the idealized version of the opposite sex is lovable only to the degree that it is "not me." For the female, this early maternal (self) ideal serves as the core of feminine identifications and interests (Blum, 1977). The boy eventually acquires a preponderance of masculine identifications from the father and represses his maternal identifications. But, as previously discussed, the male continues to hold a maternal (object) ideal in hopes that he can regain the exclusivity of the preoedipal arrangement. The desire to repossess the mother may be of special urgency to the male because he had to renounce so thoroughly his "feminine" identifications to become a "masculine" male. Referring to repression of maternal identifications as a loss, Osherson said "we accomplish the 'developmental task' of identifying with our

fathers by murdering the feminine within ourselves" (p. 124). Osherson noted how

> losses that can't be tolerated or adequately dealt with often result in idealization; we glorify in a false, desperate way what we have lost in order to hold on to it. How much of men's attempts to make women into Madonnas, soft healing creatures of the imagination, may be compensation for the early losses of nurturance in our lives? (pp. 124-125)

The consequences of this differential relationship to the maternal ideal are that men replace the love of their mothers with that of a mate, while women become like the maternal ideal in caring for men and children. Eichenbaum and Orbach (1983b) have addressed this issue and some of its consequences:

> A girl grows up knowing that she will bring children into the world who will depend on her, and that she will be connected to a husband for whom she will provide nurturance, caring and an emotional environment. Just like the little boy, the little girl's personality develops in a predominantly female ambiance. She, like her brother, depends first on mother and then other women for her emotional and physical growth. But the girl's journey in adult life takes a dramatic shift, because women do not marry women (who are taught to nurture). They marry men, who have rarely had a chance to develop the nurturing aspects of their personalities. (p. 13)

It follows that because men marry women, "men continue to have a 'mother'" (p. 55). Thus for men, the idealized picture of mother is one which they may in reality experience continuously from boyhood to manhood.

Eichenbaum and Orbach have drawn attention to the sense of

security that is afforded by the belief that "mother is always there" (p. 56). Because the male's role in the domestic sphere is continuous from boyhood to manhood, traditionally he has been able to expand his world outside of the home secure that "mother will not disappear" (Eichenbaum & Orbach, 1983b, p. 56). In this arrangement,

> men's dependency needs are catered to and more regularly satisfied than are women's, thereby enabling men to go out into the world and be 'independent' and successful. They do that with the security of a home base. (p. 55n)

The general continuity of "mother" in men's lives undermines the view that men tend to be more autonomous and individuated than women, as do studies of adult development (see Chapter IV) which stress the importance for male achievement of parental substitutes in the form of the special woman and the mentor. The apparent autonomy and individuation that men display seem predicated on more or less continuous psychological access to the "good mother before separation."

Unlike the male, the female's relationship to the internalized good mother is altered because she is required to identify and become like her. In this transformation, she loses for herself the mother before separation that men continue to have. She proceeds into the achieving world without the support of a "good-enough" environment or the assurance that "mother" is present as a "safety net"

(Eichenbaum & Orbach, 1983b, p. 56).

Eichenbaum and Orbach concluded that the answer to Freud's question of "what does a woman want?" is this: women want the mothering person upon whom men have depended for emotional and physical caring and whose accommodations convey a message of specialness and entitlement. Further, Eichenbaum and Orbach found that most women neither expect that men will provide this mothering function nor feel entitled to it.

This inequity results in a repressed or, at least, suppressed resentment that contributes to the confusion between aggression and assertiveness. That is, women can no more feel comfortable asking men to assume a nurturing role than men can unconflictually ask women to be breadwinners. To do so is to expose the opposite sex's limitations, a consequence of a long history of gender training. The result is that each sex is left with unmet needs and inhibitions arising from gender roles and gender ideals.

The Implacable Superego. The crucial role of the superego in structuralizing and enforcing sex stereotypes makes it necessary to inquire why this psychic structure is so resistant to change. The traditional Freudian view answers this question from several perspectives. One answer is the unconsious status of the superego, by virtue both of its close relationship to the id (Freud, 1923/1961, p. 49) and of the inevitability of repression as part of the solution

to oedipal traumas (cf. Freud, 1940/1964, p. 185). But Freud knew that exposing the superego to conscious scrutiny, as in a psychoanalysis was not enough to temper its influence. Making the dynamic unconscious conscious was only the first step, to be followed by "working through" (1926/1959, p. 159) roughly equivalent to reexperiencing and mastering the old danger situation. Yet, reality must also support this working through. In psychoanalysis, the support is provided by the analyst's nonjudgmental communications aimed at helping the patient separate past pain and trauma from contemporary events. But in the world at large, efforts at changing the superego fly in the face of repeated social reminders that the person's lifelong defensive operations are, in fact, in the service of their psychic survival. Unfortunately, as will be seen later, latency is a time when the danger of cross-gender behavior is repeatedly reinforced, thus solidifying the notion that it is unacceptable to cross one's own gender boundaries.

Another reason why the superego is so unaccommodating to new influence is that it is the psychic representative of parents internalized as unquestioned authorities. It thus remains throughout life aloof from and superior to the ego. In this sense, the superego cannot be changed because it cannot be challenged or questioned. As Freud put it,

> [the superego] is a memorial of the former weakness and dependence of the ego, and the mature ego remains subject to its domination. As the

> child was once under a compulsion to obey its parents, so the ego submits to the categorical imperative of its super-ego. (1923/1961, p. 48)

Indirect support for this position can be found outside the psychoanalytic tradition, most notably in the work of Piaget and his followers. The danger situation posed by cross-gender behavior may thus be partly understood as a consequence of the superego having been formed from the child's preoperational thinking during the oedipal stage. As such, the superego appears to reflect these early cognitve operations. That is, the oedipal child is limited by egocentrism and an unquestioning respect for authority, the product of which is "moral realism" (Piaget, 1932/1965). Parental injunctions delivered during the oedipal phase are perceived as "inviolable and sacred" (Ginsburg & Opper, 1969, p. 108), and infraction of parental rules is evaluated by the child as "bad" regardless of the violator's intentions and even if the rules were broken in fantasy only (Heatherington & Parke, 1975). Further, any deviation from the rules is assumed to result in punishment by "immanent justice," as described by Heatherington and Parke:

> Someone or something is going to get you one way or the other! Such retribution might take the form of accidents or mishaps controlled by inanimate objects or by God. A child who has lied to his mother may later fall off his bike and skin his knees and will think, 'that's what I get for lying to mother.' (1975, p. 382)

As Piaget (1932/1965) demonstrated, small children expect

punishment to be most severe. As such, just retribution for the child may approach talion law.

