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EGO MASTERY STYLES IN THE ADULT LIFE COURSE

by

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DISSERTATION

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EGO MASTERY STYLES IN THE ADULT LIFE COURSE

Ego mastery styles are explored over the life course from earlier to later adulthood. The sample consists of 180 urban, primarily white, middle and lower middle class men and women (age 18-67). The sample is graded into four normative transitional life stages: high school seniors, newlyweds, middle-aged parents, and people confronting retirement.

Projective data were measured on two indices. One was Gutmann's 1971 Ego Mastery Typology. The ego mastery typology is based on the thesis that men are typified by active mastery orientations which, over age, move through serial mastery orientations along the continuum of an age related decline in available ego energy. Ratings are based on latent content themes. The second was the Hodges Manifest Content Index. This instrument is based on a cognitively oriented stance which results in a focus on the cognitive ordering of events as reflective of the personal contexts of individuals. From this position, it is appropriate to evaluate the manifest content of projective data to illumine the individual's perceptions of his capabilities and opportunities, i.e., his ego mastery style.

Two hypotheses were chosen for investigation.
1) Ego mastery styles exhibit a shift from active to passive over the life course.

2) Within the shift from active to passive mastery
styles over the life course, differences in
patterns of ego mastery style and other significant
qualitative differences in the interpretation of
experience exist between men and women.

Hypothesis One

The data were found to support hypothesis one for the
male sample, though not for the female sample. While the
mastery profile of the male sample was characterized by an
increase in passivity over age, that of the females was
found to exhibit more active mastery. The results
indicate a more complex interaction between biological and
social factors than is congruent with the idea of a
developmental continuum from active, through magical
mastery over age.

Hyphothesis Two

The data reflect significant differences in patterns
of ego mastery style between men and women, as well as
other important qualitative differences in the
organization of experience. The basic difference between
the experience of men and women is that men organize their
experience of mastery around a focus on activity qua
activity, or performance; whereas women structure their
experience of mastery around a core of activity as an
expression of affiliation. This difference has major
implications with regard to the construction of the life

experience of men and women.

The focus on performance as an index of mastery which is characteristic of men is accompanied by ego mastery characteristics, including vulnerabilities, associated with career performance at each life stage. For women, the organization of the experience of mastery is structured around a focus on activity as an expression of relatedness, and the life stage differences reflected here revolve around issues of affiliation.

These foci become pivotal in the later stages. Ego function in later stage men is distinguished by passive mastery, marked by provisional assignment of structure in the organization of experience, and a degree of objectivity that gives rise to depersonalization. In later stage women, the organization of experience around affiliation results in the integration of experience at a personal and relational level rather than in one of fragmentation and depersonalization. A major consequence of this level of integration is that ego energy, rather than being drained away, remains accessible and can be utilized. The basis for the active mastery that tends to characterize these women is the strength of experience as ordered from the self rather than from the outside and embeddedness is a personalized rather than an objectified milieu.

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PART I

FOUNDATION FOR THE STUDY

Introduction

The dissertation explores ego mastery styles as they
are manifested over the life course from earlier to later
adulthood. The concept of ego is an abstraction, an
organizing principle, useful to the extent that it sim-
plifies the understanding of the central behavioral
repertoire of individuals (White, 1963; Loevinger, 1966,
1969, 1976; Loevinger and Wessler, 1970; Ausubel and Kirk,
1977). As a concept it also has reference to the exis-
tence of a psychic structure having to do with the
synthesis of experience, and which exhibits both stability
and change over time (Freud, 1933; Nunberg, 1931; Freud,
A., 1936; Hartmann, 1958; Hartmann, Kris and Loewenstein,
1946; Kris, 1952; Rapaport, 1959, 1960, 1967; Allport,
1943, 1955, 1961; Fairbairn, 1952; Guntrip, 1969; Segal,
1964; Erikson, 1959, 1963, 1968; Sullivan, 1953; Adler,
1956; Loevinger, 1966, 1969, 1970, 1976; Fingarette, 1963;
Ferenczi, 1956; Loewald, 1951, 1960, 1962a, 1962b; Kelly,
G., 1955, 1969, 1970; Ausubel and Kirk, 1977).

The concept of ego is further defined as referring to
a non-reified structure, i.e., it is a process rather than
a thing (Loevinger, 1969, 1976; Ausubel and Kirk, 1977).
It functions holistically, i.e., having to do with the
individual as a functional whole, though containing

possibilities of inner conflict inasmuch as some of his
experiences are held outside the boundaries of his con-
scious frame of reference (Freud, S., 1933; Kris, 1952;
Rappaport, 1960a, 1960b; Hartmann, Kris and Loewenstein,
1946; Sullivan, 1953; Erikson, 1959, 1963, 1968; Kelly,
G., 1955, 1969, 1970). The ego functions to organize and
interpret information toward establishing coherence and
meaning as a basis for behavior, i.e., it is purposive
(Sullivan, 1953; Kelly, G., 1955; Sullivan, C., Grant, and
Grant, 1957; Harvey, Hunt and Schroeder, 1961; Ausubel,
1952; Ausubel and Kirk, 1977; Fingarette,1963; Loevinger,
1969, 1976). Further, the individual is, with few excep-
tions, immersed in a social milieu, the structure of which
serves as a templet for the construction of his world
view, therefore the ego is inherently social in nature
(Murphy, 1947; Erikson, 1959; Sullivan, 1953; Kelly, G.,
1955; Sullivan, C., Grant, and Grant, 1957; Rogers, 1961;
Ausubel, 1977). To analyze the ego mastery styles of
individuals is to investigate the way in which they
organize their experience, to cast some light on the way in
which they see themselves, as individuals, in relation to
others, and to their environment. For the purposes of
this paper, it is to examine the personal contexts of
adults as these are delineated by their perceptions of
their capabilities and opportunities, i.e., their ego
mastery styles, and thus to contribute to our understanding
of the vicissitudes of ego function from early to late

adulthood.

The psychology of aging is still in the descriptive stage (Berezin, 1963; Baltes and Labouvie, 1973; Jarvik and Cohen, 1973; Neugarten, 1968, 1973; Lowenthal, Thurnher and Chiriboga, 1975; Birren and Renner, 1977; Lowenthal, 1977; Baltes and Willis, 1977; Shock, 1977; Vaillant, 1977; Sears, R., 1977). The preponderance of developmental psychology is focused on childhood years (Birren and Woodruff, 1973; Zubin, 1973; Neugarten, 1973; Lowenthal et al., 1975), and relatively little is known about adult personality (Neugarten and Associates, 1964; Neugarten, 1973; Schaie and Marquette, 1972; Schaie, 1973; Baltes and Labouvie, 1973; Lowenthal et al., 1975).

Some studies exist which focus on limited phases of adulthood. Data on adolescents followed into adulthood are reported by Terman and Oden, 1947; Tuddenham, 1959; Havighurst et al., 1962; Kagen and Moss, 1962; Kagen, 1964; Clausen, 1964; Oden, 1968; Block, 1971; and Haan, 1963. Studies following young adults into middle age have been published by Kelly, E., 1955, Sontag and Kibler, 1964, Terman and Oden, 1959, and Vaillant, 1977. Follow-up data on personality in middle and late years is even more sparse than that on earlier adult years, with data reported by Sears, R., 1977; Sears, P., 1977; and Sears, P., and Barbee, (1977). Extended adult outcome personality studies which include childhood data are few in number (White, 1952; Baller, Charles and Miller, 1967;

Rogler and Hollingshead, 1965).

Cross sectional data from samples which provide age or life stage gradients for comparative personality study are reported by Neugarten and Associates, 1964; Neugarten and Gutmann, 1968; Gutmann, 1966, 1967a, 1967b, 1969b, 1976; Lowenthal, Thurnher, and Chiriboga, 1975.

Literature Review

The situation regarding the study of personality in adults is complicated not only the the sparseness of the studies, but by differences in the samples being studied, and by differences in the focus of research interest. For example, the studies by Terman and Oden, 1947, 1959; Oden, 1968; Sears, R., 1977; Sears, P., 1977, and Sears, P., and Barbee, (1977), are from the Terman Gifted Group, where superior children were followed with primary regard to intellectual status, school, and career achievement. Findings indicate that the superior child tends to become the superior adult, and that, over the life course, the intellectual resources of this group contribute both to more autonomy and more flexibility in coping with life than is found in the general population.

Havighurst, et al. (1962) report on the effect of differential opportunity in the development of adult competence in a group of young people growing up in a moderate sized community. Middle class youth, with above average intelligence and an educationally oriented home life, tended to make the most of the opportunities offered

them. Members of the lower class, who tended toward below
average intelligence and a non-educationally oriented home
life, exhibited poor utilization of opportunity to develop
adult competence. The lower class was over represented
with regard to maladjustment, and the middle class was over
represented with regard to social leadership. Over social
class, and focusing on maladjustment, while members of both
sexes were found in both categories, more males expressed
adaptation through aggression and more females through
withdrawal. He concludes that, "...a successful social
adjustment in the peer group appears to be equally, if not
more, important than intelligence as a means of doing well
in school and making a good start in adult life."[1]

Kagen and Moss (1962), and Kagen (1964), reporting on
the Fels Institute sample, find stability of behavior to be
related to sex-role identification. Sex-role behaviors
that are congruent with cultural prescription tend to be
predictive over time, while incongruent sex-role behaviors
tend to be remolded toward more acceptable cultural
definition and thus contribute to discontinuity in
behavioral patterns over time. Sontag and Kibler (1964),
also reporting on the Fels sample, indicate that, among
females those with highly dependent and social person-
alities were most likely to exhibit a decline in IQ. Males

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[1]Robert J. Havighurst, et al., Growing up in River
City. p. 153.

were not tested for this relationship.

Tuddenham (1959) tested drives, manifest traits, and behavior ratings on Oakland Growth Study subjects. For men the most stable variable found was drive aggression, while women were most stable on general trait social prestige. Variable clusters connoting expansive spontaneity versus inhibition were stable across both sexes. Variables connoting self-assertiveness versus self-effacement were stable for men, and masculinity versus feminity were stable for women.

Clausen (1964) also focusing on the Oakland Growth Study, evinces interest in personality factors affecting occupational mobility, and notes that "...persons who are upwardly mobile occupationally appear to differ from those who originally came from and stayed at the same status level. The upwardly mobile achieve many of the personality correlates associated with life-long high status."[2]

Again utilizing the Oakland Growth Study, Block (1971) studied the personality constellations of young adults. He describes five male types and six female types and reports that his data support the hypothesis of the existence of different developmental paths, and that these paths vary in

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[2]John A. Clausen, "Personality measurement in the Oakland Growth Study." p. 173.

both character and in course bearing. He points out that
this is not at odds with the concept of a universal frame-
work of development, within which the characteristics of
child development and those of senescence provide the end
points. Rather, he suggests that, within these parameters
there are lawful progressions in small and homogeneous
classes, the diverse nature of which may be obscured both
by the notion that all individuals develop along the same
paths and by the use of nomothetic approaches. Further,
the notion of uniform development over time leads to a
focus on temporal similarity as an index of progress
through the developmental sequence. Such a context does
not provide for acknowledging the authenticity of change
that is not accounted for within such a narrowly concept-
ualized directional sequence.

Haan (1963), in another investigation from the Oakland
Growth Study, sets forth a model of ego development and
reports a relation between ego function and IQ acceleration
or deceleration between adolescence and adulthood. These
IQ shifts are related to whether the individual uses ego
defenses (which are defined as rigid and past-bound
behaviors) or coping mechanisms, and deceleration to use
of defenses for both sexes, though the patterns differed
for each. The IQ indices used were verbal and arithmetical.

> Men were generally more accelerative in the
> various kinds of intelligence than women. Male
> accelerators were generally coping in an
> expressive manner, whereas women accelerators
> were coping in a controlled manner but had
> neurotic types of defenses as well.... The

relationship of IQ change to femininity and
masculinity during adolescence and adulthood
and the kind of change in sex roles between
these two periods of life were also investi-
gated. The results for the males were in-
conclusive, but it was found that women who
accelerated the most in verbal tests tended
to be low in femininity in adolescence and
high in femininity in adulthood; women who
showed the greatest acceleration in arithmetic
tended to have the reverse pattern--high in
femininity in adolescence and low in femininity
in adulthood.[3]

Defined by Haan as defenses were isolation, intellec-

tualization, rationalization, doubt and indecision, denial,

projection, regression, displacement, reaction formation,

and repression. The coping counterparts of these defenses

are objectivity, intellectuality, logical analysis,

tolerance of ambiguity, concentration, empathy, regression

in service of the ego, sublimation, substitution, and

suppression.

Kelly, E. L. (1955) studied married couples for change

over time. He found, contrary to the myth that marriage

partners tend to become increasingly alike, that there was

only small tendency for either to change in the direction

of the other. Rather, three-fourths of the correlations,

though too low to be significant, reflect change away from

the partner. He concludes that, in long lasting marriages,

initial likeness of marriage partners seems to be enough to

preserve the relationship, though differences in role

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[3]Norma Haan, "Proposed model of ego functioning."
p. 22.

demands may result in some change in the partner.

Vailliant (1977) studying a group of healthy men, notes that particular adaptive styles are assumed as ways of coping with problems. He points to a maturational shift in adaptive styles (ego defenses) over age, with acting out, fantasy, passive aggression, hypochondriasis and projection being immature; reaction formation, intellectualization, displacement, repression, and dissociation being neurotic; and suppression, altruism, sublimation, and anticipation being mature defenses or styles. He suggests that adaptive styles can be taught through apprenticeships to supportive mentors, or absorbed through family experience, and that increasing age also increases the experiential base from which to make adaptational choices, i.e., favors appropriate choice. While he regards the shift as developmental, he illustrates that not all men mature, i.e., some continue to function at immature adaptation levels, and some individuals may regress to an earlier level of function.

Baller et al. (1967) examined the mid-life achievements of a group of mentally retarded men and women (average IQ 70). He reports that, while there is a range of attainment, this group reflects a far higher level of adjustment and achievement than expected. Relative success, measured on such dimensions as a satisfactory level of employment, economic independence, quality of family life, and participation in the community was, for

men, primarily based on possession of a work skill, stability with regard to community residence and work, and family orientation. Relative success was primarily based on a sense of self worth for the women.

Rogler and Hollingshead (1965) investigated the life histories of a low socio-economic population in Puerto Rico for interrelationships between familial role performance and schizophrenia. They state that parental families and early life experiences are very similar for non-schizophrenic and schizophrenic persons. They found schizophrenia to be a response to complexes of identifiable interrelated stresses in the social environment which prevented the person from performing his or her accustomed social roles. Tension points generated by incongruities between cultural values and role performance, when not resolved successfully, resulted in mental illness. Schizophrenia has a differential impact on the family, depending on the sex of the disabled person, with the affliction of the woman demonstrating a greater impact on both the nuclear and the extended family.

Findings from the Kansas City Studies (Neugarten and Associates, 1964) indicate that only minor age, sex, and social class group differences were found when the middle-aged sample (40-65) was measured on personality variables constructed to reflect the eight stages of Erikson's (1963) theory of psychosocial ego development. Gruen (1964) concluded that, at least for the latter half of Erikson's

stage sequence, idiosyncratic development played a more
important part in the configuration of major aspects of
personality dynamics than did age, sex, or social class
membership.

Testing the theory that the emergence and utilization
of particular adaptive capacities underlies the successful
resolution of developmentally associated psychological
crises in the second half of life, Peck and Berkowitz
(1964) report consistent social class differences, with the
upper middle class reflecting the better integrated and
adaptively functional personality systems. Lower middle
and working class samples were found less capable of such
crisis resolution, and lower class people were the least
adaptive, "...on the average, show(ing) unintegrated, un-
differentiated, unresourceful personalities."[4] No age or
sex differences were found.

Neugarten, Crotty, and Tobin (1964) note that in a
sample 50 to 90 years of age, for the preponderance of the
subjects, personality types were found to vary indepen-
dently from age. Unintegrated personalities were found
among the younger subjects, and integrated personalities
were discovered among the older ones. They suggest
"...that it is not the factor of increasing age, but other

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[4]Robert F. Peck and Howard Berkowitz, "Personality and
adjustment in middle age." p. 43.

factors, that lead to personality disintegration. Such factors might be closely related to health and biological loss, on the one hand, or to social and psychological losses, on the other.[5]

Drawing on a sample of 40- to 70-year-old males and females of middle and working class, Neugarten and Gutmann (1964, 1968) investigated age-sex role images as they related to family and to personality. Using one originally constructed TAT-like picture, showing a grouping of four individuals, and "...designed specifically to evoke the sentiments and preoccupations of middle-aged respondents in relation to family roles" (p. 46), they established role categories for young man, young woman, old man, and old woman. Significant age differences were found, with the younger group (40-54) seeing the young man's energy restrained in the family setting and directed toward outer-world (extrafamilial) achievement, for which he is well fitted by virtue of his assertive energy. There is conflict over the role of the young woman, who is always categorized in a passive and familial, rather than an active and career oriented role, and is perceived as either submitting to family control or, conversely, pulling assertively away from family authority. Central issues

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[5]Bernice Neugarten, William Crotty, and Sheldon Tobin, "Personality types in an aged population." p. 187.

here are sexual dependence, i.e., reflecting formal and affiliative bonds with the older (parental) couple, or sexual independence, i.e., movement toward spontaneous affective bonds with the young man. The old man is responded to in terms of dominance through family authority, and the old woman as adaptive and subordinate to outer restraints such as nurturance of others, limitation by children, or control by the old man.

For the older group (55-70) the young man was perceived as more assertive within the family, with consequent feelings of vulnerability and concern for control on the part of the other members. He was also less assertive in a more complex and demanding world than was pictured by the younger group. The young woman is seen as being controlled by parents, through deference to their authority rather than through affection. The old man is seen as submissive and passive rather than dominant, and the old woman moves into dominant position.

Viewed by these researchers and from the perspective of ego developments, in the younger group, ego energy is safely directed toward the challenging outer world (young man), there is conflict over sexual dependence-independence (young woman), and the ego (old man) is firmly in control of impulse life (old woman). In the older group, ego energy is reflected as less equal to outer world demands, as tending toward conformity and submission rather than

challenge, and as given more expression within the boundaries of the family, i.e., it moves from external to internal orientation. Sexual conflict is decided in favor of dependence, i.e., affiliation through formal and deferent relation, and the ego has relinquished control to impulse life.

With regard to sex differences, men in both age groups tend to see the young man in terms of impulsive, assertive expression, and the young woman as conflicted over whether she belongs with her parents or with the young man. Men in the younger group perceive the old man as contending with issues "...relating to assertion, guilt, nurturance, and affiliativeness--conflicts he attempts to solve in terms of complex role patterns that integrate the various elements."[6] Men in the older group reflect the old man as having retreated to where the above issues have become internal and cerebral, rather than external and activity oriented. He has moved from active participation to passive conformity. Younger men tend to see the old woman as nurturant and submissive and, where assertive, controlled by outer restraints. She has little influence in the interaction. The older men see the old woman in much the same light as the younger men, except that she

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[6]Bernice Neugarten and David Gutmann, "Age-sex roles and personality in middle age." (1964) p. 76.

has moved from manifesting little influence to that of exhibiting the prime authority. She, rather than he, now rules the situation. Also, while she may rule as the good mother, in an almost equal number of cases, she is categorized as a belligerent and castigating autocrat.

Women indirectly acknowledge the young man as a source of strong and assertive energy, which they limit by placing him in an intricately structured environment to which he conforms on a functional rather than an achievement basis. Women tend to see the young woman as dependent on parents and are generally unwilling for her to give first allegiance to an outside relationship. The older man is pictured as a benevolent and supportive figure, with the younger women seeing him as protecting and guiding the young people, while the older women see him as nurturant but ineffective--he no longer has the power to enforce his guidance. His retreat allows the old woman to take the central position, from which she yields an aggressive and despotic authority.

Social class differences are minor with regard to categorizing the young man, with the exception of the working class women, who see him as conforming to outer world pressures rather than being internally motivated and effectively asserting himself against them. Focusing on the young woman, the single significant difference is between middle and working class women, with the former attributing more vitality, assertiveness, and autonomous

action to her than do the latter. For the working class
woman both the young man and the young woman tend to be
reflected as relatively insubstantial, unavailable
emotionally, and unassertive. Social class differences
do not influence the images of the old man and the old
woman.

Age-sex roles, as they are obtained from projective
data, may be interpreted at both the level of internal ego
organization, and as a highly personalized and pivotal
reflection of social experience.

> The individual, in filling real-life roles,
> resolves tensions between personal needs and
> social expectations. The task of the ego is to
> organize the various affective components of the
> personality into a personally expressive, though
> socially acceptable, pattern of behavior. When
> presented with the picture, however, a different
> demand is made of the respondent. He is asked not
> to act in the real family setting, but to breathe
> vitality into a representation of family life.
> The task of the ego is...--in effect, to distribute
> various components of the self among the various
> figures in the picture. ...the projected aspect
> of the self, temporarily winnowed out of the total
> personality, tends to be expressed in exaggerated
> form (as it is projected onto each figure)....
> Rather than objective role descriptions, (the
> researcher's) data are the affective connotations
> of role behavior, those which people limit and
> modify in real life.... What we have in these
> data, then is centrality rather than experienced
> complexity of role behavior.[7]

Focusing on personality dynamics at this nuclear
level, age-sex roles are seen to differ consonantly

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[7]Ibid., p. 86.

with the age and sex of the subject. The most prominent
finding in this study is that, with advancing age, subjects
reflect a shift in dominance from the old man to the old
woman and that, with each, the ego orientation shifts, i.e.,
men become both more passive and more expressive of
nurturance and affiliation, while women become both more
aggressive and more expressive of egocentric impulse.

Rosen and Neugarten (1964) examined the hypothesis
that ego investment in the external world declines with
age. They found that, when the TAT responses of a sample
of men and women from 40 to 70 years old were rated for the
degree of social interaction, conflict, level of vigorous
action, and intensity of affect, the responses of the older
people consistently reflected less complexity (e.g., fewer
introduced persons), and less involvement (e.g., less
activity and less affect).

Upon surveying a sample of older men and women (50 to
70) for the association between personality characteristics
and degree of social interaction, Shukin and Neugarten
(1964) found that, contrary to what might be expected from
disengagement theory (Cummings and Henry, 1961),
personality changes with age are not related to the degree
of social interaction. That is, disengagement from social
interaction, and thus from normative controls, was not
found to be related to the expression of deviant and ego-
centric behavior patterns. Because of the lack of relation
between these two variables, it is conjectured that the

behavior under examination might be related to developmental processes.

From TAT data obtained from a sample of older men and women, ages 40 to 70, Gutmann (1964) developed the Mastery Typology for use in estimating ego mastery orientations. That is, ways in which the ego organises and interprets both inner and outer experience in order to maintain internal and external control. Analysis of the TAT data yielded three major types and four subtypes. The major types are 1) active mastery (alloplastic), 2) passive mastery (autoplastic), and 3) magical mastery (denial of reality). The three types were found to be significantly distributed according to age group, with the younger sample (40-54) gravitating toward active mastery, and the older group (55-71) bearing toward passive and magical mastery.

For analysis, the data were blinded for age, but not for sex. Both sexes were then rated on the mastery typology and both sexes exhibited movement toward passive mastery with age. For the male sample, active mastery responses were categorized as self-asserters and achievement doubters. Passive mastery groups were labeled adaptive conformers and depersonalized conformers. The self-asserters reflected the hero as acting assertively and effectively toward the satisfaction of his ambitions, while the achivment doubters moved toward such satisfaction, but with inner caution--fearful of the consequences of their action. Adaptive conformers

represented the hero in deferent relationship with authority figures, and depersonalized conformers depicted the hero meagerly, without the embellishment of either internal motivation or environmental detail.

In the female sample, active mastery responses were grouped as rebellious daughters and moralistic matriarchs. Passive mastery groups were classified as maternal altruists and passive aggressors. Rebellious daughters pictured the hero as acting against bad authority figures, while the moralistic matriarchs contended with bad children whose errant ways justify active intrusion.

Active mastery men were evaluated as extrapunitive, i.e., "...they translate potentially debilitating inner conflicts into struggles with external agents."[8] Passive and magical mastery men were judged to be intropunitive, i.e., "...they seem to turn aggression inward--they become the objects of their own disavowal drives to dominate and control--and they conscientiously reshape themselves to meet external demands."[9]

This pattern did not hold for the women. Both active and magical mastery women exhibited extrapunitiveness, and only the passive mastery women were found to be intro-punitive.

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[8] David Gutmann, "An exploration of ego configuration in middle and late life." p. 20.

[9] Ibid., p. 124.

Gutmann suggests that, as men are allied to rationality and impersonal perspectives, they may be particularly defenseless against impersonal interpretation of their capabilities as these wane with age. As a result, they retreat to passive ego orientations, within which they restructure themselves toward compliance with outer demands. Women, on the other hand, are committed to a more personal and demonstrative world, one which sanctions continued energetic and affective engagement on their own, rather than impersonal, terms. The result here is that women remain more vigorously interactive with the world, even if they have to restructure it via magical mastery, in order to justify their continued personal participation.

In a series of studies, Gutmann (1966, 1967a, 1967b, 1969b, 1976) presents cross cultural data on the ego mastery orientations of men from 30 to 90 years old. Assessing ego mastery styles through TAT responses as in his Kansas City Study, he reports that, across the pre-literate societies of the Mayan (Mexico), the traditional Navaho (Arizona), and the Druze (Israel) cultures, ego mastery orientation shows a shift from active to passive, with age, rather than culture, being a clearer predictor of mastery orientation. These findings support a developmental hypothesis, i.e., that, with aging, men move along a continuum from active to passive and magical ego orientation in the service of maintaining both internal and external control over their circumstances.

The characteristics of the adult life course have been investigated through studies focused on age related variables, as demonstrated by the Kansas City Studies, and Gutmann's cross cultural work. Another approach is to focus on normative life stages, and to explore these from a developmental point of view. This is the approach taken in the Longitudinal Study of Transitions[10] (Lowenthal, Thurnher and Chiriboga, 1975), which focuses on four normative transition stages of the life course. These stages are high school seniors, newlyweds, empty nest parents, and pre-retirees. This sample has been assessed on many dimensions, including life style, family issues, self concept, morale, stress, and values. These studies will be discussed within the body of the research presentation and discussion, inasmuch as the research data being reported is from the same sample.

Added to the pre-theoretical stage of the study of adult personality development, the sparseness of studies, the sample diversity, and the differences of research focus as factors contributing to the lack of a consistent and comprehensive body of findings, is that, in charting this heretofore unmapped territory, there is a need to generate

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[10]This study supported by Grant Number AG00002
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HD 05941 National Institute of Child and Human Development).

research instruments. By and large, variation in these instruments contributes to different types of data gathering and analysis.

For example, the Terman Group was studied through IQ tests (primarily the Stanford-Binet), a variety of self reports, and historical ratings. Among the tools used by Havighurst et al. (1962) were a socio-economic index, a battery of IQ tests other than the Binet, personal and social adjustment measures derived for that study, and naturalistic observation. Data reported by Kagen and Moss (1962) were gathered principally through behavior observation, narrative reports, and interviews. Cognitive tests were a late addition, being added in 1950 to a study that was begun in 1929, and these differed from those utilized by Havighurst et al. (1962). For Tuddenham's study, subjects were given life history interviews which which were then rated by the interviewer on 84 variables. Block's (1971) analysis rests on his Q sort rating technique, as does Haan's (1972). Kelly, E. (1955), chose a battery of psychological tests and added a personality rating scale of his own. Valliant used questionnaire data, and semi-structured interviews which were then analyzed through rating scales constructed for that purpose. Rogler and Hollingshead (1965) devised a Mental Status Examination and a Life History Schedule for the population they were studying. Specific instruments such as Gruen's (1964) eight stage rating scale and the Family

Scene TAT card were devised for the Kansas City Studies,
and Gutmann (1964) conceived the Ego Mastery Typology as an
assessment instrument for rating ego orientation. While
previously existing instruments such as the WAIS,
Bradburn (1969) Affect Balance, and the Adjective Rating
List (Block, 1961) were used in the assessment of the
Transitions Study (1975), most of the research instruments
used were generated by the research staff for mapping stage
variables and their relation to adaptation over the life
course.

Given the variation outlined above, it is not
surprising that results may differ or that, when similar,
they may not be directly comparable. For example, both
Gruen (1964) and Vaillant (1977) report exploratory
research based on an Eriksonian model of psychosocial
development. Gruen (1964), in a cross sectional study,
did not find major personality differences and suggests
that idiosyncratic development plays a larger part than
age, sex, or social class in personality development.
Vaillant (1977), in a longitudinal study, did find major
differences along the dimension of age. Sample differences
may have influenced the findings inasmuch as Gruen's
sample was older than Vaillant's, and he had no earlier
data upon which to evaluate personality changes. However,
analysis from the same cross sectional age graded sample
did provide significant personality differences in other
studies using other indices (Neugarten and Gutmann, 1964;

Gutmann, 1964; Rosen and Neugarten, 1964; Shukin and Neugarten, 1964). It does seem that instrumentation and style of analysis contribute to obscuring the sources of differences reported by Gruen and Vaillant.

Differences in the interpretation of data also add to a lack of coherence in the research on the adult life course. For instance, Haan (1963) defines ego function within a model of specific defense and coping styles. Block, collaborating with Haan (1971) delineates 11 personality types or developmental paths. This work supports consistency of personality types both between sub-samples and over time. Yet, in a 1972 research report on personality development from the same sample (adolescence to adulthood), Haan states that

> ...if these data could be regarded as adequately representing the process of growing up, then we would have to conclude that there are no common or universal processes involved in development, at least between adolescence and early middle adulthood.... Clear continuity of ipsative personality descriptions have been found for types that are persistently well adjusted psychologically, as well as ones that were persistently poorly adjusted. Marked discontinuity of several kinds was also found--initially good adolescent adjustment followed by poor adult adjustment and vice-versa, poor adolescent adjustment followed by high adult adjustment.... Thus it would appear that all possible theoretical points of view have found support and the only invalid conclusion is to expect universal developmental trends for this period. We are left with the main conclusion that not only are people very different from each other, but they also move from adolescence to adulthood in very different ways.[11]

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[11]Norma Haan, "Personality development from adolescence to adulthood in the Oakland Growth Studies." p. 406.

Vaillant (1977), on the other hand, defines a developmental progression of ego function within the parameters of adaptive styles having both immature and mature expressions. Ego defenses are reported to shift and merge to create new adaptive styles and the pattern of adaptive styles can be plotted over the life course, though some individuals may remain immature and some may regress. Relating adaptive styles to effectance, he indicates that

> ...defenses that channel rather than block inner life and affect--namely suppression, anticipation, altruism, and displacement-- were far more common among the Best Outcomes .... Defenses that removed, denied, or dammed inner life--reaction formation, dissociation, and the immature defense mechanisms--were far more common among Poor Outcomes.[12]

He reports that the work of Haan (1972) supports his developmental thesis inasmuch as her subjects reflect a more frequent use of mature defenses with age. However, his conclusions and Haan's are widely divergent. Vaillant's and Block's conclusions are closer, with both interpreting their findings as supporting the concept of developmental paths, though their constructions differ, and thus they are not directly comparable. Also of different construction, though supporting the developmental stance, is Gutmann's delineation of ego types as a mastery continuum through which men move with age.

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[12]George Vaillant, Adaptation to life. p. 276.

Reflecting the descriptive stage of the exploration of adult personality development, the studies of the authors reviewed are suggestive rather than definitive. The ego models presented by Haan and by Loevinger are considered pretheoretical by this author. Haan (1963) borrows from psychoanalytic tradition the definitions of ten defense mechanisms, adds the concept of ten coping mechanisms as counterparts to these defenses, and uses the resulting model of ego function within a problem solving orientation, e.g., an exploration of IQ change along the parameters defined by her model.

> ...the research plan is based on the expectancy that there will be changes in cognitive function- ing, described as changes in IQ, and that the direction of these changes will be associated with the nature of the ego functioning of different individuals. Moreover, the questions of constitu- tionality, and of continuity or discontinuity (of cognitive function) bear on the present formulation of the ego structure only as they clarify the necessity that separate provisions be made for different kinds of ego functions.[13]

Loevinger (1966, 1969, 1970, 1976) borrows copiously and with acknowledgement from many theorists toward her definition of ego development as a core construct and as related to the framework of meaning created by the individual's subjective organization of his experience. The exercise of physical, psychosexual, and intellectual functions enter into ego function, inasmuch as they

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[13]Norma Haan, "Proposed model of ego functioning." p. 3.

contribute to the structuring of the frame of reference, and they are not to be confused with ego development. According to Loevinger, such development is characterized not by formal theoretical definition, but by a high level abstraction of non-age specific process qualities.

> To define the ego is perhaps not possible, but one can think about it....the ego is above all a process not a thing. The ego is in a way like a gyroscope, whose upright position is maintained by its rotation. To use another metaphor, the ego resembles an arch; there is an architectural saying that "the arch never sleeps." That means that the thrusts and counterthrusts of the arch maintain its shape as well as support the building. Piaget (1967) uses the term "mobile equilibrium"-- the more mobile the more stable. The striving to master, to integrate, to make sense of experience is not one ego function among many but the essence of ego.[14]

The process continuum, the description of which is based on scoring obtained from a 36-item sentence completion test, consists of seven developmental stages. The first one has two phrases, the autistic and the symbiotic, followed by the impulsive, the self-protective, and the integrated. These stages are conceptualized as invariant, i.e., each is built upon the last, and is subsumed by the next. No steps in the developmental sequence may be skipped, and one may not regress from a particular level of attainment, though individual development may halt at any particular level. Loevinger's model does not

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[14] Jane Loevinger, "Theories of ego development." p. 85.

allow for regression to an ealier stage and no studies have yet tested this assumption. The notion of regression is also incompatible with Gutmann's formulation of the ego mastery continuum. However Vaillant reports finding regression in his study, and Haan reports discontinuities that, though discussed within the context of adjustment, may include regression.

While personality development has been conceived of as a directional process by some theorists, e.g., Kelly, G., 1955; Erikson, 1959; Jung, 1933; Allport, 1961; Maslow, 1962; Goldstein, 1939; Rogers, 1942, 1961; and Buhler, 1968, the organization of such theory is at a level of abstraction and complexity not matched by testing and research skills at this time. As a result, the area of adult personality development is primarily problem rather than theory oriented, and still resembles

> ...the small and scattered penetrations of a few
> tiny exploring parties working against the almost
> overwhelming obstacles of a rugged uncharted
> wilderness. Many of the parties are thrown back
> because they cannot improvise the means for over-
> coming the climactic and geograpical hinderances
> with which they are confronted....Here and there
> a few long fingers reach into the wilderness
> without being able to drag other parts of the
> line forward. Such a situation is not favorable
> for understanding the wilderness as a whole,
> certainly not for making authoritative
> pronouncements about it. Of the many conceivably
> relevant facts, science can offer but a small
> selection, chosen because they lend themselves
> to investigation....The crucial gap in present
> knowledge...is a gap at that point where it
> becomes necessary to consider the continuous
> development of personality over periods of time

and amid natural circumstances.[15]

Within the framework provided by this review and White's still valid summation of the state of the field, this dissertation offers to expand the exploration of ego mastery styles from Gutmann's studies of older and pre-dominantly male samples to include males and females at four normative stages of the life course, high school seniors, newlyweds, emptynest parents, and pre-retirees.

Gutmann proposes that the mastery continuum is rooted in developmental processes and shifts from active to passive over age. Investigation of this broader sample will yield information regarding the distribution of ego mastery styles from early to late adulthood. Exploration of the individual's central organization of experience with regard to his capabilities and opportunities will yield both a check on the developmental thesis and cast further light on the adaptive significance of the mastery styles over the life course.

Conceptual Stance -- Background

The ego has been conceptualized in a number of ways, and with differences in emphasis. Orthodox psychoanalytic theory (Freud, S. 1933, 1936, 1947; Freud, A., 1936; Fenichel, 1945; Ferenczi, 1956) posits a model based on biological instinctual energy. The development of the

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[15]Robert White, Lives in progress. p. 22.

individual is taken to adhere to a rigid set of hypo-
ethical psychosexual stages, the adult outcome of which
rests primarily on the result of early intrapsychic
conflict between the id, the ego, and the superego. Freud
(1933) conceptualized the ego as a psychic structure,
developing out of the instinctual matrix of the id, the
function of which is to mediate between internal and
external reality (i.e., instinctual requirements versus
surrounding environment). While tension reduction (need
fulfillment) in the id operates on the pleasure principle
and according to primary process (wish fulfillment), the
task of the ego is both to delay discharge of instinctual
energy and to locate an appropriate object for the satis-
faction of the need. The ego's task, then, is to find a
real rather than a hallucinatory object for the discharge
of instinctual energy. Thus it is said to operate on the
reality principle and according to secondary process
(realistic thinking). The ego constructs and tests plans
for tension reduction. Reality testing is the result of
the exploration of alternatives in the service of such
need satisfaction. In co-ordinating the often conflicting
demands of the id, the superego (repository of traditional
moral values), and the external world, the ego acts
as the organizer and integrator of behavior. However, the
ego's executive function is curtailed by its origination
in the id and its lack of freedom from it. As the rider
of the id horse (Freud, 1947), the ego's executive

decisions are a compromise between demands for immediate gratification and the search for appropriate real objects. The focus here is on intrapsychic conflict, out of which the ego develops in the first 5 to 6 years. The adult life is then spent living out the early resolutions of oral, anal, and phallic conflicts.

In the British school of psychoanalytic theory (Segal, 1964; Klein, 1963; Fairbairn, 1952; and Guntrip, 1969) ego development is taken to occur even earlier than within the Freudian model, with the ego present at birth, and the fate of the adult psyche resting on the relationship of the ego with its fantasized internalized objects. (Rapaport, 1959, refers to this school of thought as "not an ego psychology, but an id mythology."[16])

Neo-psychoanalytic theory (Fromm, 1941; Horney, 1950; Loewald, 1951; Sullivan, 1953) reflects a broadening of focus from intrapsychic conflict as the developmental matrix of the psyche to include the importance of external reality as it is manifested through social and cultural influence. The work of Hartman (1958), Kris (1952), Hartmann, Kris, and Loewenstein (1946), Erikson (1959), and Mahler (1968) have contributed to the conception of a relatively autonomous ego, and a focus on ego development.

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[16]David Rapaport, "A historical survey of psychoanalytic ego psychology." p. 11.

Terms other than "ego" have been used to define
the central construct underlying the organization of
behavior, e.g., self-consistence (Lecky, 1945), self-
expansion (Angyal, 1941), self actualization (Goldstein,
1939), actualizing self (Maslow, 1962), true self (Rogers,
1942), self that has meaning (Frankl, 1963), style of
life (Adler, 1956), proprium (Allport, 1955), self
system (Sullivan, 1953), personal construct system
(Kelly, G., 1955), moral development (Kohlberg, 1964),
congitive complexity (Piaget, 1963); Harvey, Hunt and
Schroeder, 1961), interpersonal integration (Sullivan,
C., Grant and Grant, 1957), and meaning scheme (Fingarette,
1963). Whatever the label, or the context within which
it is defined, the focus is on the core function by which
information is organized and interpreted toward establish-
ing coherence and meaning as a basis for behavior.

Illustrating the point made earlier, that the study
of adult development is problem rather than theory
oriented, Gutmann (1964) proposes that the core function
by which meaning is assigned is the interaction between
the instinctually expressive id and a relatively autonomous
ego, as the ego progresses through its own intrinsic
developmental sequence in necessary commerce with some
version of community. This conceptual stance allows for
an expressive-defensive interplay at the id-ego interface,
with the ego making an active rather than a passive
contribution to dynamic development. It also allows

for dynamic change over time as the ego copes with both
internal and external changes over the life course. He
makes reference to the work of Hartmann and Erikson as
illustrative of his position but does not mention them
further. From Gutmann's point of view, intrinsic
(developmental) changes in the ego over the life course
result in a restructuring of information such that, in the
interests of maintaining both inner and outer control, the
interpretation of experience changes in a predictable
pattern along a continuum from active to magical ego
mastery orientation.