The superego, then, as successor of parental influence at the oedipal phase, can be understood as a product of the moral realism and immanent justice of the preoperational mind as it attempts to cope with the trauma of overwhelming social restrictions and demands. Thus, it contains rigid ideals of goodness and promises of retaliation for any transgressions. Central to goodness is obedience to the laws of civilization, including gender-appropriate ideals. For the preoperational child and for the superego, there is little distinction between an act of theft and violating one's gender boundaries.

Cross-Gender Disorders of Self

The effects of gender restrictions at the oedipal stage may also be understood through theories of narcissistic development and the development of the self. These views have not been adequately integrated with structural theory, yet they do not contradict it, and they provide a more personal and phenomenological perspective on the meaning of gender boundaries, their resistance to change, and the conflict and condemnation that arises when they are violated.[4]

The thesis advanced here is that the socially-guided consolidation of gender identity at the oedipal phase

constitutes a psychic trauma whose outcome is a narcissistic disturbance in those areas of functioning perceived as cross-gender. That is, the gender restrictions imposed on oedipal-age boys and girls have the effect of creating a set of cross-gender self representations that are more or less split off and defensively treated as alien.

Most of what have been called narcissistic disturbances or disturbances of the self originate in the preoedipal period. For purposes of this investigation, however, it is assumed that, although gender is a salient issue from the earliest beginnings of life, gender restrictions of the kind that might produce a disturbance of self do not occur in a significant way until the oedipal stage.

This discussion is intended to apply to individuals whose preoedipal development was adequate and whose conflicts are revealed mainly when crossing gender lines. Thus, it does not refer to those persons who suffer from psychosis--which Freud termed "narcissistic neurosis" (Lachmann, 1982b)--or from "primary disturbances of the self" (Kohut, 1978, p. 415).

One important reason why theories of narcissism and the self have not been integrated with structural theory is the absence of appropriate, agreed-upon definitions. What the key terms are intended to mean in this discussion is described below.

The term *narcissism* has as long and troubled a history as

the psychology of women (Lachman, 1982b). As used here, narcissism denotes neither health nor pathology. In the broadest sense, narcissism may be conceived of as an activity aimed at maintaining self esteem (Stolorow, 1975). In this regard, Stolorow's (1975) functional definition is relevant:

> Mental activity is narcissistic to the degree that its function is to maintain the structural cohesiveness, temporal stability and positive affective colouring of the self-representation. (p. 179)[5]

Included in most discussions of narcissistic activity and self esteem maintenance is the concept of the *self*, which has been the subject of much discourse and disagreement. Acknowledging that terms such as *self*, *identity*, *self representations*, and *sense of self* are imprecise, Stoller said

> Yet these terms represent our yearning for a theory that will help us to better understand the data. Take the statement: 'I am going to the store.' Where has the 'I' gone when dissected into ego, superego, and id? *Identity* or the other words (synonyms) respresents our honest but at times pathetic attempts to get the whole person back into metapsychology. (Stoller, 1968, p. x)

The term *self* is used here phenomenologically; as Winnicott said, the self may be conceived of as the "experiencing person" (Davis & Wallbridge, 1981, p. 32), and, by extension, that which a person is able to experience as part of himself without overwhelming anxiety (cf.

Sullivan, 1953). Those behaviors, attitudes, and fantasies that cannot be experienced as part of self without unmanageable anxiety exist in compartmentalized fashion as "bad me" or "not me" (Sullivan, 1953), the "true self" (Winnicott, 1965), and the "grandiose self" (Kohut, 1971).

This study has shown how individuals make heroic efforts to confirm their existence in gender-appropriate ways, but at the cost of discounting or denying successful and adaptive cross-gender behaviors. When violations are perceived, they threaten to destroy representations of self and for some, their very psychic existence. Although the authors mentioned above disagree about precise meanings, there seems to be some consensus that human beings come to experience themselves in more or less coherent ways that they are loathe to give up for fear of jeopardizing their identity.

Development of the Self. Investigators of disturbances of the self also agree on what constitutes healthy and pathological development. In general, the child develops a sense of security and trust in self and others in an environment where the caretaking person is responsive to the child's physical and emotional needs. Emotionally, the child requires confirmatory responses of his grandiose, omnipotent sense of self. Kohut has extensively discussed this as the child's need for a *mirroring* response from the parent (1971; Kohut & Wolf, 1978), Rogers as the infant's

experience of *unconditional positive regard* (1959/1973), Sullivan as "the need for an 'audience response'" (1953, p. 155) to the child's expressions of play, and Winnicott as the "good-enough mother [who] meets the omnipotence of the infant and to some extent make sense of it" (1965, p. 145).

When, however, the mothering person does not empathically respond to the child's need for self expression, the child curtails this behavior to avoid anxiety. While all of the investigators mentioned above described this activity, Sullivan delineated it most clearly.[6] He said that the mother who interferes with the child's satisfactions is transformed into the "bad mother." Conversely, the mother who facilitates these needs is seen as the "good mother" (Sullivan, 1953). Eventually, the child integrates both images into one mother, expresses those behaviors that evoke the nonanxious "good mother," and minimizes those that provoke his anxiety and the disappointing "bad mother."

It is within the interpersonal context of the child's efforts to terminate anxiety that the self develops. This self may be divided into "good me," "bad me," and "not me" (Sullivan, 1953). "Good me" refers to behaviors associated with the "good mother," the satisfactions of needs and the minimization of anxiety. "Good me as it ultimately develops, is the ordinary topic of discussion about 'I'" (1953, p. 162). "Bad me" is derived from behaviors that provoked anxiety in both mother and child. "Not me" is

associated with behaviors that produced intense anxiety. The experiences associated with "not me" are so negative that they become dissociated from the rest of personality and identity or the "I." Cross-gender self representations tend to fall into this category.

In Sullivan's view (1953), much of a person's motivation is directed toward limiting awareness to that portion of the self equated with the "good me." In this way, the person avoids overwhelming anxiety and a loss of self esteem. In an environment where the child's needs are mostly accepted, the child develops the security to express himself in a wide range of activities without excessive fear of censure or rebuke. Where the environmental ambience is colored by anxiety and disapproval, however, the person's capacity for pleasurable self expression is overridden by the need for security.

Sullivan (Greenberg & Mitchell, 1983) said that, for all persons, there are to a greater or lesser degree behaviors that become compartmentalized or dissociated from the public or preferred self. While this phenomenon is, according to Sullivan, inevitable in the course of civilization and may be, in some instances, adaptive, much of it is irrational and unnecessary. In any case, those childhood needs that were phase appropriate but humiliated, unrecognized or associated with anxiety become separated from the experiencing self, unavailable to conscious control, and

unable to profit from new experiences. Instead, these dissociated parts of the self continue their early distortions and require defensive efforts to maintain self esteem.[7]

In more psychoanalytic language, Kohut (1972) likewise described disorders of the self as a product of an environment where the mothering person's insecurities or narcissistic issues undermined the child's phase-appropriate grandiose and exhibitionistic needs. Kohut said

> A mother's lack of confirming and approving 'mirroring' responses to her child prevents the transformation of the archaic narcissistic cathexis of the child's body-self which normally is achieved with the aid of the increasing selectivity of the mother's admiration and approval. The crude and intense narcissistic cathexis of the grandiose body-self...remains thus unintegrated with the remainder of the psychic organization which gradually reaches maturity. The archaic grandiosity and exhibitionism then become split off from the reality ego ('vertical split' in the psyche) or separated from it through repression ('horizontal split'). Deprived of the mediating function of the reality ego, they are, therefore, no longer modifiable by later external influences, be they ever so accepting or approving, i.e., there is no possiblity of a 'corrective emotional experience' (Alexander et al., 1946). (1972, p. 373)

All of these investigators agree that when age appropriate expressions are consistently thwarted, the consequences are similar: those unfavorably received early self expressions go into protective hiding and as a result do not benefit from new experiences. Extrapolating from Piaget (Ginsburg & Opper, 1969), the old schema exist relatively intact and, at

most, may assimilate experience which validates their rationale for remaining covert. In this way, the self avoids re-experiencing anxiety, but also avoids learning to accommodate to contemporary reality.

That these parts of self are dissociated does not mean, however, that they cease to influence the personality:

> the archaic grandiose-exhibitionistic (body-) self will from time to time assert its archaic claims, either by by-passing the repression barrier via the vertically split-off sector of the psyche or by breaking through the brittle defenses on the central sector. It will suddenly flood the reality ego with unneutralized exhibitionistic cathexis and overwhelm the neutralizing powers of the ego, which becomes paralyzed and experiences intense shame and rage. (Kohut, 1972, p. 372)[8]

The shame and rage are all the more intensified in those situations where the repressed or dissociated parts of self are obliged to meet the public. Because these parts of self were rejected first by parents and then by one's own personality, they are no longer part of the conscious, experiencing self and consequently are not felt to be within one's control. They may be called forth only at great risk to self esteem inasmuch as they are negatively colored with anticipations of shame, humiliation, and rage.[9] Just as women's equation of achievement and aggression (see Chapter V) can be understood in terms of gender-related superego prohibitions, the disavowal of achievement described in the same chapter can readily be formulated in terms of the narcissistic dissociation of self just mentioned.

These concepts of self, narcissism, and dissociation help to clarify why persons of either sex tend to appear so bizarre when crossing gender boundaries. That is, when women become aware of exhibiting their power and achievement in "male" domains, they often experience shame and humiliation because they fear that their aggression, colored with the child's rage and fear of object loss, will become limitless and harm self or others. These feelings are followed by anxiety, guilt, and a retreat to the feminine stereotype (good-me) in order to reinstate self esteem and control over the dissociated aggression. Similarly, when men experience their needs for dependency and sustained intimacy, they may retreat from this "feminine" behavior fearing shame and humiliation over needs that threaten to become voracious. Like women, they attempt to reinstate control through hyperconformity to their sex stereotype.

Summary and Discussion. This section has proposed that the means by which gender identity is consolidated at the oedipal phase may be traumatic and conducive to the development of a socially-sanctioned narcissistic disturbance in relation to cross-gender self representations. The conditional acceptance of the child, accelerated at the oedipal phase, depends on the child's adherence to cultural norms in general and gender-appropriate behaviors in particular. This latter condition creates a stereotype of polarity between the sexes

and within each child. In this way, the approved gender-appropriate self representations remain the conscious, "good" parts of self, and the gender-inappropriate self representations take flight in repression and remain unintegrated as "bad" parts of self. These representations are seen as "bad" initially because of the child's unquestioning adherence to evaluations by adults, whose reactions to the child's phase-appropriate but gender-inappropriate behavior result not only in shame, but also rage related to the child's recognition that the opposite sex is permitted behavior from which he or she is prohibited. In seeking to curb such experiences of shame and rage, the gender restrictions become internalized and remain inflexible. The dissociated parts of self thus fail to benefit from the moderating influence of experience. Instead they remain relatively intact as primitive dimensions of experience that are highly susceptible to unconscious, fantasy-laden, and irrational influences.

Female Gender Training in Latency and Adolescence

Gender training occurs from the moment of birth, but during the oedipal period there is a dramatic and traumatic shift in the treatment of children to prepare them for participation in the greater society. A key change is

conditional acceptance of the child, and a major condition is adherence to gender-appropriate standards of behavior. This requires that the child learn the meanings and implications of being a male or a female. To be successful in the establishment of a gender appropriate identity, therefore, implies that cross-gender behavior be suppressed.

The oedipal stage is followed by the latency period, which continues until the child reaches the genital stage. Latency is thought to be marked by strenuous repression of the trauma of the oedipus complex. Compared to the other stages, latency has been considered to be a time of relative quietude, as such, a recovery period from the traumatic oedipus complex. But Freud also referred to latency as an "'incubation period,' in a clear allusion to the pathology of infectious diseases" (Freud 1939/1964, p. 67). This analogy also applies to the gender training provided during latency. At the beginning of latency, the ego and superego defenses are still too immature to ensure the stereotyped "masculinity" of men and "femininity" of women. Society, therefore, supplements these internal structures with differential sex role socialization. This socialization repeatedly reinforces the sex stereotypes that polarize the sexes.

The Parents. As seen, parents and others authorities play an important part in ensuring that children will be

appropriately masculine and feminine. By their own example, parents show their children that labor is divided by sex. This family pattern is a microcosm of the larger institutions in which the latency child will increasingly participate.

To be a feminine female has required that girls curtail overt self assertion and aggression. Schafer (1977) said that this is, in part, accomplished through the connotations that are attached to words.

> We often merge words pertaining to social values such as status and so-called breeding with words pertaining to sexual identity. To be a lady in the sense of a fine lady and to be feminine may be set up as equivalents, with the consequence that a woman who does not act ladylike, according to a certain conception of that word, may be said to be not feminine. In this instance, not feminine might mean rude, loud, socially too forward, sexually too adventurous, intellectually too serious, or cosmetically too casual or vivid. Thus, to say that a woman is not feminine is often a way of saying that she does not act or look like a woman 'ought' act or look. An additional part of this poor lesson is the implicit idea, 'She is *bad*.' In this way, verbal conventions that implement value judgments are passed off as simple and unequivocal facts--and are so learned by children (Hartmann, 1960). (p. 353, emphasis added)

Parents often fear their daughters' being stigmatized as masculine and their sons' as feminine. It is especially unsettling to them if others misidentify the sex of their child. To offset this possibility, they promote sex-typed activities and attire (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974).