Conceptual Stance--This Study

In this study, the concept of ego is defined as an
organizing principle through which to understand the
central behavioral repertoire of individuals. It has
reference to the existence of a psychic structure involved
with the synthesis of experience, and which exhibits both
stability and change over time. It is taken to be a
process rather than a thing, and has to do with the
individual as a functional whole, though encompassing
possibilities of internal conflict in that some experiences
are retained outside of the border of the conscious frame
of reference. The ego is seen as purposive in that its
function is to organize and interpret information in the
interest of establishing coherence and meaning as a basis
for behavior. The ego is also inherently social in nature
in that the individual is immersed in a social milieu, the

structure of which serves as a pattern for the construction of his or her own world view.

For the purposes of this study, the analysis of the ego mastery styles of individuals takes the form of an investigation of the ways in which adults organize their experience, focusing on how they delineate their capabilities and opportunities as individuals, as well as how they perceive themselves in relation to others and to the environment. This individual world view may be assessed through the analysis of projective data.

According to Henry (1956), there are three primary stimulus demands inherent in the pictures which make up Murray's Thematic Apperception Test. The manifest stimulus demand pulls for content which is "Plain, open; clearly visible to the eye or obvious to the understanding; apparent; not obscure or difficult to be seen or understood."[17] Thus, Henry suggests that for card 17BM, the Rope Climber, the manifest demand centers on a man and a rope, and an explanation of the setting. Form demand is used

> to indicate a certain degree of pressure
> placed upon the subject by the presentation
> of these stimuli in a manner requiring organi-
> zation and structure...the TAT presents a
> special feature of form in that it requires a
> statement of relationship between forms (italics
> in text)....It seems to me extremely helpful in

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[17]Definition of "manifest," Webster's Dictionary (Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1953), p. 1030.

> analyzing the subject's habits of perceptual
> and conceptual organization to envision him
> as responding to this interaction of self and
> a pattern of form which sets a certain task
> level for him.[18]

The form demand of the rope climber card is attention to movement. Henry defines the latent stimulus demand as referring "to the emotional problem or focus most generally raised by the picture."[19] For the rope climber card, the latent stimulus demand "reflects the subject's concept of the relation of the individual to his environment and images of his prowess or vulnerability to environmental forces."[20] Because there are no social agents shown, and because the stimulus suggests nudity and strength, Gutmann suggests that "the stimulus might be regarded as a representation of the impulsive 'instinctual' aspects of life. Hence, the card LSD is presumably 'impulsive vigor' and the card presumably asks the respondent, 'What is your conception of strength, of impulse, and where do you locate these qualities?'"[21]

Gutmann's ego mastery typology, then, defines ego state through the analysis of the latent content for mastery orientation. It requires evaluation at the thematic level,

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[18]William Henry, The analysis of fantasy. pp. 63-64.

[19]Ibid., p. 100.

[20]Ibid., p. 261.

[21]David Gutmann, The country of old men. p. 6.

and these themes are not mutually exclusive. Also, though analysis at this level may delineate mastery stance, the generality of the theme does not allow for the assessment of the nature and the effect of the differing contexts within which performers of the same mastery type are found.

On the basis of a detailed and solid pilot study made for the study reported here, a manifest content index was constructed to serve the following purposes: 1) to lessen idiosyncratic scoring by permitting the recording of many variables rather than making judgments on the dominance of themes, and 2) to permit a finer discrimination of both content and context in the interests of exploring the distinctions in the organization of the experience of mastery exhibited by men and women at four stages of the adult life course.

Using a model in which the ego mastery typology and the manifest content index are used to assess a large sample of males and females graded by normative life stages, this dissertation seeks to increase the understanding of the relationship between ego mastery style and the adult life course. The following hypotheses are identified for investigation:

1) Ego mastery styles exhibit a shift from active to passive over the life course.

2) Within the shift from active to passive mastery styles over the life course, differences in patterns of ego mastery style and other significant

qualitative differences in the interpretation of

experience exist between men and women.

Use of A Projective Measure, The TAT

In an extensive review and discussion of TAT studies,

Zubin, Eron, and Schumer (1965) point to the state of

disagreement between researchers regarding the validity

and reliability of the TAT as a research instrument. They

report that validity studies have been a source of dispute

from the earliest TAT study summaries (late 1940's)

through the time of their own work. They suggest that,

while the TAT has not generally been found to be a good

predictor with regard to nosological category:

> The TAT, however, from a content point of view,
> may be a diagnostic instrument perhaps in the
> sense that it gives an understanding of an in-
> dividual in his life setting rather than as a
> member of a Kraeplinian nosological entity.[22]

They also state that, inasmuch as the defining char-

acteristics of nosological categories are not clear cut,

the failure of the TAT as a discriminatory test does not

invalidate the instrument.

With regard to reliability, they observe that, since

the late 1940's, in those studies where reliabilities

have been reported, researchers have leaned toward inter-

rater agreement as a reliability index, with relatively

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[22]Joseph Zubin, Leonard Eron, and Florence Schumer,
An experimental approach to projective techniques, p. 427.

good results. They also recommend the utilization of quantifiable rating scales as a means of standardizing observation across raters.

> The use of rating scales in the scoring and interpretation of a record affords an opportunity to combine qualitative clinical judgments in a more or less rigorous quantification. It is possible for the ratings to be as subjective and wholistic as necessary, but it is essential that the criteria for rating be verbalized, so that the method can be communicated and subsequent raters can utilize the scales with comparable results.[23]

In a review of the history of projective tests, Klopfer (1973) cites differences in points of view regarding projective techniques. He finds that though the use of projectives is currently more empirically oriented than in the past, there is still disagreement regarding their utility. He concludes that:

> Theorists of various kinds, whether they be phenomenologists, psychoanalysts, or learning theorists, have found data of value in projective modalities and will, very probably, continue to do so. It is as idle to be for or against projective methods as it is to be for or against behavior modification....In the opinion of the writer, the projective movement has been an extremely important one in the history of psychology and has left an imprint which is indelible.[24]

Given the context of agreement-disagreement regarding the usefulness of projective techniques, this

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[23]Ibid., p. 575.

[24]Walter Klopfer, "The short history of projective techniques." p. 64.

writer chooses both 1) to acknowledge the context,
within which the answers to questions regarding the
status of projectives depends upon who you ask (Klopfer
1973), and 2) to state as clearly as possible the
rationale upon which this study is based and the
procedures which were followed.

The influence of social milieu on personality is
noted by many authors, e.g., Fromm, 1941; Henry, 1947;
Murray and Kluckhohn, 1967; Gorer, 1967; Benedict, 1967;
Parsons, 1967; Kluckhohn, F., 1967; Horney, 1950;
Sullivan, 1953; Kelly, G., 1955, 1969; Adler, 1956;
Henry, 1956; Schaw and Henry, 1956; Erikson, 1959, 1963;
Clausen, 1966; Clark, 1967, 1968; Becker and Strauss, 1968;
Sanville, 1968; Mitscherlick, Lorenzer, Horn, Dahmer,
Schwanenberg, Brede, and Berndt, 1970; Parkes, 1961;
Lazarus, Averill, and Opton, 1971; Mechanic, 1974;
Lowenthal et al., 1975; Lowenthal, 1977.

Writing on the relationship of family structure to
personality, Clausen (1966) notes that:

> In all societies, the nuclear family is the
> initial social matrix within which personality
> is rooted and nourished....The family orients
> the child first to his kin and then to community
> and society....Gratification of physical needs--
> for food, drink, elimination, and so on--becomes
> channeled into socially appropriate forms....
> Aggressive impulses and other expressive impulses
> must likewise be brought under a degree of control
> if the child is to become an acceptable group
> member. To progress toward competence the child
> must...acquire essential skills--physical,
> cognitive, and social. Here explicit training
> will depend on the values or goals which parents
> have for their children....Certainly the great

> bulk of early skill training will come through
> the child's being immersed in situational
> contexts where he can imitate others and hear
> their commentary on the nature of the situational
> demands and on his own performance. The child
> must achieve familiarity with this physical and
> social environment, learning to discriminate
> what behaviors are appropriate to given situations
> and to given categories of persons. He must to
> some degree incorporate values and moral norms
> which stabilize behavior over a wide range of
> situations....The limits of the child's physical
> and social environment must broaden sufficiently
> to give him at least some experience in con-
> fronting the variety of standards and expectations
> that he will have to cope with as an adult.
> Gradually he must achieve autonomy from his
> parents and other caretakers....He must be able to
> relate to other adults in ways that are mutually
> gratifying, contributing to the effective pursuit
> of individual and group goals.[25]

That is, the family unit provides the transactional

matrix within which the person comes to experience himself

as an individual, and from which point of reference he

continues to organize his experience as he moves out of

the family milieu to encounter other aspects of his

cultural system, e.g., schooling, work, marriage, parent-

hood, retirement, and finally, the social prescriptions

of old age.

Within the frame of reference, or "webs of

significance" (Geertz 1973) provided by his culture, the

individual learns both his skills and his feelings (Henry

1956; Lazarus, Averill, and Opton 1971). Both biolo-

logical and cultural heritages influence feelings.

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[25]John Clausen, "Family structure, socialization,
and personality," pp. 1-53.

Biological inheritance provides both cognitive and

physiological capacities for the evaluation and response

to emotional stimuli. Culture provides the matrix for the

evaluation of said stimuli, the form of the response.

> ...the shaping of social relationships and
> systems of judgment... [and] ...certain con-
> ventional forms of behavior, e.g., mourning
> rites, courting and marriage rituals, and
> institutionalized aggression as in athletics
> and warfare, stem from and help to reinforce
> the particular social structure.[26]

The individual, then, within the parameters of his

biological and cultural inheritance, will learn the

culturally approved modes of behavior, including feelings.

> ...these feelings which attach to the many varied
> life experiences are seldom taught directly. More
> usually they are only implications or conclusions
> derived by the individual himself. As such, they
> remain only partly conscious and most frequently
> are not stated explicitly. Certain of these feelings
> are deeply threatening and tend to be represented
> or grossly transformed, thus becoming less clear
> and making their recognition by the individual
> himself less likely. Many are not in themselves
> threatening to the individual, even though remaining
> implicit. But regardless of whether these under-
> lying feelings are routine and rather close to
> awareness, they act as guiding principles and give
> directions to the individual in situations of
> choice....From the point of view of the individual
> learning or behavior in terms of the patterns set
> by his society, the basic directives which give
> consistency to his behavior are essentially
> emotional in nature. These directives may be sub-
> sumed under two generalizations: what the individual
> feels and believes the world of people and things out-
> side him to be like, and what he feels and believes
> himself to be like....The basic story plots of that
> society and the assumptions of feelings and action

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[26]Richard Lazarus, James Averill, and Edward Opton,
"Towards a cognitive theory of emotion." p. 195.

attached to them are utilized by the individual
to symbolize and express meaning and intent.[27]

Thus, as the individual develops and adapts to his

society, the configuration of his personality will reflect

the unique organization of his life experience as a member

of that society, and will be expressed symbolically by the

way in which he organizes and thus understands events.

These symbols will have both public and private meanings.

That is, some aspects will be a function of the commonly

held reality defined by the society, and others will be

the result of what he has made of things--the idosyncratic

assumptions and assignments of emotional significance, some

of which are conscious and explicit and some of which are

not. The way in which he organizes his experience defines

what is real for him, quite aside from the question of

whether the influence is conscious or unconscious (Henry

1956; Kelly, 1955, 1969).

Murray's (1943) TAT pictures are uniquely suited to

elicit examples of the individual's organization of

experience as he constructs a meaningful explanation of

events in response to pictures presenting "certain class-

ical human situations."[28] What is gained through the TAT

response is a facet of the individual's organization of

how things are. The behavior and the dynamics depicted in

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[28]Henry Murray, Thematic apperception test manual.
p. 2.

the response may differ from overt behavior 1) because the response may be a generalization, rather than a particular event, drawn from the residue of past history, 2) because of the individual's assessment of the appropriateness of behaviors, i.e., he may feel (either consciously or unconsciously) that it would be inappropriate for himself to behave in a particular way, but in the externalized and therefore objective, make-believe, 'not-himself' of the picture, he can allow these feelings to emerge, 3) because present circumstances as defined by his social milieu may either block or facilitate particular behavioral expression (Henry, 1956), and 4) because intrinsic (biological) changes in the second half of his life may be reflected in the response yet may precede an actual decrease in level and variability of response to external stimuli (Neugarten and Associates, 1964; Havighurst, Neugarten and Tobin, 1968).

Given the above conditions, it should be no surprise that TAT responses tend not to predict overt behavior, which might then be used as a standard for validation. Some researchers have used the analysis of concurrent interview and test data as a method of validation (Henry 1947; Peck and Berkowitz 1964; Neugarten and Gutmann 1964; Gutmann 1964; Shukin and Neugarten, 1964; Neugarten, Crotty and Tobin 1964; Gutmann 1966, 1967a, 1967b, 1976). This was the method used by Gutmann in developing the ego mastery typology.

For the purpose of this investigation, the validity
of the TAT is accepted on the grounds that it provides a
sample of the individual's unique organization of
information and assignment of meaning, as discussed
above.[29] Further, that this formation can be categorized
through the use of rating scales. Reliability is
established through interrater agreement. The working
assumptions of this study are those of Schaw and Henry (1956).

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[29]The question of the validity of data with reference
to the method of collection has been written about at
length, and will not be discussed in this paper with the
exception of the acknowledgment that methodologically based
discrepancies in data do exist, and do not necessarily in-
validate one another. Rather, it is this author's position
that it takes a multiplicity of approaches to illumine the
many, and often contrary aspects of the psychological con-
figuration of the human organism. For example, the direct
and conscious presentation of the self is likely to yield a
different pattern of data than is obtained from the less
overt and aware presentation (Henry 1956; Neugarten 1968).

Within this perspective, short, direct, forced choice
items allow the subject to control his presentation of him-
self within the stringent limits set by the number and kind
of choices available. His answer will depend both on his
own feelings, and on his experience of the social mores
that exist in his culture. In those instances charac-
terized by conscious control, his response will tend to be
governed by the logic and the propriety inherent in the
social press. The structured interview allows the subject
more leeway in his response than does the above approach,
and the degree of his control over his presentation of him-
self also changes inasmuch as the boundaries are moved out
to include more samples of his behavior.

In projective testing, such as the TAT, the boundaries
are moved out again in that the data originates from those
facets of the personality that are less conscious and less
structured than those involved in the overt presentation of
the self. Therefore, it might be expected that these
approaches would be likely to yield data with a wide range
of differences, as is often the case.

1) The manifest content of a given TAT picture usually stimulates the subject to give a story centered around a specific life area.

2) It is possible to group individual responses to characterize the fantasy of a group of individuals.

3) The characteristics of the fantasy of groups is the source of profitable intergroup comparisons.[30]

The Rating Instruments--Rationale

The ego mastery typology. Gutmann initially formulated and used the ego mastery typology on a Kansas City sample (1964). At that time, the instrument contained three major types and four subtypes. Since then he has revised the typology. The 1969 version was used in the pilot study previously mentioned. It contains the three major types and eight subtypes. Gutmann gave a visiting lecture for the Human Development and Aging (formerly the Adult Development Program) General Seminar on June 4, 1970. This study was discussed and he indicated that, given the 1970 typology, the scoring would be slightly different in that the typology had been restructured to include ten subtypes. In a further conversation at the twenty-fourth Annual Meeting of the Gerontological Society, Houston, October, 1971, Gutmann discussed the then current version of the typology,

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[30]Louis Schaw and William Henry, "A method for the comparison of groups: a study in thematic apperception." p. 212.

which had been reconstructed to consist of four major types
and twelve subtypes. The 1971 version of the typology,
outlined during the conversation mentioned above, was used
in this study.[31] To the extent that either the instrument
or the scoring rationale differs from Gutmann's intended
communication of each, this author takes the responsibility.
That is, an attempt has been made to do justice to the
instrument and to the scoring rationale developed by
Gutmann. This work may differ from his, as a product of a
different time and place and what I have made of it all,
and this is acknowledged.

Gutmann's very interesting research on older and pre-
dominantly male samples was the stimulus for the investiga-
tion reported here. Special acknowledgment and thanks are
given to him, both for the stimulation provided by his work,
and for his support and encouragement in applying the ego
mastery typology to a sample ranging from early to late
adulthood.

Recall that the stimulus pull of the rope climber card
includes a manifest stimulus demand centering on a man and
a rope and an explanation of the setting, a form demand
which is attention to movement, and a latent stimulus
demand which depicts the individual's own organization of

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[31]See p. 55 Gutmann's 1971 Ego Mastery Typology. See
Appendix   for 1969 and 1970 versions.

experience (belief system, interpretation) regarding the structuring of his environment, as well as his construction of his capabilities and vulnerabilities and his opportunities for action within that context.

The card is taken to ask the question, "What is your image of power and energy, and where are these attributes located?" Each subject is given the card and asked to tell a story that has a beginning and a middle and an end. Each of these responses can then be characterized within one of the types on the mastery continuum.

Active mastery is characterized by themes of active, goal oriented, and often enthusiastic, competition and productive effort, in which the individual is portrayed in action directed toward influencing the environment in his own interests. For these individuals, the external world is malleable and they have the power to shape it to their own ends. Within this orientation, the individual may compete successfully with others, or with himself as he lives up to his own internal productive standards. In either event:

> The active (or Alloplastic) mastery style seems to have as its motivational foundation strivings towards autonomy, competence, and control. The active mastery individual works within or collaborates with external action systems in order to maximize his effect on them, in order to bring some part of them under his control. He is wary of having his actions and choices limited by others and he is therefore mistrustful of any dependent wishes in himself that would lead him to trade compliance for security....

> These various dispositions culminate in what might be called an "active-productive" orientation.

> Like all men, the active mastery individual desires
> emotional and physical security, but he is happiest
> when he can supply these needs through his own
> capacities, and when he is a source of security to
> others.[32]

In the transitional or mastery disequilibrium category,
which Gutmann hypothesized in 1971 as a transitionary state
between active and passive mastery orientations, the themes
are of competitive or productive efforts which have bad
outcomes, are viewed with suspicion or derogated, of
schedule bound or otherwise muted productive energies, and
the use of past activity to justify present passivity/
receptivity. While the active mastery individual is
committed to assertive action, the hero here reflects con-
flict between active and passive tendencies. He does
manifest an active orientation. However, the clash between
the active and passive stances is evident in that the
assertive action may have a bad result, he may disparage
the activity, his achievement energy may be muted, or the
focus may not be on the accomplishment per se, but as a
justification for a passive/receptive end. Thus these
responses depict the hero as veering uneasily between
active and passive tendencies, i.e., as expending energy
where the return may not be worth the cost, as exhibiting
assertive action that is muffled by low energy involvement,
or as focusing primarily on the passive/receptive ends of

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[32]David Gutmann, The country of old men. p. 3.

assertive behavior.

Passive mastery is delineated by themes in which the individual directs his energy toward conforming to, rather than causing changes in, the world around his. His world, rather than being the malleable one of his active mastery counterpart, is seen as an unresponsive and even dangerous place and his mastery style is to restrict himself accordingly.

> The passive (autoplastic) mastery individual also needs to control the sources of his pleasure and security. But the passive mastery individual does not feel effective enough to create, by himself, his own emotional and physical logistic base. From his standpoint, strong, independent and capricious external agents control what he needs. The passive mastery individual can only influence the powers-that-be indirectly, through what he does to himself. He shapes himself to fit their expectations; he demonstrates mildness rather than challenge; he tries to expunge those tendencies that might lead him into dangerous conflict....The world of the Passive Mastery individual tends to be closed, boundaried by prohibitions that he cannot revoke and by dangers that he cannot survive... and in this world one moves mainly to discover the limitations on movement and to justify staying put. The passive individuals, therefore, retrench--they draw back into those familiar limited terrains that reflect their schedule, that are still responsive to their will. This is the "tend your own garden" style, and the passive person convinces himself that little value exists belyond the precincts of his garden. This is the style of internal rather than external engineering: the productive style moves inward--toward the cultivation, in a redundant world, of pleasant thoughts, pleasant sensations, and predictable experiences....This orientation includes anxious/constricted and emphasized receptivity subtypes....In anxiety/constriction, passivity is the consequence of fearful inhibition. In emphasized receptivity, the focus is on nurturance to the self and from the self.[33]

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[33]Ibid., pp. 3-4.

Thus these themes reflect external direction or limitation of activity, limited perspectives and goals often accompanied by uncertainty that the hero can accomplish the task or with indications that he does lack strength to accomplish his aim, minimal response to the stimulus, hedonistic or comfort seeking ends, receptivity, and dependence on external sources of supply.

The magical mastery group is defined by responses governed by personal distortion such that the badness and harmfulness of the environment is maximized, by denial of the possibilities of the stimulus, or by impersonal distortion such that the respondent cannot respond to the card in any focused way, e.g., organicity. (There were no instances of impersonal distortion in the sample under study.) Unlike the individual in the active mastery category who moves toward bringing some aspect of the environment under his own control, and the figure mirrored in the passive responses who utilizes his energy to shape himself to his environment, the individual here seeks control through magical means. He accomplishes this through changing his perception of reality either by projecting outward unacceptable impulses from within himself, or by denying potentially threatening stimuli. Using these maneuvers he avoids taking instrumental action in the service of making changes in either the environment or in himself.

Gutmann suggests that younger men are characterized by assertive energy channeled outward into competitive or

productive orientations through the executive function of the ego. Over age, as strength and energy decline, the organization of experience changes. Older men perceive the world as less responsive and more dangerous than their younger cohorts. Aggressive energy is turned toward the control of the self rather than the environment, further control is established through the limitation rather than the expansion of life space, and the nurturing aspects of objects become more salient than those qualities that contribute to externally oriented competitive and productive ends.

Finally, with old age, there is an increase in the maintenance of control through defensive denial of aggressive energies. Rather than instrumentally changing the environment or himself, the individual may de-emphasize external threat by arbitrarily interpreting circumstances as benign, or may project disturbing feelings and impulses out onto others. Gutmann proposes that, for old men, defenselessness against objective assessment of waning capabilities results in a retreat to the magical mastery orientation, an extreme form of denial based on vulnerability and wishfulfillment. Women, however, are seen as being embedded in a more personal and affective milieu and thus are not subject to evaluation by impersonal performance criteria as men are. Rather than using magical mastery as a form of disengagement from performance evaluation, old women utilize this type of denial to

restructure reality in order to justify their continued personal participation.

Gutmann reports finding movement from active to passive magical mastery over age for both men and women (40-70) in his Kansas City Study (1964), and for primarily male samples in his cross-cultural studies (1966, 1967a, 1967b, 1969b, and 1976). Though he suggests that magical mastery may serve a different purpose for old women than for old men, he regards the findings as having developmental implications, i.e., that ego function manifests predictable movement along the mastery continuum over age. He regards these implications as strengthened by the results of his cross-cultural studies, though he concludes that:

> However, while it now appears that individuals so move in predictable sequence through the mastery stages, we cannot yet claim that this progression has an intrinsic developmental basis. Although we can now rule out a strictly "cultural" explanation of these findings, we do not automatically prove the developmental theory by refuting the socio-cultural alternative. There are existential necessities that impinge on most men, especially in later life--the exigencies of illness, of failing strength, of approaching death, of reduced opportunity, and hope-- that are independent of specific cultural circumstances just as they may be independent of any prior psychological or developmental events. These *existential* imperatives may be the independent variables, the independent engines of psychological change in later life, which set in motion, as dependent events, the universal passage across the mastery continuum that we have described.[34]

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[34]Ibid., pp. 35-36.

The manifest content rating form. During the initial phases of the pilot study previously mentioned it was noticed that there were many qualitative differences between the TAT responses that were not being picked up by the global ego mastery score. That is, responses that received the same mastery score were found to differ in elements of manifest content, e.g., the introduction of other people, the hero's relation to others, introduction of non-human objects other than pictured, sources of limitation and threat, and presence of positive and negative emotions. A twenty-seven item manifest content index was constructed by the inductive method from further blinded data. Significant differences were found between the younger and older males on a number of these variables. The manifest content variable index was redesigned after the pilot study in the interests of obtaining a more sensitive differentiation of manifest content. The resulting index of twenty-five items was used in the current study.[35] The use of the ego mastery typology and the manifest content index to rate TAT responses is directed toward the measurement, the interpretation, and the understanding of the individual's unique organization of information and assignment of meaning, and an

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[35]See p. 57 for Manifest Content Index used in this study. See Appendix for 1969 version.

explication of differences and similarities between and within the four normative life stage groups and the eight stage/sex groups which make up this sample.

EGO MASTERY TYPOLOGY - 1971[36]

ACTIVE MASTERY

1. Challenge and competition: The hero demonstrates his strength in successful striving against competition and challenge.

2. Productive Autonomous: The hero strives vigorously, sometimes zestfully, toward a self-determined productive goal. He does not compete with others.

TRANSITIONAL MASTERY

3. Competitive, assertive stances are viewed with suspicion, derogated, assigned bad outcomes, or no outcomes.

4. Another day, another dollar: Productive energies are given a muted, schedule-bound or indeterminate expression, e.g., he is a circus performer and he is satisfied with his performance.

5. Hero's past activity justifies a present passivity, or the hero's impotence is blamed on the environment.

PASSIVE MASTERY

6. Passive inhibition: Hero's movement is limited by environmental agents which do not support his action or which block it; e.g., the rope is slack, the cliff is slippery, the building is on fire. Action-oriented toward maintaining the status quo.

7. Passive autonomy: The hero moves within limited perspective and with limited goals. He lacks force to match his purpose, e.g., he is hurt, ill, or tired.

8. Sensual - receptivity: The hero has hedonic or comfort seeking rather than productive purposes.

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[36]David Gutmann, Ego Mastery Typology, outlined and discussed in personal conversation at the twenty-fourth Annual Meeting of the Gerontological Society, Houston, October, 1971

EGO MASTERY TYPOLOGY - 1971
Page 2

He looks toward external sources of supply which
are either available or ought to be.

9. Perceptual constriction: The respondent names the
   stimulus accurately, but in a minimal way.

MAGICAL MASTERY

10. Personal distortion: The respondent maximizes at
    the expense of the stimulus, the bad and the evil
    in the environment.

11. Denial: The respondent plays down the possibilities
    suggested by the card; e.g., I can't get anything
    out of this. I don't have any imagination, etc.

12. Impersonal distortion: There is massive denial of
    the stimulus, or organicity, e.g., the respondent
    can not see this card.

1978 RATING FORM
TAT CONTENT ANALYSIS - 17BM [37]
25 ITEM MANIFEST CONTENT INDEX[37]

1. Location of power with reference to the environment:
    1. Internal: The hero acts effectively on the environment, e.g., He is a circus performer and he is climbing the rope to begin his act.
    2. External: The hero is (heavily) influenced by the environment, e.g., He takes direction from outside himself, or he is injured or killed by environmental factors.
    3. Ambiguous: Location of power is not clear, e.g., The hero is climbing the rope but he might not get to the top because it is a very long rope.
    4. Not enough information to score: e.g., Kind of think he works in the circus, looking over to the audience.

2. Presence of environmental threat: (non-human)
    1. No
    2. Yes, and the hero is rescued
    3. Yes, and the hero overcomes it
    4. Yes, and the outcome is uncertain
    5. Yes, the hero is overcome

3. Introduction of other people into the story:
    1. No (skip 4 & 5)
    2. Yes

4. Introduced characters, are any a source of threat:
    1. No
    2. Yes, and the hero is rescued
    3. Yes, and the hero overcomes it
    4. Yes, and the outcome is uncertain
    5. Yes, and the hero is overcome

5. Introduced characters, current location of power for hero:
    1. Internal: He takes care of himself.
    2. External: Others take care of him/or he is beaten in a contest.
    3. Shared: He gives to others (direction or enjoyment).
    4. Ambiguous: Location of power is not clear.

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[37]Ruth Hodges, Manifest Content Index constructed for current study. See Appendix _ for 1969 version.

5. Not enough information to score: e.g., Kind of think he works in the circus, looking over to the audience.

6. The hero has limitations: (score yes if either external or internal restraints to free action are mentioned)
   1. No (skip 7)
   2. Yes

7. The hero's limitations are caused by:
   1. self
   2. others
   3. environment

8. Introduction of non-human objects: (other than pictured)
   1. No
   2. Yes

9. Primary results of interaction with environment:
   1. success
   2. ambivalence as to outcome: (story teller vacillates between alternatives)
   3. failure
   4. results of interaction are not mentioned, or are not clear due to sparseness of response

10. Hero is task oriented: (has demonstrated or is demonstrating intentional effort toward business, performance, learning, care-taking of self or others; excludes play, sensuality, enjoyment for sake of enjoyment)
    1. No (skip 11)
    2. Yes
    3. Not enough information to score

11. Task is:
    1. Mastered or completed
    2. Yet to be done

12. Immobilization of hero: (Is he stuck somewhere, by either internal or external forces?)
    1. No
    2. Yes

13. Time perspective:
    1. Past
    2. Past
       Present
    3. Present
    4. Present
       Future

5. All (past, present, future)

14. Mention of clothing or lack of it:
1. No (skip 15)
2. Yes

15. The hero:
1. Looks unclothed, or there is uncertainty as to whether he has clothes or not.
2. Is nude.
3. Is wearing circus garb or clothing inappropriate for other activities.

16. Hero's orientation to the rope:

1. Going up
2. Going up and down (e.g., he is going up and down the rope)
3. Coming down
4. Ambivalent (the storyteller vacillates between the two alternatives or says he just doesn't know which way he is going.)
5. Immobile
6. No mention

17. The focus of the story is on the hero:
1. In action and/or personally involved in the activity of thinking, feeling, caring, or working hard.
2. In little or no action, with impersonal description of the hero, his body, clothing, or position.

18. The hero is a show-off:
1. No
2. Yes

19. The hero is threatened by self-action: (e.g., suicidal or possibility of injury)
1. No
2. Yes

20. Expression of positive affect: (any affect in the story is to be scored)
1. No (skip 22)
2. Yes

21. Degree of positive affect:
1. Intense (presence of state modifiers, e.g., very, really, or strong states, e.g., joy
2. Indicated, not elaborated (e.g., he is happy)

3. Mild, barely indicated (e.g., looks kind of happy)

22. Expression of negative affect:
    1. No (skip 24)
    2. Yes

23. Degree of negative affect:
    1. Intense (presence of state modifiers, e.g., very, really, or strong states, e.g., horror, hate, etc.)
    2. Indicated, not elaborated (e.g., he is unhappy)
    3. Mild, barely indicated (e.g., looks kind of unhappy)

24. Looking behavior:
    1. The hero is being looked at. He is the focus of attention. For example, he is being watched by an audience. He is climbing to let people know he is good.
    2. The hero is looking at something. For example, he is watching the audience, a game, looking into the distance.
    3. Not enough information to score.

25. With regard to the total story there is:
    1. Direct assignment of structure, e.g., this is a trapeze artist climbing the rope. He is proud and happy with his strength and talent. He will become a great performer.
    2. Indirect and/or tentative assignment of structure, e.g., this looks like a circus performer, maybe a trapeze artist. He appears to be climbing the rope. I would assume that he is proud and happy with his strength and talent. Perhaps he will become a great performer. This could be...

1978 RATING FORM
TAT CONTENT ANALYSIS - 17BM
25 ITEM MANIFEST CONTENT INDEX
CONDENSED VARIABLES[38]

1. Location of power with reference to the environment:
    1. Internal
    2. External (2 and 3)

2. Presence of environmental threat: (non-human)
    1. No
    2. Yes (2, 3, 4, and 5)

3. Introduction of other people into the story:
    1. No
    2. Yes

4. Introduced characters, are any a source of threat:
    1. No
    2. Yes (2, 3, 4, and 5)

5. Introduced characters, current location of power for hero:
    1. Internal/Shared (1 and 3)
    2. External/Ambiguous (2 and 4)

6. The hero has limitations:
    1. No
    2. Yes

7. The hero's limitations are caused by:
    1. Self
    2. Others/ environment (2 and 3)

8. Introduction of non-human objects: (other than pictured)
    1. No
    2. Yes

9. Primary results of interaction with environment:
    1. Success
    2. Ambivalence
    3. Failure
    4. Results of interaction are not mentioned or are

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[38]Ruth Hodges, Manifest Content Index; variables condensed for further statistical processing.

not clear due to sparseness of response

10. Hero is task-oriented: (has demonstrated or is demonstrating intentional effort toward business, performance, learning, care-taking of self or others; excludes play, sensuality, enjoyment for sake of enjoyment)
    1. No
    2. Yes
    3. Not enough information to score

11. Task is:
    1. Mastered or completed
    2. Yet to be done

12. Immobilization of hero:
    1. No
    2. Yes

13. Time perspective:
    1. Past/present (1 and 2)
    2. Present
    3. Present/future
    4. All

14. Mention of clothing or lack of it:
    1. No
    2. Yes

15. The hero:
    1. Looks unclothed
    2. Is nude

16. Hero's orientation to the rope:
    1. Going up
    2. Going up and down/ambivalent (2 and 4)
    3. Down

17. The focus of the story is on the hero:
    1. In action and/or personally involved
    2. In little or no action, impersonal

18. The hero is a show-off:
    1. No
    2. Yes

19. The hero is threatened by self-action: (e.g., suicidal or possibility of injury)
    1. No
    2. Yes

20. Expression of positive affect:

      1.   No
      2.   Yes

21. Degree of positive affect:
      1.   Intense
      2.   Indicated/mild (2 and 3)

22. Expression of negative affect:
      1.   No
      2.   Yes

23. Degree of negative affect:
      1.   Intense
      2.   Indicated/mild (2 and 3)

24. Looking behavior:
      1.   Hero is being looked at
      2.   Hero is looking at something
      3.   Not enough information to score

25. With regard to the total story, there is:
      1.   Direct assignment of structure
      2.   Indirect or tentative assignment of structure

Method of Rating and Data Processing

     In Gutmann's Kansas City study (1964) of older adults,
the TAT responses were blinded for age but not for sex.
Male and female samples were scored and categorized
separately, though they had all been scored on the mastery
criterion. Gutmann reports theme and content differences
between the male and female samples, after the fact of
separate analysis for the two samples. No reason was
given for separate analysis. However, it might be inferred
from Gutmann's basically psychoanalytic stance, that he
might have made the separation on the grounds of Freud's
(1925) point of view regarding the differences between the
sexes, based on the presence of castration fear in men and
the lack of that fear in women. That is, men, being
subject to castration anxiety, are seen as more vulnerable
than women to external evaluation including the introjected
values that constitute the super ego. Thus the experience
of men and women may be taken to differ fundamentally with
regard to the presence of, and the response to, performance
anxiety. And, consequently, to differ in the ways in
which they organize the experience of mastery. However,
in the study being reported here, the TAT responses were
fully blinded, i.e., for age life stage, and sex. This was
done in the interests of reducing possible rater bias and
from the point of view that more clearly intrinsic patterns
of difference and similarity would emerge given no rater
knowledge of these differences.

Accordingly, the 181 TAT protocols, blinded for age, stage, and sex, were rated on the Gutmann Ego Mastery typology[39] and then variable by variable on the Hodges Manifest Content Index,[41] in order to decrease the

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[39]Reliabilities obtained on the Gutmann Ego Mastery Typology:
Pilot Study: Ratings by two judges of the responses scored on the 1969 Ego Mastery Typology resulted in a reliability of .68. This reliability was lower than expected for two reasons.
    1) The mastery typology is primarily a clinical instrument in that it is used to rate themes that have been separated mainly for heuristic purposes, and scoring depends upon the judged dominance of themes which "while they may co-exist within persons....seemingly refer to a distinct psychic system that co-ordinates across persons, a fairly standard panel of motives, attitudes, and behaviors."[40]
    2) Raters relatively unfamiliar with clinical assessment were used in this study (due to the difficulty in finding persons who were both clinically experienced and available).
This Study: Two clinically trained judges rated the responses scored on the 1971 Ego Mastery Typology. The rating of two sets of twenty-five responses each resulted in reliabilities of .72 and .80, for an overall reliability of .76.

[40]David Gutmann, "Estimating ego mastery orientations from TAT data." p. 11

[41]Reliabilities obtained on the Hodges Manifest Content Index:
Pilot Study: Three judges rated the responses scored on the 1969 Manifest Content Index. The reliability for complete agreement by all three judges was .78 with pairwise comparisons between the judges yielding a range of agreement from .73 to .88.
This Study: Three judges rated the responses scored on the 1978 Manifest Content Index. They rated three sets of fifteen responses each. The reliability for complete agreement was .88 with pairwise comparisons between the judges yielding a range of agreement from .85 to .91.

possibility of halo effect. That is, all of the responses were rated on variable number one, then all were rated on variable number two, then three, and so forth. The data were then submitted to SPSS computer program Chi square analysis.[42] Distributions were obtained for the ego mastery typology and the manifest content variables across the total sample on the following dimensions:

    I. 1. Age: (a) 16-18, (b) 20-35, (c) 39-54, (d) 55+

        2. Stage: (a) high school, (b) newlywed, (c) emptynest parent, (d) preretiree

        3. Sex: (a) male, (b) female

        4. Stage/Sex: (a) high school boys, (b) high school girls, (c) newlywed men, (d) newlywed women, (e) emptynest men, (f) emptynest women, (g) preretirement men, (h) preretirement women

The data were inspected and it was found that, in general, the data spread between the cells was too thin to conform to the requirement. Therefore, the response scores on the ego mastery typology were condensed to the primary categories, i.e., active, transitional, passive, and magical. The manifest content variables were also

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[42]Nie, N.H., et al., S.P.S.S. Statistical package for the social sciences.

condensed to fewer categories, i.e., location of power with reference to the environment: 1) external, 2) internal.[43] The age, stage, and stage/sex categories were also condensed, as follows:

II. 1. Age: (a) 16-35, (b) 39-55+

2. Stage: (a) early stage (high school and newlywed)

(b) later stage (emptynest and pre-retirement)

3. Sex: (a) male, (b) female (same as I. 3.)

4. Stage/Sex: Early stage/sex -

(a) high school boys and newlywed men

(b) high school girls and newly-wed women

Later stage/sex -

(c) emptynest and preretirement men

(d) emptynest and preretirement women

The data were then re-submitted to the Chi square program. The analysis of the reduced data resulted in an increase in the number of distributions which satisfied the

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[43]See p. 61 for Manifest Content Index, Condensed Variables.

above statistical requirement, and therefore may be
accepted as valid at the given level of probability.
However, a number of the distributions were found to
contain interesting between-group comparisons, and yet did not
satisfy the expected value requirement. These relationships
will be discussed for interest, and those statistics will
carry an asterisk to indicate that those distributions
do not satisfy the requisite expected value level.

The age/sex categories were run to check the relation
of age/sex to stage/sex responses. Generally, the two were
found to exhibit very similar patterns of probable
significance. This may well be because the age groups
closely parallel the stage groups. This suggests that, at
least for this sample, age/sex and stage/sex groups are
close enough in response profile to compare with studies
that focus on age/sex such as the Kansas City Studies
(Neugarten, 1964) and Gutmann's cross cultural work (1966,
1967a, 1969b, 1976, 1977). Therefore, age/sex profiles
will not be discussed here. The focus will be on male and
female differences within and over the four normative life
stages represented in this sample. The data will be dis-
cussed for the eight stage/sex groups (I, 4.), the four
stage groups within each sex (II, 4. a and c, II, 4. b and
d), and the overall sex differences (II, 3.).