Studies indicate that parents discourage aggression in

children of both sexes. However, for boys the message is a mixed one, inasmuch as parents also may convey to a boy who has fought "You're not supposed to fight, but I'm glad you did" (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974, p. 340) or "boys will be boys" (Waites, 1982, p. 33). For girls, the picture has been quite different. Historically, females have been more restricted in the expression of aggression. Rubin's (1979) study of midlife women, for example, revealed that goodness from childhood on was equated with pleasing others and suppressing aggression and resentment. Waites (1982) also reported from her investigation of women in psychotherapy and in consciousness-raising groups that cleanliness training was promoted along with strong prohibitions against aggressive and assertive behaviors.

Throughout latency, at least, mothers and female authority figures in general are more directly influential in shaping children's behavior toward gender-appropriate ways. This is not surprising because children are primarily under the direction of adult females at home and at school. This adult female influence has very different implications for boys and girls. Because each parent tends to be stricter with children of the same sex (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974), girls growing up in a largely female world learn over and over the behavior expected of their sex, while having many opportunities to observe that boys who express aggression are more often tolerated.

Although the role of the father has been neglected in research (Bates et al., 1983; Formanek, 1982; Krueger, 1984; Williams, 1977), available studies suggest that fathers, too, promote feminine behaviors and activities in their daughters (Biller, 1971, cited in Chodorow, 1978; Eichenbaum & Orbach, 1983a, 1983b; Heatherington & Parkes, 1975; Rohrbaugh, 1979). It was previously noted that the oedipal girl looks for cues to behavior that pleases her father (Stoller, 1977). Obviously, these cues include behaviors that the mother and other women show and that meet father's approval. Eichenbaum and Orbach said

> Father encourages his daughter to charm him and a male audience, to attract and hold his attention in specifically defined feminine ways, as she will later need to do. She learns that she must not attempt to make decisions which challenge his authority; she must not show too much independence and power. (1983a, p. 62)

Bates et al. have similarly noted that

> our hunger for the approval of our fathers makes us vulnerable indeed to the subtle training they give us on how to become attractive and socially desirable women in maturity. Fathers who want to bring their daughters up as 'little women' will actively discourage our efforts to break out of the conventional restrictions of our feminine role. They will compliment us on pretty clothing and beguiling ways. They will frown on us if we are messy or 'tomboyish.' They will let us know that straightforward competition will not earn paternal respect. (1983, p. 231)

If fathers also sometimes take a more lenient attitude toward their daughters' attempts at dominance and power, the

message is not so much that such behavior is welcome, but rather that it is too pathetic to be taken seriously (Williams, 1977).

The Schools. Children learn much about gender role appropriateness in school. In part, this is because they spend a good deal of time there and because schools are "conservatories of the past, and they change in the wake of social change--they do not initiate it" (Williams, 1977, p. 178; cf. Reskin & Hartmann, 1986). The division of labor in the home is reflected in the larger social institutions, and in particular in the schools, where the majority of teachers are females and the majority of administrative leaders are males (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1983b, cited in Reskin & Hartmann, 1986).

From studies of 10 to 15 years ago, Williams (1977) found that, in general, boys received both more positive and more negative attention from teachers. Girls, however, received more attention than boys when their answers were wrong. This differential treatment likely contributes to the traditional male dominance and female subordination in other social institutions because it gives all children the impression that boys are more important. Also, negative reinforcement for the girl's incorrect answers, without a balance of positive reinforcement for correct ones, may leave her feeling that self assertion and achievement are risky enterprises.

This was the situation 15 years ago. From a recent study of more than one hundred fourth, sixth, and eighth grade classes in four states and the District of Columbia, researchers concluded the "things haven't changed. Boys still get more attention, encouragement and airtime than girls do" (Sadker & Sadker, 1985, p. 54). Boys still dominate classroom communications and their participation increases with each passing year. Overall, teachers communicate more with boys, give them more praise, precise feedback, and academic help. This occurs even when boys shout out answers. When girls call out answers, however, teachers reprimand them with "In this class we don't shout out answers, we raise our hands" (p. 56). Teachers tend also to respond to girls' answers with "bland and diffuse reactions" leaving them "in the dark about the quality of their answers" (p. 56). Further, teachers more often require boys to rework incorrect answers but supply correct answers to girls. This differential approach promoted the girl's dependency while it also conveyed limited academic expectations.

Active students who receive clear feedback are more likely to achieve academically. Because these students are usually males, it came as no surprise to Sadker and Sadker that by high school (a) girls of equal academic standing with boys often turned professional goals into goals of marriage or stereotypical feminine jobs; (b) they doubted their

abilities and became less inclined to pursue gifted programs or take math and science in college; and (c) they graduated with lower SAT scores, despite the fact that in the beginning of school they had supassed boys in reading and basic computations.

Sadker and Sadker believed that differential sex role socialization in the schools serves as the model for the workplace. To support this view, they referred to studies that have found

> Men speak more often and frequently interrupt women. Listeners recall more from male speakers than from female speakers, even when both use a similar speaking style and cover identical content. Women participate less actively in conversation. They do more smiling and gazing; they are more often the passive bystanders in professional and social conversations among peers. Women often transform declarative statements into tentative comments...These tentative patterns weaken impact and signal a lack of power and influence. (p. 57)

Children's books also have conveyed the message that males should be active, adventuresome, and dominant while females should curtail self assertion and occupy roles subordinate to males (Bates et al., 1986; Reskin & Hartmann, 1986). For example, Williams (1977) found that in prize-winning children's books

> Females were dull and stereotyped, neat and passive, their status determined primarily by their relationship to males--*wife* of a king, *admirerer* of an explorer, *helper* of a worker. Working mothers and divorced women did not exist. (pp. 175-176, emphasis in original)

Weitzman, Eifler, Hokada, & Ross (1972, cited in Williams, 1977) said

> The world of picture books never tells little girls that as women they might find fulfillment outside of their homes or through intellectual pursuits. Women in the books are excluded from the world of sports, politics, and science. Their future occupational world is presented as consisting primarily of glamour and service. (p. 176)

Athletics. The demands for children to conform to stereotyped sex role standards also extend to athletics. Rohrbaugh (1979) noted that

> Sports have always been viewed as a way to "build men" by developing independence, assertiveness, a strong motive to achieve, and a sense of control over oneself and the environment. Seldom have sports been viewed as a way to build women as well. After all, *real* women are not supposed to be independent, assertive, competitive, or oriented to mastering their physical environment. (pp. 373-374, emphasis in original).

When females do participate in athletics, there are public attitudes that some sports are more "ladylike" than others and do not undermine the image of femininity (Metheny, 1965, cited in Rohrbaugh, 1979; Snyder, Kivlin, & Spreitzer, 1975, cited in Rohrbaugh, 1979). To remain "ladylike" in sports, females should avoid the use of physical power to overwhelm an opponent and should avoid bodily contact with opponents.

Despite the recent increase of women participating in sports, studies suggest that female athletes continue to worry that others will perceive them as masculine. To

ensure their femininity, they often become "apologetic" for their participation and hyperconforming in their endorsement of traditional attitudes (Del Rey, 1977, cited in Rohrbaugh, 1979; Felshin, 1974, cited in Rohrbaugh, 1979; Snyder & Kivlin, 1977, cited in Rohrbaugh, 1979).

This "apologetic" stance coexists with findings that, compared to nonparticipants, female athletes had a greater sense of well being (Snyder & Kivlin, 1975, cited in Rohrbaugh, 1979), had increased self confidence and a more secure sense of their identity, especially when athletic achievement was part of their adolescent experience (Vincent, 1976, cited in Rohrbaugh, 1979), and that female college athletes were more self confident and less dependent upon the opinions of others (Ibrahim & Morrison, 1976, cited in Rohrbaugh, 1979).

Most striking was the finding that all of the most highly placed women in American business studied by Hennig and Jardim considered themselves to have been tomboys and had participated in sports as children. These women and 80 percent of other highly accomplished women who were also tomboys and athletes in their early years related this experience positively to their adult professional experiences (Diamant, 1979, cited in Rohrbaugh, 1979). The investigators concluded that the early athletic experience provided them with opportunities for assertiveness, mastery, and defiance of sex role norms that they needed for later

life achievements. License to defy sex role standards was given by the parents of the female executives studied by Hennig (1974). These differential family dynamics distinguished these women from a control group of women who never succeeded beyond the middle management level.[1]

All of the most successful women reported that their parents were respectful, warm, and attentive to each other and to their children. Both parents were active participants in raising their children and supported exploration into all activities, including those considered gender-inappropriate. They were not raised as boys but as whole persons "who had available all role and behavior options available to either sex" (Hennig, 1974, p. 19). Fathers were recalled as especially important. They actively participated with their daughters in "male" activities and were willing to allow them to compete with both sexes.

The first year of school was "particularly traumatic" for these females because they were unaware of gender restrictions. Hennig said "they found themselves constrained or even punished for engaging in aggressive or active sports activities and behavioral styles that were quite natural to them" (1974, p. 91). Parents responded to their daughters' efforts to remain active by being supportive and attempting to change teachers' attitudes. As a result, these girls reported that until adolescence, they

were able to continue their full range of behavior without negative feedback from peers.

From adolescence into adulthood these women experienced much pressure outside of their families to conform to the traditional feminine role. However, their early and successful experiences in exercising the "masculine" parts of themselves sustained their self confidence as they pursued their achievement goals.

These women, obviously the exceptions, help to bring into relief the many constraints against actualizing female potential in "masculine" areas where competition, power, and dominance is valued. Although cross-gender behavior is somewhat more tolerated in the latency girl than in the latency boy, there are, as seen, very powerful influences that undermine a girl's aggressive potential and her self image as an achieving person.

Adolescence. When a girl reaches adolescence, there are increased internal and external pressures exerted toward shaping her into a feminine woman, and this precludes tomboy behavior. Also, her body is developing into a womanly form, while menstruation reminds her of her procreative ability. These visible signs of her femaleness are responded to by society with increased pressure to conform to sex stereotypes.

Rubin (1979) found that the women she interviewed recalled being given contradictory messages about achievement from

childhood to adulthood.

> Achieve, but not beyond what is appropriate for a girl. Strive, but be careful never to damage your marriage chances! Be smart, but not smarter than your brother. Be knowledgable enough to impress, but never so much as to overshadow a man, any man! (p. 45)

The role of the father at adolescence appears to be of utmost importance to the future of his daughter's evaluation of her femininity, her heterosexual ties, and her later career efforts. As Krueger (1984) noted, "the father is the first man who is loved by the girl and the first man whom the girl competes with and for" (p. 75). He has also represented the male world of achievement. His attitudes toward his wife and other women are, therefore, particularly important.

Unfortunately, the father is often less available and less supportive of his adolescent daughter's needs both for validation as an attractive young woman and as a woman who can achieve in the career world. Although there is a dearth of literature on the role of the father, available research suggests that his daughter's budding sexuality makes him uncomfortable, and that, as a result, he may distance himself when she needs him most (Eichenbaum & Orbach, 1983b; Krueger, 1984). This distancing may be complicated by other difficulties. Likely, the father's training for masculinity has curtailed his ability to nurture and support his daughter. Also, he may disapprove of females joining the

male achievement world or may be even less able to reconcile an integrated picture of his daughter than she is. He may well perceive a daughter who has serious career goals as a competitive threat, and undermine her efforts (cf. Lachman, 1982a, 1982b).

The role of the mothers and fathers in the adolescent lives of the women studied by Taylor (1981) seems to have contributed importantly to their work and love relationships. In only one case did both parents encourage and support their daughter's high career aspirations and her defiance of sex role norms. This, however, stopped during adolescence when they redirected her toward the more "realistic" and "stable" profession of teaching. At that time, her grades in school fell (p. 86).

In the absence of support and guidance from parents, the adolescent girl may turn to others. The literature indicates, however, that high school career counselors and teachers continue to advise students to enter traditional sex-typed occupations and discourage female students from taking certain college preparatory courses, both of which ultimately restrict later occupational choices (Marini & Briton, 1984, cited in Reskin & Hartmann, 1986).

Summary. The trauma of the oedipal phase is followed by a quieter series of traumas in latency and adolescence, all remarkably consistent in their discouragement of aggression, achievement, and success in any form other than the

traditional feminine stereotype. Societal prohibitions prevent girls from exercising their potential in cross-gender roles, depriving them of valuable experience in such behavior. Cross-gender self representations that were split off during the oedipal phase thus remain stunted at least through adolescence. Instead, the forbidden behaviors and the forbidden self-perceptions are systematically avoided and continue to be treated as dangerous and alien. Without the equivalent experience and support offered to boys, girls are left in the dark about the parameters of power, achievement, assertion, and aggression, with only the dim light of childhood experiences of untempered rage and total impotence. And the narcissistic wound of the oedipal phase heals on the surface but works its way deeper into the personality.