The Sample

The TAT study being reported here was carried out on
the sample provided by the Longitudinal Study of Transitions

from the Human Development and Aging Research Program, hereafter referred to as the Transition Study. It consists of 180 men and women and was drawn to be illustrative of middle and lower middle class people. The sample members are primarily white, range in age from 16 to 67 at initial contact, and live in a central area in San Francisco. The sample is graded by normative life stages, with subjects falling into one of four transitional categories, i.e., high school seniors, newlyweds, empty-nest parents (middle-aged parents whose youngest child is about the leave home), and people confronting retirement. The baseline interview consists of structured and semi-structured questions regarding life history, social relationships, goals, physical and mental health, and a battery of psychological tests, including TAT card 17BM. The study under discussion measures ego mastery orientation across the total sample.

This sample was also the focus of a penetrating socio-psychological field study reported by Lowenthal, Thurner, and Chiriboga (1975). Aspects of that study will be referred to within this presentation, both in the interests of comparing research findings on the same sample, and in fleshing out the bones provided by the projective test material. The group under study exhibits a homogeneity that goes beyond the place of residence.

> They include that segment of American society whose origins may have been that of a traditional blue-collar working class, and who indeed may them-selves occupy such positions, but whose life styles

increasingly resemble those of the middle class
(Berger and Berger, 1971). Their position in
society may be less the result of self-motivated
advance over that of their parents than of the more
general mobility, both geographic and social, of a
developing society (Lipset and Bendix, 1959).
     For the most part, these blue-collar, white-
collar, and middle-range professional or managerial
workers have succeeded economically. They own
their own homes in an area where not only the
population but the architecture is strikingly of a
kind; with few exceptions the manner in which they
decorate and care for their property reflects the
standards established by the women's homemaking
magazines. They are, for the most part, not
leaders of the community, but in a very important
way they represent its center. Policemen, fire-
men, nurses, school teachers, businessmen and
minor executives, housewives, civil servants,
and sales personnel--it is their votes that
determine how the city will be governed.[44]

Education is largely undertaken as preparation for

work, rather than as education for its own sake, detached

from career influences. The two year college is the focus

of most education beyond high school. The incidence of

college education declines with age, with 92 percent of

the newlywed men and women indicating some college

experience, followed up by 48 percent of the middle aged

men and 41 percent of the middle aged women, 36 percent

of the preretirement men and 37 percent of the pre-

retirement women.

These urban adults tend to come from geographically

stable and small families, and to produce the same.

"...the average family size was two or three children

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[44]Marjorie Lowenthal, Majda Thurnher, and David
Chiriboga, Four stages of life. pp. 1-2.

(86 percent having three or less), with only two families having more than four children."[45]

The majority of the respondents indicated a religious identification, with 70 percent specifying some variety of attendance and participation in religious activities.

With regard to employment, 100 percent of the middle-aged men, 97 percent of the preretirement men, and 92 percent of the newlywed men were employed full time. None were employed part time. Fifty-six percent of the high school boys were employed part time. With regard to the older men (middle-aged and preretirement), most were engrossed in their jobs and worried over financial security as they moved toward retirement. Fewer women then men were employed full time. Seventy-two percent of the newlywed women, 48 percent of the middle-aged women, and 53 percent of the preretirement women were full time employees. Part time employment was indicated by 18 percent of the high school girls, 12 percent of the newlywed women, 4 percent of the middle-aged women, and 10 percent of the preretirement women.

Among the older (middle-aged and preretirement) women, most full time employees (80 percent) had long and stable work histories, indicating that these were not women who had entered the work force after completion of child

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[45]Ibid., p. 5.

rearing in order to contribute to retirement reserves. For these women, in the great majority of cases, employment was in the service of supplementing family income, and thus served a family-centered rather than a career-centered function.

The family centeredness of these women was also reflected in the sample as a whole, and was particularly apparent in the use of leisure time, which tended to be focused on home-related activities such as

> ...radio listening, reading, household chores, shopping, visiting, being visited, and helping others....Relatively few of these men and women have adopted the patterns of organizational membership, cultural, and civic activities which tend to characterize people whose ancestral roots are more firmly middle class...46

A life style analysis was made, based on the number of roles and the range of activities exhibited by each respondent. Style of life was found to vary both over the life span and between the sexes. Younger men (high school and newlywed) tended to exhibit "complex" styles, displaying numerous roles and activities. The majority of the middle-aged men manifested the "focused" style, characterized by many roles and few activities. The pre-retirement men reflected a lower incidence of the "simplistic" style, showing few roles and few activities,

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46Ibid., p. 6.

as well as an increase in the complex style, relative to that displayed by the middle-aged men.

On the other hand, fewer high school girls than boys reflected the complex life styles, with the largest category here being the "diffuse," defined as "few roles and varied activities." Newlywed women reflected a slightly higher incidence of both complex and focused life style than did the newlywed men. Middle-aged women tended toward the simplistic life style, while the men of this stage were categorized as exhibiting complex styles. More preretirement women exhibited focused life styles than did middle-aged women, with the simplistic and diffuse categories close behind. Preretirement women resembled preretirement men in that both were highest on the focused style, followed by the simplistic style.

Within the general framework provided by the foregoing description of the sample, the projective data on the organization of experience at the four normative stages of the life cycle represented in this sample (high school seniors, newlyweds, emptynest parents hereafter referred to as the middle-aged, and preretirees) are presented.

PART II

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

The ego mastery profiles differ for each of the eight stage/sex groups. (See Figure 1.) The predominant features of each group profile will be presented in the interests of defining the major characteristics of each group. In the interests of clear description, the stage profiles of the sexes will be presented separately. The data on the male sample will be presented first. It will consist of the primary characteristics of four male stage profiles generated by the scores on the ego mastery typology. A more detailed description will be provided in the presentation of the manifest content data which, for computational purposes, has been reduced to a two, rather than a four, group comparison. These two groups will be referred to as the early (high school and newlywed) and the later (middle-aged and preretirement) stages. The manifest content data will point out and highlight within and between group differences and similarities. The data on the female sample will be presented in the same order. The overall data presentation will conclude with profile summaries of the organization of experience by males and females over the four normative life styles. Discussion and conclusions will follow.[47]
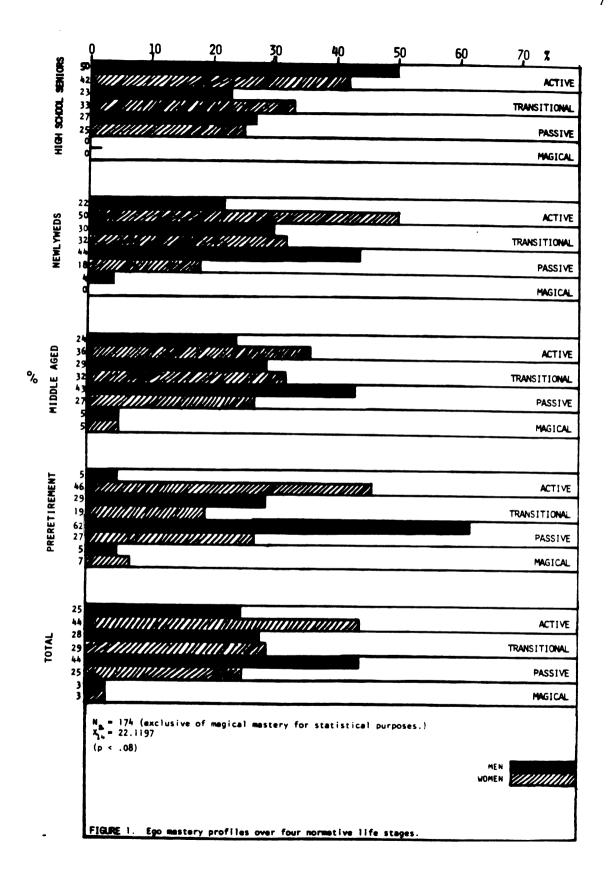
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[47]Unless otherwise noted, the characteristics of the data being described represent trends. Levels of probable significance will be given in the text where appropriate, e.g. $(p < .05)$.
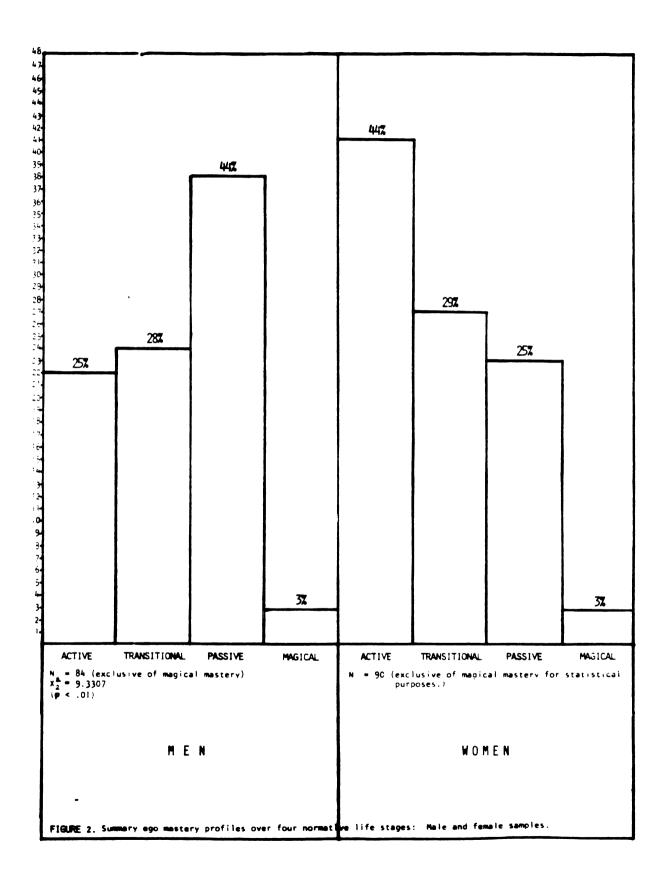
Section I

The Ego Mastery Typology -- Male Sample

High School Senior Boys

The high school boys exhibited the highest incidence of active mastery in the male sample (50%). Recall that this category is delineated by themes of successful competitive or productive effort directed toward the demonstration of effectance in a malleable environment. The emphasis within this group is on productive effort, with the hero demonstrating involvement in self-challenge and successful performance, teaching skills to others, and enjoyment of work as a component of living a full life. For example, "...this guy is a trapeze artist and he enjoys working on the trapeze...and he'll lead a full life in the circus...." And, "He is a gym teacher and he is showing his class the technique of rope climbing. He enjoys doing it. He hopes some will catch on and enjoy doing the things he does. He is giving them ideas of what to do."

Within the transitional mastery category (23%), where competitive, assertive stances are assigned bad or no outcomes, productive energies are muted or are a means to passive ends, 3 of the 5 responses (60%) reflect assertive action as risky. Two have bad outcomes, one, betrayal by friends, and the other, harm to the environment and consequent rejection of high standards of performance.

FIGURE 1. Ego mastery profiles over four normative life stages.

FIGURE 2. Summary ego mastery profiles over four normative life stages: Male and female samples.

MEN

WOMEN

ACTIVE   TRANSITIONAL   PASSIVE   MAGICAL

25%   28%   44%   3%

N = 84 (exclusive of magical mastery)
x_2^2 = 9.3307
(p < .01)

44%   29%   25%   3%

N = 9C (exclusive of magical mastery for statistical purposes.)

In the passive mastery category (27%), three of the six cases reflect passive inhibition, with the environment mirrored as placing stringent limits on assertive action. In the other sub-types within this category, one response displays passive autonomy, and two exhibit generalized receptive "looking" behavior.

Newlywed Men

The newlywed men show a decrease in active mastery (22%) relative to the high school boys. Within the active mastery category, the emphasis is on productive effort, with themes reflecting pride in performance and satisfaction in fulfilling family expectations, and successful accomplishment under hazardous conditions. The transitional mastery category for this stage shows an increase over the high school boys, at 30 percent. Assertive action is derogated or punished in the majority of these themes. Such activity is responded to as disgusting, empty bragging, not all there is to life and, in one instance, is the cause of death through arousing the jealousy of another. Though these men locate power in the hero, they are uncomfortable with assertive action. Their responses suggest conflict between active and passive tendencies, inasmuch as, while power is located in the hero, the display of assertive behavior draws negative appraisal. Other modes of expression are seen as more satisfying, perhaps because others would make fun of assertive stances, or it would be dangerous, or because

they, themselves could not match such assertive expression.
Two further themes in this category reflect assertive
action as means to receptive ends.

In the passive category, which shows an increase of a
60% over the high school boys at 44%, two subtypes pre-
dominate. They are passive autonomy and sensual-recep-
tivity. In the former, the themes display the hero as
lacking force to meet his goal, contemplating action from
his chair, or drifting from odd job to odd job because he
lacks the attributes to do more skilled work. The sensual-
receptive subtype, which constitutes the largest grouping
in the newlywed male sample, reflects great concern for
performance. In one instance, the hero's seduction of his
partner leaves him "too pooped" to perform on the trapeze.
Sexual activity has depleted his energy so that he has none
left for work. The respondents comment that "they did no-
no, so they have to suffer," may reflect a general cultural
norm regarding the inappropriateness of sex outside
marriage. However, it seems more likely that being "too
pooped" to do his job, and "suffering," stems from the
respondent's own concern that his energy will not suffice
to meet the demands of both intimacy and work. These men
also tend to be receptive in taking direction and
evaluation of their actions from others, rather than
reflecting their own internal guides and appraisals. For
example, the hero climbs on a dare from friends to see
how high he can go on the rope, or he is rehearsing and

listening to his coach "telling him how to do something up there," or he climbs "anticipating the teacher's congratulations and the congratulations of his friends when he returns to the ground." The following story is illustrative of this group.

> Jack feels he has to prove himself, he has to prove something to others as well as to himself and has turned to gymnastics as a way of demonstrating his effectiveness. You can tell by the way he is looking outward rather than upward that he is not so concerned where he's going, but that other people are paying attention to him. He wants to see if "I'm doing alright!" He'll eventually reach the top and be happy in his role.

The one instance of magical mastery in this group falls into subtype ten, personal distortion. It reflects the hero as a plaything of powerful and negative forces. He is encouraged and allowed to escape "...only to the bottom of the rope." After which, he is forced to climb back up to prison, is put in "solitary confinement and everybody lives happily ever after." Though the respondent pictures the hero as unhappy in his prison, with the "mean and nasty" people there, the outside must be perceived as even more dangerous, because the hero is returned to prison and "lives happily ever after" in solitary.

Middle-Aged Men

The responses of the middle-aged men are more evenly spread over the subtypes of the ego mastry typology than are those of the high school boys or the newlywed men. These stories also tend not to be as specific or detailed

as those of the younger men. This stage displays a slight increase in active mastery (24%) over that displayed by the newlyweds (22%). Here too, productive themes predominate over the competitive. These themes mirror the hero as working on his body to build it up more, being "willing to exercise his skills at any time...," looking "confident that whatever he's going to do, he'll make it," and having "a gleam in his face like he's gonna get freedom pretty soon."

The transitional category in this stage (29%) is characterized by low key "another day - another dollar" responses, where productive energies are muffled or indeterminate, by stories in which the hero has given his performance and is now "looking forward to his rest," or in which little mention is made of the performance, and a great deal of attention is paid to the care and technique of coming down after the performance.

The passive mastery responses (43%) are keyed to themes of passive inhibition, sensual-receptivity, and instances of perceptual constriction. In the first of these subtypes, the environment is portrayed as a dangerous and unsupportive arena for action, with the rope "looking like it might have a slack in it, and maybe it's going to give way at the top," and with assertive action resulting in a broken back from which the hero recovered "sufficiently to resume academic studies...and he became a physician and had a long useful life in his professional capacity" (i.e.,

he gave up his assertive role for the role of the helper).

The sensual-receptive subtype displays themes in which the hero is oriented toward receiving something from the environment. However, there are only half as many middle-aged men as newlyweds in this group, and the feeling tone here is very different from that of the newly weds. For example, the newlywed is concerned with having energy for both sexual intimacy and work. The middle-aged men is "geeting his jollies" by going up and down the rope in the nude, which seems like a drastic retreat from the rewards of intimate interpersonal relationships, though it probably does not demand the energy required by such a relationship. Compared to the newlyweds who tend to focus on specific external sources for direction (e.g., coach, teacher, friends), the middle-aged men seem relatively unfocused. For example, "so he's just sitting there now and he doesn't know what in heck to do," or the hero has "unlimited qualifications" and yet is immobilized "halfway between the bottom and the top, looking out for something that will tell him whether he should continue to go up or whether he should go down," or the hero climbs, "trying to see some-thing" in an ambigously defined context which might be competitive, but for which he is not suited because his climbing style is not appropriate to that setting, "because his legs should be straight and his toes should be pointed and doing it properly."

There are two instances of perceptual constriction in

this group, in which the response is accurately but meagerly described. One of these is ambiguous in that the respondent cannot tell if the hero is going up or down the rope. The one instance of magical mastery in this stage reflects the respondent's rejection of the stimulus pull of the card regarding the location and definition of power and energy. Though he interprets the hero figure as climbing the rope, he distances himself from the action by defining the hero as a "nut," or "maybe more of a monkey than a man," i.e., assertive action is crazy or nonhuman behavior. He underscores his lack of connection with the comment, "I don't get anything out of this," i.e., such behavior is totally outside his realm of experience.

Preretirement Men

The lowest level of active mastery in the total sample appears in this group (5%). The one response reflects productive effort, with the hero working consistently over time toward the achievement of mastery. He is successful and "he has a sense of accomplishment."

The transitional category here (29%) is at the same level as that in the middle-aged group, and reflects un-certainty of accomplishment, and that the hero who is "proud and happy in his strength," who climbs "rather casually" and "is not worried about anything...in complete control of the situation," is also probably "a moron." This suggests that dependence on personal strength, lack of worry, and feeling in control is associated with mental

deficiency. On the other hand, if the hero had an average amount of intelligence, he would know he could not depend on his own strength, and he would be worried because he would know he was not in control of his circumstances.

Also in the transitional category are themes in which the hero has completed his performance. In an unusually vivid response for this group, the hero is now "looking out into the audience, to lap up the applause, to live this one moment as fully as he can, as if his whole life were focused in that one moment." And, in another, the hero looks at his past performance and says, "this reminds me of 'this is how it's done, fellas.' I used to be pretty good...."

In the first of these responses, there is a sense of demonstrated effectance upon which the curtain is about to descend, and the performer wants everything he can get from it, before the curtain falls. In the second response, the curtain has fallen, and the respondent reminisces over past demonstration of effectance, past ability to model for others. Where the younger men tend to look for cues to performance, these men evidence good performance modeling which they are about to leave or have left. In the final response in this category, the hero is unable to respond appropriately to an environmental demand, i.e., the hero is seen as "the old town fireman that heard the bell and he forgot to put his clothes down (sic), and then he jumped in the fire truck." A fire for which an

alarm is turned in could be defined as a sudden environmental danger, the subduing of which requires special equipment which the "old fireman" didn't have (fireman's clothing). Though energy is still located in the hero and he moves toward meeting the task ("he heard the bell and...he jumped in the truck"), he is not adequately prepared to meet the environmental demand that he has successfully met in the past.

Passive mastery, in which power and energy are located externally rather than internally, is at the highest level in the total sample (62%). Power is also reflected here as fire, though the context differs from that of the above response. Here it is reflected as sudden environmental danger from which the hero must escape. In the first instance, his need to make a "hasty escape from the inferno" results in his making a disorderly retreat. "I wish I had time to put something on...." He is also uncertain that he will survive. "I hope the rope holds until I get down to the ground." In the second instance, the hero has been asleep, "and then the hotel burnt down." He finds the usual exit (stairway) blocked, "but he was pretty handy with his rope...He tied that around a windowsill....Then he got down the rope to safety." Both of these men have been taken by surprise by potentially lethal power located in the environment. One's survival is in question, and one finds an unconventional escape route. A further response in the passive inhibition subtype, where the

hero's movement is limited by environmental agents which do not support his action, or which block it, reflects the hero as having "gone up the rope and now he is coming down. He has a sense of relief on his face, and the rope is loose." That is, the environmental support for his assertive stance has weakened, and he takes comfort in leaving the rope before it loosens further.