Male Gender Training in Latency and Adolescence

A balanced comparision of how gender training inhibits males from crossing their gender boundaries is absent in the literature. Although there has been a recent trend toward male liberation from traditional sex role stereotypes, most of the literature has focused on the constraints that have prevented females from participating in the male world of achievement. This emphasis on the female's difficulties unwittingly betrays an androcentric bias in that the issue

has been "why can't a woman be more like a man?" without an equivalent concern about why a man can't be more like a woman. The absence of "equal time" for men's problems in crossing gender boundaries has left women's problems to stand in sharp relief.

This neglect is in keeping with the myth that men are self sufficient, independent, and powerful. This mythology is so deeply engrained that most social scientists of both sexes have, until recently, overlooked how conflicted men are about expressing themselves outside the stereotyped realms of sexual contact with women and socially sanctioned forms of aggression. But for a male to acknowledge needs and feelings culturally associated with the female sex poses a serious threat to his masculine identity.

A central point of this investigation has been that neither men nor women as a group are more autonomous or individuated. Rather, each sex conforms to sex stereotypes and is dependent upon them for identity and self esteem; the problems women have in the pursuit of sex-atypical careers are comparable to men's less audible and less visible conflicts over intimacy, dependency, and nurturance.

The issue here is how men become alienated from their expressive "feminine" selves. The literature indicates that, from the beginnings of life, there is more pressure for boys to conform to gender-appropriate standards (Heatherington & Parkes, 1975). During the oedipal stage,

boys are subject to increased enforcement of gender-appropriate activities and behaviors (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974), and this pressure continues unabated throughout latency. As Hartley (1959) put it

> Boys are aware of what is expected of them because they are boys and restrict their interests and activities to what is suitably 'masculine' in the kindergarten, while girls amble gradually in the direction of 'feminine' patterns for five more years. (cited in Rowen, 1979, p. 60)

Heatherington and Parkes (1975) found that parents, other adults, and peers disapprove of and even condemn boys for crying, withdrawing from aggressive confrontations, cross dressing, and playing with dolls. Deviance from the masculine role invites rejection from both boys and girls. Nonconconforming males often bear the stigma of "sissy," "coward," or worst of all, "little girl" (Bates et al., 1983; Heatherington & Parkes, 1975). Tulkin, Muller, and Conn added that "conformity to the male role generally forces a boy to strike out daringly or else face ridicule and scorn" (1969, cited in Bates et al., 1983, p. 153). In this context, overcoming fear of deviancy often becomes a strong motive for displaying "masculine" behavior and attitudes. As a consequence of this combined pressure, boys between the ages of eight and eleven show anxiety to the point of panic when caught in any activity defined as female (Hartley, 1959, cited in Rowen, 1979).

Often it is the father who takes a leading role in

teaching his son the requirements of masculinity. Osherson's (1986) study of adult males revealed that many of them recalled how their fathers taught them as children that masculinity required them to compete in public situations and not to display their dependency needs and other forms of vulnerability associated with the female sex.

The strenuous sanctions against boys who cross their gender boundaries into the "feminine" world exist for important cultural and psychological reasons. Generally speaking, the achievement of culturally-normative masculinity appears more difficult than culurally-normative femininity. Thus, despite stricter enforcement of gender training for males, and despite the clear-cut advantages of masculinity in this culture, there is a greater incidence of gender identity problems in men (Formanek, 1982). In part, this is related to the male task of having to disidentify with mother, who is, for children of both sexes, the first object of attachment and identification. Unlike the girl who continues to identify with the mother, the boy's masculine identity is complicated because of its partly defensive basis--identification with the aggressor-father in order to avoid becoming like mother (cf. Chodorow, 1978). Heatherington and Parkes concluded from Emmerich's work in 1959 that "the basic developmental task of girls is learning how not to be a baby, and of boys is learning how not to be a girl" (1975, p. 361)

Another major impediment to a secure masculine identity is that the oedipal and later-age boy must identify with a father who has been relatively absent from family life in western culture and whose own relational capacities have been curtailed in favor of stereotyped masculine qualities (Chodorow, 1978). Drawing from the work of Mitscherlich, Slater, Winch, and Lynn, Chodorow contrasted the girl's "personal identification" with the mother (p. 175) with the boy's "positional identification" in which "the tie between affective processes and role learning is broken" (p. 175). As a result, the boy must learn masculinity more from cultural stereotypes and conscious gender role training than from an intimate connection to his father and other men (cf. Rowen, 1979). The acquisition of a positional masculine identity in no way assures that the male will internalize the values and attitudes of his father. Chodorow believed that the absence of this emotional connection prepared the boy for the more impersonal, "masculine," work world.

Given the choice, children prefer a personal identification based on an ongoing affectional relationship rather than a positional one, where only aspects of role are available for identification. Chodorow said:

> They resort to a positional identification residually and reactively, and identify with the perceived role or situation of another when possibilities for personal identification are not available. (p. 175)

Given these difficulties in the establishment of a secure masculine identity, it comes as no surprise that social institutions work harder and more consistently to ensure that little boys will be transformed into appropriately masculine men. This seems all the more necessary because of the greater prevalence of female authority figures in the boy's life, tempting him with personal relationships for which he hungers but in which he cannot openly engage.

Without an ongoing intimate attachment to the father and other males, the latency boy urgently needs to distance himself from his predominantly female world and his feminine identifications. To accomplish this, Osherson (1986) found that "little boys begin to segregate by sex, to focus on rules rather than on relationships, and to emphasize games of power, strength, and achievement" (p. 3).

The subordination of libidinal ties in favor of power and aggression provides an important route to masculinity, with skillful and successful competition in intellectual endeavors and sports being particularly important (Heatherington & Parkes, 1975).

At adolescence, these pressures continue and are translated into academic and vocational goals. As Bates et al. said:

> Patterns of interaction in adolescence seem to train males to be 'task specialists' and females 'socioemotional facilitators.'...The competitive experiences of adolescent males in the academic and sports arenas provide them with opportunities

> to test themselves and to compare their strengths and weaknesses with others. In doing so they learn that effort is related to the level of their performance. They also learn how to adapt psychologically to both success and failure. (1983, p. 153)

Adolescence is also a time when puberty reawakens the frustrated and repressed sexual aims of the oedipal period. Perhaps in response to long-buried negative oedipal strivings or out of anxiety about resuming intimate (and, now, potentially genital) contact with females, the early years of this period are associated with the highest incidence of initial, overt homosexual experience: "Of those who report having a homosexual experience, the majority of boys had their first homosexual experience when they were eleven or twelve years old" (Sorensen, 1973, p. 291). The years of peak onset for both solitary masturbation and heterosexual intercourse were one and four years later repectively (Sorensen, 1973).

Taking homosexual behavior as a rough and extreme measure of the degree to which masculine-stereotyped identity has yet to be consolidated, it would appear that in early adolescence, despite years of intense pressure, boys still have a long way to go.

At adolescence, the boy, like the girl, looks to his father for guidance, affection, and approval. But Osherson (1986) found that the masculinity training of most fathers and sons precluded such a connection. Wright and Keple

(cited in Osherson) found that sons in high school may seek instrumental help from their fathers, but rarely do they look to them for emotional support (cf. Hite, 1981).

This emotional gap between father and son contributes to the latter's desire to gain approval from "male" institutions.

> The rites of passage common to men in adolescence and young adulthood today involve joining such institutions as the army, football teams, medical schools, and large corporations. These institutions play upon the young man's wish for an idealized father to love him, offering an exaggeratedly masculine way to live up and be a good son. (Osherson, 1986, p. 39)

Unless one assumes that males truly have no need for emotional support, or that their need is entirely met by instituional supports, the adolescent and young adult male must somehow reconcile his emotional needs with his masculine standards of emotional independence. The typical, and oedipally-derived, solution involves unconscious efforts to obtain the lost mother vicariously, by seeking a female mate to replace her and by identifying with "father-at-work" (cf. Chodorow, 1978).

Summary and Discussion. As with females, male gender training offers highly conditional incentives coupled with strict punishments for violations; it thus reflects and solidifies the primitive superego's ideals and prohibitions regarding gender. Male gender training permits much less deviation from its stereotype than does female gender

training. The greater demands for conformity to the masculine stereotype appear to derive from the difficult process of establishing a secure masculine identity. This difficulty has been related to the boy's task of disidentifying with mother, to the disproportionate presence of female authority figures in the boy's life, and to the relative physical and emotional absence of the father and other adult males, which requires the boy to find much of his masculine identity in cultural stereotypes. These factors contribute to a more precarious gender identity, one more appended than internalized and integrated with the personality of the father. It may *appear* that males are more autonomously motivated in their personal and professional pursuits. However, males have no choice but to give this appearance, no matter what their unconscious needs may be.

Summary and Concluding Remarks

This chapter has investigated the relationship of sex stereotypes to gender identity and psychic structure. The immediate aim of this inquiry was to shed light on women's lesser achievements and achievement conflicts. A broader goal was to illuminate the persistence of sex stereotypes, even when they are not especially adaptive, and the conflicts that ensue when women *and* men transgress

culturally defined gender boundaries. This investigation has strongly suggested that women's lesser achievements may be better understood as a problem in violating sex stereotypes than as a problem inherent in being female. Moreover, viewing women's achievement conflicts as gender identity conflicts allows for a more nearly equal comparison with males who violate the masculine stereotype. In this light, women are found to be no more conforming or dependent on affiliative connections than are men. Rather, both sexes attempt to see themselves and to be seen by others as compliant with gender-appropriate stereotypes and both fear affiliative loss for deviation.

This chapter began by tracing the course of gender identity development, drawing on Stoller's model. An integration of his findings with observational and experimental studies indicates that gender identity results far more from learning than from biological sex differences. This learning appears to parallel overall cognitive development.

Stoller conceptualized gender identity as developing through two stages, the unconflictual preoedipal period and the conflictual, traumatic oedipal period. With respect to gender identity, the trauma of the oedipal phase has to do with the requirement that children rid themselves of cross-gender identifications and behaviors in favor of more stereotypic and restrictive identities.

Classical and contemporary views of the female's oedipal resolution were examined and reformulated. It was suggested that female aggression is no evidence of psychic masculinity, nor is attachment to her mother a sign of homosexuality. The girl's resistance to giving up aggression and self assertion may be better understood as reluctance to occupy a stereotyped, subordinate, and socially devalued "feminine" role. Her reluctance to replace her attachment to mother with father does not necessarily reflect a homosexual motive so much as a capacity for object relations.

The escalation of gender training at the oedipal stage requires repression of cross-gender identifications and supression of cross-gender behaviors. Along with the many other demands and restrictions encountered at that time, those involving gender may be perceived traumatically and follow the course of trauma and neurosis as outlined by Freud. As applied to women and achievement, participation in "male" activities revives the trauma of early restrictions and leads to defensive hyperconformity to the feminine stereotype. A similar course was described for men who violate their prescribed gender boundaries.

Freud's structural model was described with particular attention to the role of the superego in enforcing sex stereotypes. As the last agency to develop, the superego is the product of the traumatic oedipal stage and represents

parental ideals and morality as understood through the moral realism and immanent justice of the child's preoperational mind. Conceived of as a preoperational structure, the superego is as irrational as the id in its demands for conformity to the ego ideal. Although the ego, guided by the reality principle, may endorse public achievement for women, the superego continues to function on a primitive level and condemns such achievement as aggressive and unfeminine.

It was suggested that the appeal of the feminine stereotype derives from its relationship to images of the "good mother before separation." By contrast, the woman who gives her own needs priority, as in a competitive achievement context, may unconsciously experience herself as the "bad mother of separation." For women, the feminine ego ideal, exemplified in the stereotype of the "good mother," typically becomes a primary factor in self esteem and self representation, while the masculine ideal becomes alienated from self and viewed more as an object representation. By a similar transformation for males, a stereotyped masculine ego ideal becomes central, while the feminine ideal is relegated to the status of an object representation.

This differential relationship of males and females to the maternal ego ideal opens to question long-standing, stereotypical assumptions that men are more autonomous and individuated than women. That is, the visible independence

of men in the workplace is often predicated on the less visible satisfaction of dependency needs provided by the wife-mother, enabling men to proceed into the work world with the emotional support of the "good mother before separation." The autonomy of women, on the other hand, is more strictly dependent on an *internal* "good mother" acquired by identification, but who is apt to support only traditionally feminine achievements.

Theories of narcissistic development and the development of the self provide a more phenomenological perspective to the meaning of gender violations. It was proposed that the means by which gender identity is consolidated at the oedipal stage parallels the development of a narcissistic disturbance. In the case of gender identity, it results in a disturbance of cross-gender representations and modes of functioning that become defensively alienated and evaluated as "bad" parts of self. These negatively evaluated parts are protected from open expression and, consequently, do not benefit from experience.

Latency and adolescence continually reinforce the message that was delivered during the oedipal stage. These later periods continue to restrict opportunities to participate in the full range of human behavior, and they perpetuate the socially-sanctioned division within the child and the stereotyped polarity between the sexes.

This dissertation's investigation into women's achievement

conflicts has utilized information from a variety of psychological perspectives. Such an approach has the benefit of offering a more complete picture than any single, specialized perspective, and future research should likewise aim for greater integration, for example, taking into account social realities as well as unconscious dynamics.