Responses in the passive autonomy subtype reflect uncertainty that the hero can accomplish the task before him, and a search for boundaries in an ambiguous milieu. For example, "He's trying to get to the top. I can't tell what's at the top...He looks strong enough to make it, depending on how far he has to go. I don't think he'll get twenty stories." And, "I don't know whether he'll make it....He won't get very far in that attire." In the first of these responses, the hero does not know how far away his goal is, and there is question that his strength is equal to the task. In the second, there is uncertainty that he can meet his goal, and an indication that he doesn't have what he needs to go "very far."

Sensual-receptive responses make up the largest subtype in the preretirement group. The level exceeds that of the newlywed group by 3%, though, as with the middle-aged men, the context differs from that delineated by the newlyweds. In the majority of these responses, the hero is reflected as an athlete, but there is little to no attention given to performance. The context tends to be

ambiguous, and the hero's participation tends to have a flat, two-dimensial quality in that he is relatively uninvolved in what is happening. For example, the hero "appears to be a gymnast and he appears to be letting himself down on a rope...and he is looking off to see what the spectators are doing." Rather than himself being the center of attention as the performer, the spectators are the focal point and there is no indication that they are acknowledging him. The hero might be watching them applauding, or putting on their coats, and there is no indication that he cares one way or another about what they are doing. In another response, the hero, whose face is "not impressive" and whose "body is not very sporty" is "looking down to the publicum (sic), the audience, waiting for applause...that's all."

Both the energy and the focus that is characteristic of the younger men is lacking here. Where the newlyweds look toward specific sources for direction, here even the looking is ambiguous. The hero "is looking at something. I don't know what. I don't know if he is looking at the audience or he is looking for a cue from somebody, but he is pulling on the rope anyway....That's all I can see." Within another ambiguous context, the hero might be naked, and then is defined as "wearing an open T-shirt" and exhibiting "a rather suggestive pose" as he "is looking in the distance." The sexual content is then disavowed as having any relevance to the respondent, by his comment, "Of

course, he can also be escaping from a mental institution." The contextual organization is further diffused by the last line, "But he has a rope and he couldn't get a rope in a mental institution." Is it one thing, or another, or another? The cues are fragmented and ambiguous. There is no solid groundwork from which to organize this experience.

As in the middle-aged sample, one response reflects the hero as orienting to an object rather than another person for sexual gratification. The hero "climbs up and down ropes in the middle of his bedroom and he gets a certain amount of titillation because the rope tickles him."

There are two perceptual constriction responses in this group, where the stimulus is accurately but minimally described, and one of these is very ambiguous. The one magical mastery story is much the same as that found in the middle-aged group. The hero's assertive stance marks him as a "maniac," and someone with whom the respondent would not associate. That is, assertiveness is crazy behavior, and the respondent denies any link between himself and such behavior.

SUMMARY

The major characteristic of the high school profile is the emphasis on productive effort, in which the hero reflects successful performance within the context of enjoying his work and leading a "full" life. The level of optimism and assurance reflected here is not matched in the other three groups. In the transitional category, which

reflects conflict between active and passive tendencies, the majority of the responses depict assertiveness as hazardous. And, within the passive category, one-half of the responses reflect the environment as nonsupportive of instrumental action.

The above is a very different profile from that yielded by the newlywed group. Here, active mastery declines. There are less than half as many instances of successful instrumental behavior, and the elation and hope of the former group is reflected here as pride and satisfaction. This group displays the most transitional responses in the male sample, and the emphasis is on derogation of assertive stances. While power is located in the hero, he is roundly criticized or severely punished for assertive display.

The newlyweds demonstrate less active mastery, more transitional mastery, and more passive mastery than the high school boys. As the high school group is marked by optimistic and successful productive effort, the newlyweds are characterized by passive mastery responses centering around performance anxiety. The hero looks toward others for direction and validation, and projects concern about "proving himself" through a level of demonstrated effectance that meets these external standards of performance.

The profile of the middle-aged group lacks the marked clustering of responses that distinguish the prior two groups. Also the responses tend to be less rich, and more

ambiguous. The middle-aged evidence the same level of active mastery as the newlyweds, and these men are reflected as skilled and confident. The transitional category is neither characterized by assertive action as risky as in the high school group, nor is there the emphasis on the derogation of assertive stances that distinguishes this category in the newlywed group. Rather, it is the muting of productive energies and the use of past activity to justify present passivity that make up the larger part of the responses in this category. Within the passive mastery orientation, 33% of the responses display the environment as non-supportive of assertive behavior, while 50% of the passive mastery responses of the high school group exhibit this theme, and none of the newlyweds do. Fourteen percent of the responses reflect the sensual-receptivity orientation, which in this group portray performance handicapped by the ambiguity of the milieu to which the hero looks for information, and retreat from interpersonal intimacy. The sensual-receptive subtype occurs less often in the high school group (9% compared to 14%) where it is exhibited as generalized receptive looking behavior, and in 26% of the newlywed responses, where it is evidenced primarily as an aspect of performance anxiety.

The profile of the preretirement men also differs from the other groups. There is a relative absence of active mastery, and the transitional category emphasizes concern related to future accomplishment, and the use of past

activity as a justification for present receptivity or passivity. This group displays the largest passive mastery category in the total sample. Passive inhibition here is marked by themes of escape from environment danger, the existence of which tends not to be related to assertive action on the part of the hero, as contrasted with the themes of the younger man in this subtype, where it is their action that is blocked by environmental agents. Passive autonomy is displayed here by themes which depict the hero as uncertain of the location of the boundaries within an ambiguous millieu and being concerned that he may not have what it takes to reach his goal. The boundaries which mark the limited perspectives of the younger men in this subtype are not ambiguous. The largest percentage of sensual-receptivity themes are found in this group. These themes tend to reflect not only immersion in an ambiguously defined milieu, as tends to be evidenced by the middle-aged men, but also a more pervasive lack of involvement in it than is characteristic of the middle-aged men. That is, while these men exhibit receptive looking behavior, they tend to respond minimally, if at all, to what they see. Retreat from involvement in interpersonal intimacy is also reflected here, as in the middle-aged group, by orienting to an object rather than to another person for sexual gratification. Perceptual constriction is at the same level in this and the middle-aged sample, with the responses being either meager and focused in the

delineation of the stimulus, or meager and ambiguous in the definition of the stimulus. Perceptual constriction is found four times as often in the later than in the earlier stage.

The one instance of magical mastery in this group is denial of any identification with assertive behavior, as it is in the one instance in the middle-aged group. The one case of magical mastery in the earlier stage group is personal distortion that meximizes the evil in the environment, rather than denies assertive action.

A comparison of the four group profiles displays differences that suggest that the ego mastery style, at least in men, is a more complex phenomenon than is suggested by the concept of a mastery criterium within which individuals move over the life course. These data suggest that not only the mastery categories (i.e., active, transitional, passive, and magical) differ in thematic emphasis over the four stages, but that even subtypes may differ in motif. For example, receptivity in the service of defining performance standards (newlyweds), receptivity in support of already skilled performance which is hindered by the ambiguity of the milieu (middle-aged), receptivity reflecting retreat from interpersonal intimacy (middle-aged and preretirement) and receptivity which tends not to serve instrumental ends, but registers a generalized and permeating lack of involvement with the milieu (preretirement). And, as these differences in emphasis indicate

differences in the organization of experience at the four normative stages, so are they likely to exhibit differing impact and consequences in the way in which these men construe their capabilities and opportunities. This will be discussed further when the remaining data has been presented.

When the data on the four male stage groups are collapsed for statistical analysis, the major differences between the four groups on the ego mastery typology are masked (p = .07). At this level of abstraction, active mastery shows a 63% decrease from the early (high school and newlywed) to the later (middle-aged and preretirement) stage. Transitional mastery increases 3%, passive mastery increases by 38%, and magical mastery increases from one to two cases. (See figure 2, p. 76b)

The pattern of ego mastery styles over the male sample at the four normative life stages support Gutmann's findings with regard to the decrease of active mastery and the increase of passive styles between middle-aged and older males. And the high school group reflects a higher incidence of active mastery and fewer passive orientations than do the middle-aged and preretirement groups. However, the decrease in active mastery in the newlywed group does not conform to expectations based on a straight line developmental sequence, and neither does the relatively high and stable incidence of transitional mastery over the sample.

For, if individuals move through a mastery continuum of active, transitional, passive, and magical styles over the life cycle, the expectation would be a high level of active mastery over the first two stages of this sample, with perhaps some decline in the middle-aged group (which corresponds to Gutmann's younger men) and a marked decline between that group and the preretirement sample (which corresponds to Gutmann's older men). If the transitional type is an intermediate step between active and passive mastery, the expectation would be an absence of transitional scores in the earlier stages and an increasing incidence in the later ones. Further, there is the need to account for the level of passive mastery in the earlier stage (36%). This is a large number of young to be found in Gutmann's "country of old men." However, he has noted in his later cross-cultural work (1976) that urban living tends to associate with passive stances, and this may be a contributing factor to the level of passive mastery found in this urban male sample.

The ego mastery typology yields a global score that does not distinguish between the projective responses beyond a single thematic identification. The manifest content data provides a closer look at the characteristics which define the organization of experience with regard to capabilities and opportunities as these are evidenced at these four normative stages.

Section II

Manifest Content Variables -- Male Sample

The distribution of the manifest content variables will be examined for patterns of organization over the male sample. As previously indicated, for statistical purposes the manifest content data was reduced to early and later stage categories. Between and within group differences and similarities will be presented and levels of probability will be given. Probabilities identified by asterisks mark instances where the distribution is of interest, but does not conform to statistical requirements for analysis. In these cases, more than 20% of the cells carried expected values of less than 5. This has the effect of artificially raising the level of probability. However, in most instances, the violation of the expected value rule was too small to account for the obtained level of probability. Therefore, these figures are presented for interest, with the above qualification, and marked for easy identification.

The earlier stage differs from the later stage in the way in which they respond to the situational demand to tell a story to another person, one whom they have given permission to interview them, and with whom they have spent prior interview time. The character of the response, as it reflects energy availability and flow, may be taken to indicate a similar disposition to respond at the transactional level. From this point of

view, responses characterized by the direct assignment of
structure indicate available ego energy that can be
readily utilized in the organization and interpretation of
information. (An example of direct assignment is the
following: this is a trapeze artist climbing the rope.
He is proud and happy with his strength and talent. He
will become a great performer.) Conversely, indirect and/
or tentative assignment of structure suggest relatively
held back (or unavailable) ego energy and impeded move-
ment toward the establishment of coherence and meaning.
(An example of this type of response is: this looks like
a circus performer, maybe a trapeze artist. I would assume
that he is proud and happy with his strength and talent.
Perhaps he will become a great performer.) The earlier
stage tends to respond with direct assignment of structure,
and the later stage with indirect and/or tentative assign-
ment (p $<$ .05). The former displays relatively free
assertive movement toward the stimulus provided by the
TAT card, and the smooth integration of component
details into a comparatively unqualified organized re-
sponse. The latter deals much less assertively with the
stimulus, exhibiting less willingness to attribute
unqualified meaning, and consequently yielding a
relatively amorphous response; one which requires less
assertive energy and is also "safer" in that it is open
to much less challenge than the more certain responses
of the former group. However, since the transactional

event is acknowledged "story telling," where the product is recognized as "made up," it is highly unlikely that the response would be challenged. The indirect and tentative assignment of structure serves to distance, to objectify, to decrease one's identification with, and consequently one's responsibility for, the response. Therefore, it may be taken to indicate response tendencies that are characteristically protective rather than assertive. For example, "Well, it might be this, or it looks like that" are responses that reflect little personal investment or involvement. This tendency toward careful distancing from the stimulus by the later stage, as compared with the earlier stage, is also reflected in other aspects of the organization of experience as it is delineated in these projective responses.

The men in the earlier stage tend to give responses in which the individual is portrayed as being in action and personally involved in the activity. Those in the later stage tend to represent the individual as being in relatively little or no action, and to emphasize details of body position, relation to objects, clothing, etc., which have the effect of focusing on the individual as an object, more than as an effective energy source $(p < .001)$. It might be hypothesized that this divergence reflects a polarity on the form demand (p. 34) for this stimulus, which is attention to movement. At one end, energy is freely attributed to the individual and

this energy is directed out toward effectance in the environment. At the other end, there are both limiting qualifications on energy and impact, and a concordant rise in the treatment of the individual as an object among objects.

A further example of this approach is that older men tend to identify and relate to the hero in terms of the details of his outer appearance. Six times as many older as younger men mention the hero's clothing or lack of it (p $<$.01). None of the younger men express uncertainty as to whether has has clothes on or not. Five percent see him as nude and 5% as wearing circus garb or clothing inappropriate for other activities. On the other hand, 10% of the older men are unclear about his state of dress, 12% see him as nude, and 7% see him in circus garb or clothing inappropriate for other activities.

Another indication of distancing oneself from the arena of action is reflected in the lack of emotional involvement portrayed by the older men. Expression of positive affect is almost twice as prevalent in the earlier (44%) than the later stage 26%) with the newly-weds leading, followed by the high school boys, the middle-aged, and the preretirement men. The degree of positive affect expressed differs greatly between the earlier and later stages, with 20% of the earlier group expressing intense positive affect (i.e., presence of state modifiers, e.g., very, really, or strong states, e.g., joy) and no

case of this in the later stage group. The same number
in each group reflected mild (e.g. looks kind of happy)
or indicated but not elaborated affect (e.g., he is
happy). Expression of negative affect is highest in the
early stage group, with five-sevenths of it coming from
the newlyweds, and only two instances found in the later
stage group, one in each stage. The only intense
expressions of negative affect were located in the newlywed
group, with the remainder of the expressions across the
sample being scored as indicated, not elaborated (e.g., he
is unhappy).

The earlier stage is more socially oriented than the
later, in that the action tends to take place among
introduced others. Younger men introduce other people
into their responses significantly more often than do
older men (p = .005), with the newlyweds leading by a
large margin (70%), followed by the high school boys (50%),
the preretirement men (38%), and the middle-aged (14%).
However, the focus tends to be on the action per se,
rather than upon the relation of the action to some
aspect of the social context within which it takes place.
For example, in the high school group, the hero apprentices
himself to a trapeze artist because he cannot "see any-
thing in the world more gratifying" than to learn that
skill. And in another, to work in the circus "is the
kind of job he really enjoys because it shows what great
talents and abilities he has." In the newlywed group,

which shows the highest incidence of introduced others in
the entire sample, the social context tends to be used to
measure and validate performance. In the later stages,
introduced others are relatively few. In most of these
instances, the individual either contemplates the audience
in an uninvolved way, or performs his work, and is
applauded for the job he has done, which he indicates that
he has done well or is satisfied with.

More younger than older men define the hero as the
focus of attention, i.e., he is being looked at by others.
High school boys most often portray the hero as the center
of attention (45%), followed by both the middle-aged and
the preretirement men at 19%, and the newlyweds at 13%.
More newlyweds depicted the hero as looking at something,
rather than himself being the focus of attention (43%),
followed by the preretirement men (29%), the high school
boys (18%), and the middle-aged men (10%).

In the male sample, involvement in action tends to
carry a contingent vulnerability which is generally
mirrored as a concern with capability. The early stage
is distinguished from the later by the higher incidence
of the location of power in the individual rather than in
the non-human aspects of the environment ($p < .05$).
However, the internal location of power does not preclude
seeing others as a source of threat. For the younger men,
48% of the introduced others were perceived as a threat
to the hero. Nine of the thirteen responses in this

category were newlyweds, with four seeing the hero as overcoming the threat, and four being overcome. The men of the later stage, on the other hand, do not see threat in others, as do the earlier stage men. Rather, these men are twice as likely as the younger men to locate power in the environment, and they also locate threat in the environment. More younger men (32%) than older men (29%) register the presence of environmental threat (non-human), with the difference that more than twice as many of the older men reflect the outcome as uncertain, and more younger men see the hero as overcome.

As the level of involvement in action distinguishes the earlier from the later stage, then, so does a higher incidence of threat, from others and from the environment (p $<$ .025). More of the younger men are also threatened by self-action, though the level is the same across the three earlier stages, and decreases to 25% of that level in the preretirement stage.

The current power location for the hero, relative to introduced others, is reflected as internal by the middle-aged men, primarily external by the newlyweds, and mostly external and ambiguous by the preretirement men. High school boys evidence more internal power than the middle-aged and preretirement groups, and exhibited the highest rate of shared power (e.g., working with others).

More preretirement men portray the hero as having limitations (62%) followed by the newlyweds (57%), the

middle-aged (43%), and the high school (32%) groups.
When the data are compressed for statistical analysis,
stage differences in the incidence of limitation are
masked, in that newlyweds and preretirement men, one
group from each of the earlier and later stages, show the
two highest levels of limitation on action. Both of
these groups exhibit a relatively high incidence of
external orientation on the part of the hero. The former
in a search for role models and self-confirmation, the
latter in the service of protecting himself. When these
two groups are combined and assessed against the remaining
two, they show a significantly higher portrayal of the
hero as having limitations (p $<$.05). Also, the difference
in exhibited limitations differs significantly between
the high school boys, with the least, and the pre-
retirement men, with the most (p $<$.025).

The source of these limitations is seen to differ
greatly between the groups. Again, when categories were
collapsed for statistical purposes, these differences
were masked. More newlyweds located limitations in the
hero (43%), followed by the preretirement (38%), the
middle-aged (29%), and the high school (9%) groups.
Most of the younger group that did not locate limits
within the hero located them in other people. None of
the older group portrayed other people as limiting.
Rather, this group placed the limits in the environment.

Immobilization of the hero was evidenced most often

by the middle-aged (24%) and the high school boys (23%),
followed by the newlyweds (13%) and the preretirement
men (5%).

The introduction of non-human objects other than
pictured showed no significant differences between either
the four stage groups or the two early and later stage
groups. However, the high school boys offered the richest
responses in terms of introduced non-human objects (77%)
and the preretirement men the least (52%).

With regard to the primary results of the hero's
interaction with the environment, significant differences
were found between the early and later stage groups. Twice
as many of the young men saw the hero as successful in his
interaction, with the high school boys leading the newlyweds
in this outcome. Failure as an outcome was reflected by
2.5 times as many younger than older men, with the newlyweds
reflecting the majority of these responses. The older men
led in ambivalent responses, at almost double the rate
of the younger men, and also almost three to one in
responses where the result was not mentioned or not clear
due to the sparseness of the response (p $<$ .005).

Task orientation, where the hero has initiated or is
initiating intentional effort toward the execution of
business, performance, learning, or care taking of self or
others, and which excludes play, sensuality, and enjoyment,
declined across the four stages of the male sample. High
school boys exhibit the most scorable task orientation

(86%), and the preretirement men, the least (48%). Only
7% of the responses of the younger men are too sparse
to score on this variable, while 33% of the responses of
the older men do not yield enough information to score.
Twice as many high school boys as newlyweds reflect the
task as already completed rather than as yet to be done.
More newlywed men reflect the task as yet to be done. The
middle-aged and preretirement men are about evenly divided
between picturing the task as completed or yet to be done
with, as previously mentioned, over four times as many of
these men as younger men supplying responses too meager to
score on this variable (p $<$ .005).

Time perspective is defined here as the presence of
past, present, and future in the response given to the
instructions to "Tell a story that has a beginning, a
middle, and an end." Within this framework, there are no
significant differences within the two young and old stage
groups. However, the preretirement men exhibit the most
"present" orientation (76%), the least present/future (10%),
and the least comprehensive orientation (5%), which
includes past, present, and future. The high school boys
(59%), the newlyweds (57%), and the middle-aged men (57%)
exhibit slightly less focus on the present, and more
emphasis on the future, with the high school boys being
highest, at 15%. Comprehensive time perspective is highest
in the high school group at 27%, declines to approximately
half of that level in the newlyweds and middle-aged, and is

least in the preretirement at 5%. High school boys do
not look to the past to the exclusion of the future,
though they may include reference to the past within
the comprehensive framework.

The hero's relationship to the rope is seen differ-
ently by the earlier and later stages, though approximately
the same percent see him going up, with the earlier stage
at 33% and the later ones at 38%. Only 2% of the younger
men are ambivalent compared to 19% of the older men, and
31% see him as coming down, as compared to 17% of the
older men (p $<$.025).

<center>Section III</center>

Composite Group Profiles
<center>Early Stage Male Sample</center>

Group profiles developed from the foregoing data
indicate differing organizations of experience at each of
the four stages. The high school and newlywed groups are
differentiated from the middle-aged and preretirement
groups along several dimensions. The younger men are
characterized by the direct assignment of structure in
their responses (p $<$.05), and by the hero's involvement
in action (p $<$.001). It was suggested that these
response characteristics indicate the presence of more
available and more assertive ego energy than distinguishes
the older group. This impression is heightened by the
distributions on other of the manifest content variables.
Overall, the younger men supplied more complex responses

than the older. For example, these responses yield a higher incidence of introduced others (p $<.025$), more introduction of non-human objects, both more expression of emotion and more intense expression of emotion, more task orientation (p $<.005$), as well as a higher incidence of action related threat, and more specification of the outcome of the action (p $<.005$). And, in general, these responses express much less ambiguity than those of the older men. This is in line with Rosen and Neugarten's (1964) finding that, when measured on introduced others, introduced conflict, activity-energy level, and affect intensity, older people (64-71) yielded less complex TAT responses than younger ones (40-49). These researchers hypothesize this to be the result of less available ego energy on the part of the older group.

Within the broadly descriptive categorization of the younger group, the reflected experience of the high school boys differs from that of the newlyweds. While they exhibit a level of ego energy and availability congruent with that of the newlyweds, the hero is most often the center of attention here, where in the newlywed group the hero is most often looking at something (p $<.05$). They exhibit more threat from the environment, and less from others. They show the least limitation on action in the sample, 54% less than the newlyweds. These restraints are most often located in others. They are less ambiguous in their specification of action outcome,

project the highest level of successful action in the
sample, and denote less failure than the newlyweds. The
level of task orientation is the highest in the sample.
They are also 2.5 times more likely to regard the task
as already completed. And, they exhibit a relatively
broad time frame, with the most future orientation in
the sample.

When integrated with the ego mastery profile, the
following composite emerges. High school boys reflect
the highest level of active mastery in the sample.
Though the individual operates within a social milieu,
the attention is on himself, as he performs with a high
level of assurance and proficiency. He is confident both
that his work will be satisfying, and that it is worthy
of the attention of others. The high level of successful
task orientation, relative lack of limitations on action,
and a regard for the task as already completed suggest
both a strong belief in his own capabilities and an
untried optimism regarding his opportunities. These boys
could be said to represent the American ideal that every
man has the opportunity to develop a satisfying and
important career through his own efforts. In those
instances where assertive action is risky, or the hero
is overwhelmed, most often it is the environment, rather
than his own limitation, which is threatening or which
leads to his undoing.

The newlywed men are the most emotionally expressive

group in the male sample. They locate power in themselves more often than any other group in the sample, and are second to the high school boys in displaying success as an action outcome. However, while the high school boys are most often the center of attention, the newlywed men look outward. Of the total sample, they exhibit the highest degree of threat from others. They also express limitations on action 2.5 times more often than the high school group, and the majority of these limits are internal. More uncertainty relative to action outcome, and 2.5 times more failure is also portrayed by these men. While they are second to the high school boys on task orientation, they tend to regard the task as yet to be done, rather than as completed. Newlyweds also reflect more past time orientation than the high school group.

When combined with the ego mastery profile, the following distinctions appear. While the high school boys are most often the center of attention, the newlywed men look to others. The social milieu serves the function of providing role models, and an opportunity for self-confirmation through other's evaluation and validation of their performance. These men exhibit the highest incidence of internal power location in the male sample, and their tendency to be highly involved in their performance is reflected in their also being the most emotionally expressive group in the sample. Further,

their anxiety and vulnerability is evident in the high degree of perceived threat relative to others, in the most expression of negative emotion, and the most intensive expression, as well as the highest incidence of failure as an action outcome. Consequently, they exhibit relatively less active mastery, with its emphasis on successful competition and productive effort, in which the hero imprints his influence on his world. Rather, they are characterized by the derogation of assertive stances in others, which mirrors their anxiety over their own performance, and by their receptivity to external shaping influences, as they seek to define and meet performance standards. As the high school boys tend to express themselves through the exhibition of their prowess for the edification of themselves and others, so the newlywed men tend to express themselves through receptivity in the interests of self-definition and confirmation.

Composite Group Profiles
Later Stage, Male Sample

As the men of the earlier two stages are distinguished by relatively available ego energy, the men of the later two stages are characterized by relatively held back or unavailable ego energy. They tend toward indirect or tentative assignment of structure in their TAT responses ($p < .05$). Their heros are more often portrayed as being in relatively little or no action, and are described more often as static objects than portrayed as effective

energy sources (p $<$.001). Within the broad setting
in which the individual is reflected as operating in
qualified action and modified effectance, the responses
of the middle-aged men represent the individual as rel-
atively isolated and contained. They reflect the least
social orientation in the entire sample, and evidence no
threat relative to others. They evidence much less
emotional expression than the younger two groups, and no
intense expression. The middle-aged display less internal
power location with reference to the environment than do
the younger group, but more than the preretirement men.
They do not reflect the level of threat found in the
younger group and, when present, it is environmental.
Fewer limitations on action are depicted here in either
the newlywed or preretirement groups, and these restraints
are primarily internal. These men are more often looked
at than looking, but the preponderance of these responses
were too sparse to score on this variable. They exhibit
less scorable task orientation than the younger group,
and are about evenly divided on seeing the task as
complete or yet to be done. They reflect less success
as an action outcome than do the younger men, and they
supply more instances in which action results were not
mentioned or were not clear due to the sparseness of
the responses.

When this outline is combined with the ego mastery
profile, what emerges is a picture of the middle-aged

men as more skilled and confident with regard to their performance than are the newlyweds. However, the milieu in which they operate is very different from that of either the high school boys or the newlywed men. These men tend to be isolated from others, and focused in a relatively dry and "burned out" way on their performance. The productive energies of this group tend to be muted, relative to the younger men. While some maintain interest in their jobs, others are already looking forward to, and justifying, retirement on the grounds of past performance. While their capabilities are not in question from the perspective evidenced by the newlyweds, concern of another sort arises in this group. The careful distancing which characterizes the responses of the older men is accompanied by, or results in, less energetic involvement, both in the milieu and in their own action, than distinguishes the men of the earlier stages. This tentativeness and objectivity is accompanied by a weakened certainty of the characteristics of the milieu in which they operate, and this uncertainty has begun to undermine their sense of effectance and the quality of their performance, long before they are actually incapacitated by declining physical capabilities. Thus, while these men demonstrate a level of skill the newlyweds seek to acquire, they do not exhibit the involvement of the younger men, and they are surrounded by a relatively sterile and ambiguous environment, to which they look for

guidance in the use of the performance qualifications
they do have. There is question that this environment
will support assertive action, and their relative un-
certainty as to its defining attributes precludes, to
some degree, the possibility of their finding the firm
grounding that tends to mark the performance of the
younger men.

The preretirement men are distinguished by the
least specific responses in the sample. Power location
with reference to the environment is indicated as
ambiguous 2.5 times more often here than in the middle-
aged group. Though the level of environmental threat
is the same here as in the previous group, uncertainty of
outcome is portrayed 2.5 times more often by these men
than the middle-aged. They introduce others into their
responses 2.7 times more often than the middle-aged men,
and slightly less than half as often as do the men of
the earlier two stages. Though they evidence no threat
relative to others, the hero's power location with
reference to others is most often external to himself or
ambiguous. The hero here is more often externally
oriented than himself being the center of attention. The
least expression of emotion is found here, and no intense
expression. These men display the most limitations on
action in the sample, and the majority are internal. With
regard to action outcome, they show much the least
success in the sample, less ambivalence than the middle-

aged, and far more instances in which the results are not mentioned or are not clear due to the meagerness of the response. The least scorable task orientation is manifested here, with many responses too undefined to score. And, contrary to the middle-aged group, there is more emphasis on the task as yet to be done, than as complete. The most present time orientation is evidenced here, and the least future.

When the characteristics shown by the manifest content data are added to those from the ego mastery profile, what is seen is both a further retreat from active mastery stances than was evident in the middle-aged group, and a further retreat from involvement in their own performance. The middle-aged locate power within themselves more often than the preretirement men. And their demonstration of effectance, though modified by the muting of productive energies, still includes a sense of internal power which, though hampered by the vagueness of the milieu, continues to reflect capability. They tend to reflect planning for leaving the arena of performance, and to look for avenues of expression for their competence. The preretirement men, on the other hand, tend to display uncertainty regarding both past and future accomplishment, do not feel in control of resources enough to plan for meeting situational demands, and reflect flight from powerful and potentially fatal environmental hazards.

Though their milieu contains more people than that of

the middle-aged men, the relationship to others tends to be even less dynamic than that which marks the prior group. That is, while the middle-aged are applauded for the job they do, here the spectators are simply present, and there tends to be little or no interaction between them and the performer. While the individual here tends to look outward, as do the newlywed men, it is primarily from an uninvolved and isolated, rather than an involved and participative position. The uncertainty and the ennui that arises in the middle-aged increases here to include to a far greater degree both the performer and his performance. The preretirement man tends to take in very little, and to give out very little. He is present physically, but the energy flow from himself to his environment has dwindled to almost none. The environment is either almost quiescent too, or it is the source of potentially overwhelming danger.

SUMMARY

When reviewing the composite profiles of the four stages, it becomes evident that experience regarding one's own capabilities is organized very differently at each of these stages. The men of the earlier stages are typified by available ego energy, and involvement in action. However, the stances of the high school boys and the newlywed men differ greatly. The high school boys evidence internal power location, and an untried assurance regarding their own competence and their own importance.

The newlywed men also locate power internally, but tend to operate from receptive positions, taking in the role modeling provided by others, in the interests of their own self definition and confirmation. The ego mastery typology, within which the high school boys are evaluated as high on active mastery and the newlyweds are seen as primarily passively oriented, obscures the context of each of these orientations, and thus, the significance of each. The reality of active mastery is yet unproved in the high school group. And, the receptive stance of the newlyweds serves to further the expression of their own capabilities.

The men of the later stages differ from the men of the earlier stages more significantly than they differ from each other. The middle-aged and preretirement men are distinguished by relatively unavailable ego energy, and less involvement in action than is characteristic of the earlier two stages. Also, while the middle-aged men exhibit a level of successful performance that is lower than that of the high school boys, it is also different in that it is more closely allied to experience in the former and to expectation in the latter. Further, it differs from that of both the high school boys and the newlyweds in occuring within a context that is sterile and ambiguous rather than richly peopled with admiring others or supportive role models. While the middle-aged reflect more successful performance than the preretirement men, the larger toll is taken in the latter group by the

spread of the lifelessness that characterizes the environ-
ment of the middle-aged, but has not yet engulfed the
performer. Within the preretirement stage, the performer
too is swallowed up, and lethargy covers all. For the
preretirement men are not characterized by the active
receptivity of the newlyweds, nor even the more muted but
still internally located power that marks the middle-aged
group. Rather, in this group, the individual's energy is
depleted to the point that he has nothing left for
performance. Power has shifted from internal to external,
and he has little capacity to cope with exterior, and thus
potentially dangerous, power.

Section IV

The Ego Mastery Typology -- Female Sample

High School Senior Girls

High school girls rank third (42%), behind the pre-
retirement (46%) and newlywed (50%) women, in the incidence
of active mastery responses. Whether the themes are of the
competitive or productive type, there is a strong emphasis
on meeting performance goals. For example, the hero is
climbing in the same area as others, and he "wants to be
the first one up," or, he is racing and "beating the
clock....He seems to be going very well and he has been at
it all the time." In yet another response, the hero "was
always called a dud because he can't do anything right."
In a rope climbing race, he finds "others can't climb as
fast...his confidence is restored and he finds he can do

things just as good." Themes of productive effort are reflected in stories in which the hero is portrayed as working hard toward a goal, such as the hero who continued to work at climbing the rope until "...in the third year on the third time he has started to climb and he climbed and climbed and he got to the top and then he got down and got an A in gym." Another hero who "was told he would never be anything" works very hard toward perfecting his climbing skills, so that he is "chosen" to "go on this great expedition." He is happy for the recognition this beings him. Another directs his energy toward being a great performer, "...he is climbing the rope to let people know he is good...," or "...he is climbing the ladder to the top and he can't stop. He can stop for a breath of air once in a while, but he is determined to make that goal....He is on his way up and he's real happy about it." Or, the hero continues to work at reaching the goal until it is accomplished, and he is "very satisfied with what he is doing." The majority of the productive effort themes yield the above type of response, i.e., working hard toward long term goals which have been or are going to be accomplished. This move-ment tends to be accompanied by positive emotional involve-ment. The final response in this category reflects the hero as rescuing someone in trouble.

The conflict between active and passive stances is reflected in the transitional category (33%), where two

themes reflect derogation of assertive stances. "His
devotion to trying to become super-guy" cuts him off
from other interests. Where the young men have a positive
attitude about role models, here, the model, the "Marine
sergeant," who is "out to beat the world's record" and
is "showing his men how to get into shape," can't come up
to his own standards of performance. "He tries at one
point to do it again and maybe he fails and he can't say
a whole lot and he just smirks." His demonstration of
strength is disparaged, and he is reflected as giving up.
Further themes in this category depict giving up assertive
roles for more passive ones. One hero is pictured as an
ex-adventurer who has given up that role to become an
observer. "Now he is an acrobat. He is watching other
members of the team. He may be the father of a family of
flying people." Another hero is portrayed as a "guy who
used to be a wrestler or fighter and he finally got sick
of all that violence and stuff and so he joined the
circus and now he swings on the trapeze and climbs rope."
Other themes reflect the hero as completing his per-
formance, in one case "he's very happy on his way coming
down," and in another, as he is coming down, all of the
spectators are "really happy that he really climbed the
ropes."

Passive Mastery themes make up 25% of the responses
in this group. While the male sample shows a relatively
high incidence of responses in which the environment does

not support assertive action, there is only one such
instance here, and one in the newlywed group. In this
case, the hero has been a well known performer for
eighteen years (the age of the respondent), and "...He
never thought of the rope slipping or breaking. However,
one day he was going up and the rope slacked." He didn't
have time to think "...that he wouldn't be able to keep
on with the good show...before he fell to the floor and
hurt himself badly. His face looks scared." In the other
subtypes within this category, one reflects movement within
limited perspective, and the remainder reflect sensual-
receptive themes. The hero, in his "common everyday" life,
looks out to others rather than attending to what he is
doing. And, one response reflects sexual gratification,
though with another person, rather than with the rope.

Newlywed Women

The newlywed women reflect the highest level of active
mastery in the female sample (50%). The greatest incidence
of competitive themes in the total sample occurs in this
group. Respondents here see the hero as "the champion
and he is going to win again," a boy who trys "very hard to
follow in his father's footsteps. And he succeeds and he's
going to pass him," and "nobody else has been able to
climb the rope but this guy...he's offered a chance to go
to the Olympics and he goes and wins a gold medal for rope
climbing," also, "He is racing with another fellow and he
is very confident that he will win." Productive themes

include the hero who works from childhood "to build up his muscles," another who is "going to be able to climb to the top of the rope and he's built up his muscles and he's almost at the top right now." Further productive themes reflect the hero as rescuing himself, as rescuing another, and as one who "has worked very hard to perfect his skill. He enjoys pleasing people...he will continue in the future and perhaps pass his skill or training on to somebody else and then have pleasure in seeing them succeed in what he has enjoyed."

In the transitional mastery category (32%) the emphasis is on assertive stances as depreciated or assigned bad out-comes. Three of these themes reflect disparagement of the role model who is encouraging the boys with pep talks and showing them how to develop athletic skills. (Recall that the young men, particularly the newlyweds, searched out instruction, and tended to be very positive about receiving it). Other themes in this subtype picture escape from jail. One hero is happy about escaping "... He is proud of himself that he is strong and it will get him out. But he is caught and put back into prison again without parole." Another succeeds in escaping for some time, but he too is caught and returned to confinement.

The other two subtypes within this category show one case of attenuated productive energy, and one in which the hero has completed his performance, and is satisfied with it.

The newlywed women evidence the least passive mastery (17%) in the total sample, with one response in each of the subtypes. The example of passive inhibition in this group reflects the rope breaking as people applaud, "But luckily he was only a few feet off of the ground." One theme reflects movement within limited perspectives, one depicts the hero as assisted in making an escape, and one describes the stimulus accurately, but minimally.

Middle-Aged Women

The lowest level of active mastery in the female sample is found in this group (36%). Where the newlywed females are almost evenly divided between competition and productive effort, the emphasis here is on productive effort. Productive themes reflect working on building up a "puny" body, and "...working on his muscles, building them up more. It is a hard job climbing a rope." Another hero is "going up to risk his life for his show..." and he is performing on a "slack rope," which is "more difficult than a tight rope." Further, "his feet aren't in the proper position, he's going it by his hands. He is a very strong man." In two themes, productive effort is oriented toward escape, in one of which the hero climbs up out of something "...maybe a deep well....He looks bound and determined he's going to make it." In the other, as the hero escapes, "His face shows suffering and concern...and he wonders what's outside for him."

Transitional mastery is at approximately the same

level as in the prior two groups (37%). While the younger
women emphasize derision of assertive stances, and giving
up assertive roles for more passive ones, these women
reflect fear and failure. In one response, it is unclear
whether the hero might be "climbing the rope of success,"
or going to "hang himself." The respondent adds that
assertive action "scares me" because the hero might fall.
Another hero "fell every time he had to climb it [the
rope]." Yet another succeeds in climbing the rope, and
giving a fine performance, then falls over and breaks his
ankle while taking his bows. Finally, the hero who
succeeds is derided by others as trying "to be better than
anyone else....We felt we would like him better if he
didn't try so hard." The attenuation of productive
energies is more prevalent here than in the prior two
groups. Three themes reflect the hero as doing an
ordinary task, in an uninvolved manner. For example,
"He has achieved where he is now many times and he will do
it many times more."

The passive mastery category (27%) is made up of
responses in which the hero moves within limited per-
spectives, and of receptive themes, where the hero looks
for an unspecified something, within an almost totally
ambiguous milieu. For example, "...he is evidently
looking forward to something,...it is unclear...." And,
"I can't tell whether he is climbing up or down....He
looks as if he is seeing something in the distance."

Further, "...could be a circus performer or just a gymnast climbing the rope....He isn't looking out, but maybe he is looking towards an audience."

The one Magical Mastery theme in this group is scored as personal distortion. It portrays the hero as a delirious "lunatic" who, in trying to escape the "insane asylum" falls into a well. He has to be rescued by asylum attendants, who locate him through his screaming. Though the response is florid enough to be included in the Magical Mastery category, it also displays a very strong response to the stimulus. As it is reflected here, assertiveness in not only crazy, but dangerous. It can lead to falling into a deep dark place (depression?) and to needing rescue by medical personnel.

Preretirement Women

The level of active mastery reflected by the pre-retirement women (46%) is second to that of the newlyweds (50%). They exhibit the highest level of productive effort in the total sample. The emphasis here is on working hard to accomplish goals, including working since childhood to overcome being "just a weakling," with the result that he became "the strong man of the circus....And those boys that had made fun of him and called him skinny could hardly believe their eyes when they saw him on this high wire." And, a "sickly" boy who decided "nothing ventured, nothing gained" left home for a life at sea, and became physically well and a "satisfied and happy

man." Another hero figure is depicted as working day and night "for a long time," with the result that "he was able to take his bar exam." Another, "through long practice, accomplished this amazing, death defying set of somersaults," and thus became "a big hero." Two other themes reflect modeling for others, one, "showing someone how to climb a rope and this is the way to do it," and being in good shape and proud of that. The second pictures a happy, "mentally and physically fit" father training his son "in the same work that he does...."