Future investigations of women and achievement must also recognize how gender identity develops, especially at the oedipal stage, as well as how pervasive, relentless, and confining are the sex stereotypes on which so much of gender identity is based.

Today's world appears poised for a shift in the social ecology of the relationships between women and men, but the apparently more flexible standards of the workplace and society in general have not been matched by the concommitant internal changes needed to integrate the new standards. This disparity has created much uncertainty, insecurity, and conflict in the lives of men and women, individually and as couples. For many years, women have been more vocal in their dissatisfaction, but now men also have begun to express their unhappiness with their traditional roles.

To facilitate the healing of polarities between the sexes and within the person requires utmost sensitivity by researchers and clinicians to the gender issues expressed. Expressions of intimacy and tenderness in the home are as difficult for men as expressions of assertion and aggression

in the workplace are for women.

Notes

1. Primarily based on extensive research of persons with marked sex abnormalities, Stoller's work (1968) indicated that core gender identity is not necessarily a product of biological sex. For example, persons whose sex assignment at birth was erroneously made on the basis of the appearance of genitalia will develop a core gender identity in accord with that assignment.

2. The accomplishment of gender constancy and the discovery of the genital basis for sex differences in the phallic stage suggest that Freud's view may have been closer to the truth than the more contemporary ones that place these phenomena as occuring in infancy. Nevertheless, the conclusions of Freud, Galenson and Roiphe (1977) and Mahler et al. (1975) appear to rest on adultomorphic assumptions (Formanek, 1982). Formanek noted that these conclusions rest on assumptions that the child possesses a mature ability to symbolize and make causal connections.

> Causal thinking implies the ability to understand that one thing follows another because there is a connection between them which is not arbitrary but necessary and sufficient. If I have this or that genital, then I am of this or that gender. Such causal thinking is not characteristic of pre-schoolers. (1982, p. 16)

Nor, according to the literature Formanek reviewed, do children understand the role of the father in conception until after the oedipal period. Drawing from Mischel (1973, cited in Formanek), Formanek suggests that these adultomorphic conclusions may involve observer bias reflecting the "'implicit' personality theory of the individual rather than the characteristics of the individual being rated" (p. 15).

3. It was Freud's contention that neuroses developed from

> Early trauma--defense--latency--outbreak of neurotic illness--partial return of the repressed. Such is the formula which we have laid down for the development of neurosis. (1939/1964)

4. Initially seeking to bring the concept of the self within the mainstream of psychoanalytic theory, Kohut (1971) attempted to clarify its psychoanalytic status. He said that self belonged to a

> comparatively low-level abstraction, i.e., comparatively experience-near, psychoanalytic abstraction, as a content of the mental apparatus. While it is thus not an agency of the mind, it is a structure within the mind since (a) it is cathected with instinctual energy and (b) it has continuity in time, i.e., it is enduring. (p. xv)

In this capacity, he distinguished self from the agencies of the mind (id, ego, superego) that are "high level, i.e., experience-distant" abstractions (p. xiv).

5. Stolorow (1975) distinguished "between healthy versus unhealthy narcissism; namely, the criterion of how successful or unsuccessful a given narcissistic activity is in exercising its function" (p. 184). For example, Stolorow said that those persons who seek relationships with idealized others to maintain their self esteem are destined to fail by virtue of the vicissitudes and inherent disappointments in any relationship. Conversely, a person whose self esteem is regulated internally by stable self representations is able to engage life more broadly because his or her self esteem is neither unduly regulated nor injured by others.

6. Sullivan's theory presented here represents a composite picture of his views of the self. It is presented in this rather simplified way to retain the similarities it shares with the other investigators discussed and to avoid a loss of perspective on the major issues to be dealt with here. Therefore, the term self will refer attributes and activities aimed at sustaining self esteem and a cohesive sense of self.

7. Greenberg and Mitchell described this latter function as narcissistic activity. They said

> Sullivan describes the workings of the self in various ways in different places throughout his work ('our proud self-conscious', 'the noisy self'). They all reflect the narcissistic, fantastic quality which makes it possible for the self to reduce anxiety. 'Each of us comes to be possessed of a self which he esteems and cherishes, shelters from

> questioning and criticism, and expands by commendation, all without much regard to his objective observable performances, which include contradictions and gross inconsistencies' (1939a, p. 35). The central aim in the pursuit of security is to bolster and protect this 'cherished self.' Thus, there is continual tension between the pursuit of satisfactions and the pursuit of security. The former leads toward simple, constructive integrations with others and a joyful exercise of functions; the latter leads toward disintegration, nonconstructive integrations with others and self-absorbed fantasy and illusion. 'Any interpersonal situation is thus prone to stir conflict between the drive to reaffirm the importance of the self, and some other drive for satisfaction by way of cooperation.' ([Sullivan,] 1972, p. 72). (1983, p. 100)

8. Kohut (1972) offered a metapsychological formulation for the emotion of shame. He said that

> Exhibitionistic libido is mobilized and deployed for discharge in expectation of mirroring and approving responses either from the environment or--I spoke in this context of 'shame signals'--from the idealized superego, i.e., from the internal structure which took over the approving functions from the archaic environment. If the expected response is not forthcoming, however, then the flow of the exhibitionistic libido becomes disturbed. Instead of a smooth suffusion of self and body-self with a warm glow of approved and echoed exhibitionistic libido, the discharge and deployment processes disintegrate. (p. 395)

9. Both Kohut (1972, p. 383) and Goldstein (1952/1973) have compared narcissistic humiliation and rage to the reactions of the recently brain damaged individual who cannot accept catastrophic loss of function and who narrowly circumscribes the environment to avoid the anxiety, fragmentation, and humiliation that occur when tasks are presented that cannot be accomplished.

10. All of the women studied by Hennig were the only or eldest child with only female siblings. All were Caucasion and born in the United States between 1910 and 1915 to upwardly mobile middle class families. The majority of fathers occupied middle-management positions in business and all of the mothers functioned primarily as housewives and mothers. Hennig has argued against the explanation that these women were successful because they were raised as boys. Instead, Hennig maintained that they were raised without gender role restrictions. The mothers served as traditional feminine role models but supported exploration of roles considered male. The fathers similarly recognized their daughters' femaleness but expected them at an early age to experiment with various roles without regard to their gender-appropriateness.

> Both parents offered the daughter large amounts of evidenced personal satisfaction and pleasure for her accomplishments....The young female was encouraged to set her own goals, establish her own standards for measuring the success of her achievement, and hence, experiencing her personally determined rewards and satisfactions. (1974, p. 91)

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