The transitional category is the smallest in the total sample (19%). In contrast to the earlier groups, there is only one instance in which the performer's effort is depreciated, i.e., "He can't be a very good performer. Maybe he's just clowning." And, none of the themes in the preretirement group reflect bad outcomes, either personally or environmentally caused. There is less muting of productive energies in this group than in the prior one, and more emphasis on receptivity justified by past performance. The hero enjoys the acknowledgment of his performance by others, or acknowledges his own performance at its conclusion.

Passive Mastery remains at 27%, the level of the previous group. There is less operation within limited perspective than in the prior group, and the most emphasis on sensual-receptive themes in the female sample. The accentuation here is on the enjoyment of using muscles.

The hero is portrayed as "a young muscular male who is very happy with his body and who is experimenting with climbing a rope....It's a picture of the pleasure of owning your body and being in control of your body...." He climbs the rope on a dare "and he's having a fun time, watching the people's reaction to him, and then he probably slides down and says, 'Oops, that was hard.'" Or, the hero "...with the invention and determination of youth...," climbs the rope to see a ball game he doesn't have a ticket for. In the remaining instances in this subtype, the heros look for applause. There is one constricted response in this category, where the stimulus is described minimally.

The magical category here (8%) is characterized by denial. Acknowledgment of assertive behavior is circum-spected by such vague attribution of identity to the figure that he might not be human. He is defined as "...an athlete or something climbing the rope." Recognition is pushed further away by the conclusion, "I don't know." Or, while the respondent disavows knowledge of the content, she remains very interested, "Oh no. Not this. I have no idea....I'd love to see somebody else's...would love to see what they say about something like this."

SUMMARY

In brief, the high school girls are distinguished by less active mastery than the newlywed and preretirement groups. Productive effort is accentuated, typified by

concerted effort directed toward the attainment of long term goals. In the transitional mastery category, the conflict between active and passive tendencies is exhibited by making fun of assertive stances, and the giving up of assertive modes for more passive ones. Passive mastery consists primarily of sensual-receptive themes, where the hero's attention is on others rather than focused on his own activity.

Both active mastery and competitive themes increase in the newlywed group. While the high school girls tend to display movement toward the attainment of a goal, the newlyweds are already winners who have surpassed others and will continue to do so. Confidence and successful performance mark the active mastery responses of these women, as the emphasis on hard work labels those of the high school girls. There is more derogation of assertive behaviors in this group than in the former. And, while the high school girls reflect voluntarily giving up aggressive behavior for more passive participation, the newlywed women reflect passivity as forced upon them from outside. The passive mastery category, which is the smallest in the total sample, is not marked by the emphasis of any particular theme, as it is in the other three groups.

The middle-aged women show less active mastery, the same level of transitional mastery, and more passive mastery than the newlyweds. There are fewer competitive

themes than mark either of the earlier groups. Productive
effort is again evidenced as working hard, as it is in
the high school group. However, these responses are
more negatively toned than those of the earlier group.
The work is depicted as more of a struggle than as anti-
cipatory movement toward a positive goal. The emotions
evidenced are suffering and concern, rather than the
happiness of the high school girls, or the confidence and
self-satisfaction of the newlyweds. Fear, failure, and
derision of success mark the transitional category, as
does the attenuation of productive energies. Passive
mastery is dintinguished by heros who are located within
amorphous contexts, and who look for something or toward
something that is undefined.

Though the preretirement women are second to the
newlyweds in the demonstration of active mastery, they
evidence the highest level of productive effort in the
total sample. (The high school boys are the next lowest.)
The high school girls tend to exhibit anticipatory focus
on goal attainment, the newlyweds are inclined to
evidence an assured championship, and the middle-aged
women lean toward the reflection of assertive action as
struggle accompanied by depression and vulnerability. The
responses of the preretirement women tend not to exhibit
the anticipation of the high school group, the excitement
of the newlyweds, or the vulnerability of the middle-aged.
Rather, these women have added solid and positive outcomes

to long term productive effort. These responses also include ongoing modeling for others. There is some similarity between the newlyweds and the preretirement women in terms of positive action outcomes. However, the newlyweds reflect a more effervescent and fragile hold on the rewards gained. Championships can be lost relatively more easily than can solid career attainments and muscle developed through long practice. Preretirement women evidence less conflict over assertive roles than the other three groups. The transitional category is the smallest in the sample, and no bad outcomes are reflected. Passivity, as it is reflected in sensual-receptive themes, is characterized in the high school group as looking to others for sexual satisfaction and recognition, in the newlyweds as assistance in escaping, and in the middle-aged as generalized looking behavior within an ambiguous milieu. In the preretirement group these themes emphasize the performer's enjoyment of movement and the use of muscles independently of competitive or work oriented ends.

Patterns of ego mastery orientation over the four stages in the female sample do not show the degree of difference manifested by the male sample. However, they do show within category differences that are masked when the data are collapsed for statistical analysis. At this level of abstraction, active mastery decreases 5% from the early (high school and newlywed) to the later (middle-aged

and preretirement) stage. Transitional mastery decreases 20%, passive mastery increases 30%, and magical mastery increases from no instances to three. (See Figure 2, p. 76b.)

While the pattern of mastery styles over the four normative stages supports Gutmann's (1964) findings regarding the reduction of active mastery and the increase in passive and magical mastery over age, these changes are not significant (p $<$ .691). Further, within the female sample, the preretirement women are the second highest, rather than the lowest, in active mastery orientations. And, what looks like an increase in passive mastery over age is actually a decrease in passive mastery in the newlywed group, relative to the other three.

As was found in the male sample, an inspection of the four profiles suggests that the thematic emphasis within the ego mastery categories (i.e., active, transitional, passive, and magical), differs over the four stages. For example, within the active mastery category, both the high school girls and the newlyweds are more competitively oriented than the women of the later stages. And, in the transitional category, the newlyweds emphasize disparagement and suppression of assertive behavior, while the responses of the preretirement women in this category are marked by positive acknowledgment of past performance. Also, a subtype may differ in accentuation, as reflected in the previously mentioned changes in productive

orientation or sensual-receptive orientation over the four
stages. This diversity suggests differences in the way in
which experience is organized at each of the four stages
and, concordantly, that these distinctions may have
differential impact on consequent perceptions of capabil-
ities and behavioral options by individuals at each stage
level. Again, as with the male sample, these data suggest
that the phenomenon of ego mastery style is too intricate
to be accounted for by the concept of a straight line
passage along a mastery continuum over age. The examination
of the manifest content data will provide more specificity
regarding the way in which experience is organized at the
four stages than does the simple global score obtained
on the mastery typology. This analysis will assist in
filling in the group profiles so that clearer pictures
may be obtained.

Section V

Manifest Content Variables -- Female Sample

While the males of the early and later stages were
found to differ significantly from one another along
several dimensions, the female sample does not show these
patterns. For example, the high school and preretirement
groups show a higher incidence of direct assignment of
structure in their projective responses than do the
newlyweds or middle-aged. This generates a u shaped
response curve, rather than the straight decrease found in
the male sample. Following the earlier reasoning regarding

direct assignment of meaning in the projective response
as an indication of the availability of ego energy, the
high school and preretirement groups display more ego
energy than do the middle two groups. Also, later stage
women tend not to distance themselves from the stimulus
in the way that the later stage men do. That is, later
stage men exhibit little emotional involvement, and tend
to utilize supposedly objective characteristics such as
figure placement and object reference as a basis for
identification of the individual and the interpretation
of his action. For example,

> This is an acrobat in a circus. He is dressed
> like an acrobat, just has tights on...it is an
> effort to keep himself there in a way,...he has
> just done a swing of some description or another
> and he is coming down. This is the guiderope
> there and he is coming down because his right
> arm seems to be holding it straight, and this one
> is just going along to take the strain as he
> goes down. He just jumped off because the
> position of his body is such that the angle is how
> he just jumped off the platform or trapeze and
> he's coming down the rope.

Women, on the other hand, reflect a higher and more
intense level of emotion, and tend to respond to the
hero figure in terms of the social context rather than
the action per se. For example

> Well, there's a young man and he lived in a
> small town. When he was a young boy he was just
> a weakling. Boys in the school would make fun
> of him because he was so small and thin. And he
> said, "I'm going to show them." He went to the
> gym and did everything that he could. He ran 5
> miles every day. Finally his muscles got
> bigger and bigger, and he'd do more than those
> boys who used to make fun of him. He joined the
> circus and was the strong man of the circus. One

of his acts was to climb this rope till he got
to the high wire. And those boys that had made
fun of him could hardly believe their eyes
when they saw him on this high wire. And so
he made the circus his career.

While the earlier stage attributes more action to the
hero than does the later stage, the preretirement women
score higher than the middle-aged, in contrast to the
decrease across the four stages that was found in the
male sample. These differences do not fall within the
range of significance in the female sample.

The women follow the same general response curve as
the men with regard to the introduction of others, i.e.,
the newlyweds are highest (68%) followed by the high
school (58%), the preretirement (54%), and the middle-
aged (41%) groups. However, the level is higher than in
the male sample (with the exception of the newlyweds), and
the early and later stages do not differ significantly.
When the early and later stage men are compared to the
early and later stage women, the groups do differ
(p .005), with the high school girls, the middle-aged,
and the preretirement women introducing other people more
often than their male peers.

More younger women than older women depict the hero
as the focus of attention, i.e., he is being looked at.
However, the pattern differs from the male sample in that
here the newlyweds are most often looked at (50%), followed
by the preretirement women (35%), the middle-aged (27%),
and the high school girls (25%). More middle-aged women

defined the hero as externally oriented, rather than himself being the center of attention (37%), followed by the high school (25%), the preretirement (8%), and the newlywed (5%) groups.

Women reflect less concern with capability (i.e., action contingent vulnerability), than do the men. Though more environmental threat is denoted by the earlier than the later stage, the newlyweds lead (36%), followed by the middle-aged (32%), the high school (25%), and the preretirement (23%). Introduced others are seen as a threat less often by the early stage women (15%) than the men (48%), and more often by late stage women (10%) than late stage men (0), (p $<$.025*). More younger (30%) than older (27%) women locate threat in the environment. The newlyweds and middle-aged indicate more threat (34%) than do the high school and preretirement (24%). Threat through self-action is denoted by 2.5 times as many middle-aged as early stage women, and 5 times more than in the preretirement group. Heros more often overcome the threat in the female sample, and uncertainty of outcome decreases rather than increases with age. Fewer young women than men are threatened by self action.

The current power location for the hero, relative to introduced others, is evidenced as primarily internal and shared by the early stage and preretirement women, and as external and ambiguous in the middle-aged group.

The female sample exhibits fewer limitations on

action than does the male sample (p $<$ .025). The newlyweds
and middle-aged groups reflect the same incidence of
restraint on action (32%), followed by the preretirement
(23%) and high school (21%) groups. In the male sample,
preretirement men show the highest incidence of limitations
(62%), followed by the newlyweds (57%). These two groups
were also found to evidence the highest level of external
orientation (i.e., the hero looks at something), and
significantly more threat than the other two groups. In
the female sample, it is the high school and middle-aged
who depict the most external orientation. The newlyweds
and preretirement women are most often the center of
attention (p $<$ .025) though the newlyweds exhibit the
greatest degree of threat, and the preretirement, the least.

More middle-aged women located limitations in the
hero (27%), followed by the preretirement (15%), the newly-
weds (9%), and the high school (8%) groups. The earlier
stage were more likely to locate the limitations externally:
newlyweds (23%), high school (13%), preretirement (8%),
and middle-aged (5%).

Women denote less immobilization than men, with the
most found in the newlyweds (18%) and the middle-aged
(14%), followed by the high school (8%) and preretirement
(4%).

The introduction of non-human objects other than
pictured does not discriminate between the inter-sample
groups or between the samples. However, preretirement

women introduce more such objects into their responses than do the preretirement men.

No significant differences were found between the early and later stage groups regarding the primary results of the hero's interaction with the environment. When the data are compressed for statistical analysis, stage differences are masked, in that the preretirement (69%) and newlywed (64%) groups show the most success, followed by the high school (50%) and middle-aged (22%) groups. The least ambivalence is also shown by the preretirement (8%) and newlywed (9%) groups, followed by the high school (17%) and middle-aged (23%) groups. They also offer the least instances in which the results of the interaction are not mentioned or are not clear due to the sparseness of the response: newlyweds (9%), preretirement (23%), high school (29%), and middle-aged (41%). The newlywed and preretirement groups offer more success, less ambivalence, and fewer sparse and open ended responses that do not include action outcomes than do the high school and middle-aged (p $<$ .025). The most failure is found in the newlywed (18%) and middle-aged (14%) groups. The high school girls follow with 4%, and the preretirement group shows none.

This is a very different pattern than that offered by the male sample (p $<$ .05), where the early stage men offer far more success than the later stage men, and the later stage men lead in ambivalent, as well as sparse and open

ended responses.

Task orientation, where the hero has initiated or is initiating intentional effort toward the execution of business, performance, learning, or care taking of self or others, and which excludes play, sensuality, and enjoyment for the sake of enjoyment, is more often evidenced in the female than the male sample. The pattern of distribution is also different between the male and female samples ($p < .05$), in that, while the earlier stage men and women reflect more task orientation than the later stage stages, the preretirement women are higher than the preretirement men, and also offer fewer responses that do not give enough information to score. Newlyweds lead in seeing the task as already completed (61%), followed by the preretirement women (56%), the high school (42%), and middle-aged (31%) groups. More middle-aged (69%), and high school females (58%) regard the task as yet to be done. ($p < .10$)

Time perspective is defined as the presence of past, present, and future orientations in the response given to instructions to, "tell a story that has a beginning, a middle, and an end." No significant differences were found between the earlier and later stage groups. However, present orientation increases over the sample as it does in the male sample, though that evidenced by the preretirement women (58%) is not as high as that of the preretirement men (76%). These women more closely resemble the middle-aged men (57%) than they do their own peers. The

high school girls reflect the most past orientation in the total sample (38%). The newlywed and middle-aged women show more emphasis on the future than the other two groups, (32% each). Comprehensive time orientation is highest in the newlywed group (18%), declines to about half of that in the preretirement group, and is minimal in the reamining two groups.

The hero's orientation to the rope does not discriminate between early and late stages of the female sample as it does the male sample. Early stage women see the hero going up less often (37%) than later stage women (44%). Ambivalence does not increase drastically here as it does in the male sample, and the same number of early and late stage women see the hero as coming down the rope.

The male sample shows larger differences between the earlier and later stages than does the female sample. Women do not show the linear decrease in energy and the rising ambiguity that characterizes the male sample. Rather, there are similarities between single groups from each of the earlier and later stages, and the identities of these groups shift over variables.

For example, the high school and the preretirement women show the most direct assignment of structure to their responses, as well as the most internal location of power with regard to both the environment and others. They display the least degree of threat with regard to both environment and others. They are the least threatened by

self action, and they display the least limitations on action. The newlyweds and preretirement women have in common the most instances of success as a result of interaction with the environment, the least ambivalence with regard to action results, and they are most likely to see the task as mastered, rather than as yet to be done. They are also most often the center of attention. The newlyweds and middle-aged share the least direct assignment of structure to their responses, the least internal location of power both with regard to the environment and to others, the most threat with regard to the environment, others, and self action, the most limitations on action, and the most failure. The high school girls and middle-aged women are the most externally oriented, show the least successful action, and the most ambivalence concerning action outcome. They also tend to see the task as yet to be done.

While the early and later stages of the female sample do not differ significantly along multiple dimensions as the male sample does, the composite profile provided by the manifest content and the ego mastery data does suggest that there are qualitative differences in the organization of experience at the four stages.

Section VI

Composite Group Profiles
Early Stage Female Sample

The one variable on which the high school girls differ

from the newlyweds is that of time orientation. The high school girls are the most past oriented group in the total sample and the newlyweds are the most future oriented ($p < .025$). The high school girls reflect the most instances of direct assignment of structure in their responses, the most action and involvement on the part of the hero, the most internal location of power with reference to the environment, the most task orientation, and are the highest on seeing the task as yet to be done. They exhibit less threat from the environment, others, and self action, than the newlywed and middle-aged. They also display less limitations on action, and these restraints are more often external than internal. They are second to the newlyweds in the introduction of others. They trail the newlyweds and preretirement women in the reflection of successful action outcomes, as well as reflecting more ambivalence with regard to action outcome, and more open ended responses where the outcome is not defined. An equal number of girls define themselves as the center of attention, and as individuals looking outward. Comparatively, they are the least looked at in the female sample, and just behind the middle-aged in external orientation.

When this data is combined with the ego mastery profile, the following composite appears. High school girls exhibit less active mastery than the preretirement and newlywed women. As is characteristic of the female sample, the action tends to take place within a social

context, and to develop its import from the social dynamics

rather than from the action per se. For example, while the

hero watches other aerialists, he is not just an observer.

It is suggested that he may be the father of the team, thus

asserting relationship and involvement that goes beyond

mere observation. Or, the trapeze artist is not just a

great performer in his own right, but "...makes his living

entertaining people." Or the hero gives to others rather

than attending to his own needs, such as the acrobat who

was raised with the circus, who

> ...is a very happy and friendly fellow who is
> well liked...He was married for four years, but
> his wife died of cancer. Ever since then he has
> still been with the circus, but devotes his life
> to making others happy. He never shows his own
> sorrow.

Within this setting, these individuals tend to

evidence available ego energy, action, involvement, and

internal location of power, along with a relative lack of

threat. These girls also reflect less successful action

outcomes than the preretirement or newlywed women, more

ambivalence and more open ended responses which lack

defined outcomes, as well as an emphasis on the task as yet

to be done. The most past time orientation in the total

sample is found here. Three-quarters of the success mani-

fested by this group is past related. Of the active

mastery responses 70% reflect success set in past time, and

30% reflect nonspecified outcomes located in present/future

time. Most ambivalent and failed action outcomes are found

in the transitional category.

The profile of of this group is Janus-like,[48] in that it is two faced. One face is directed towards the past and reflects an assurance based on past performance. The other face is oriented to the present/future and reflects a search for guidance in how to accomplish the task that is yet to be done. This division is emphasized by the number and the nature of the transitional mastery themes which reflect conflict over active and passive stances. Active roles are both disvalued and given up for more passive ones. Ambivalent and undefined active outcomes also indicate that new patterns of behavior have yet to be consolidated, and related to specific action outcomes. Overall, this indicates a rather large value shift for this group, in that the more active modes of the past are being replaced by less active modes which have yet to be consolidated. For, while a number of these girls evidence successful competitive and productive effort, the group profile also includes a large degree of orientation to past accomplishment, the letting go of active modes for passive ones, and relative ambivalence and lack of definition regarding present/future action outcomes.

The newly wed women are the most socially oriented

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[48]Janus; A Latin deity, represented with two faces looking in opposite directions. Webster's Dictionary, p. 928.

group in the female sample, in that they introduce others
most often. They exhibit the most positive emotion, and
the most intense. They define themselves as the center
of attention, exhibit the most task orientation in the
female sample, and most often see the task as mastered or
completed. They also reflect the most present-future and
comprehensive time orientation. While the success of the
high school girls is predominantly connected with the past,
the majority of the success of the newlyweds is linked to
the present/future. This group is second to the high
school group in portraying action and involvement, and
trails both the high school and preretirement groups in
direct assignment of structure in their responses. The
greatest presence of threat, both from the environment and
from others is found in this group. The newlyweds and
middle-aged women reflect equal levels of restraint on
action. Limits on action are primarily external in this
group and primarily internal in the middle-aged. Though
they are second to the preretirement women in portraying
successful action outcomes, they also exhibit the most
failure in the female sample, as well as the most immobil-
ization. They exhibit far fewer open ended responses
than the other three groups.

When these data are added to the ego mastery profile,
the newlywed women are seen to manifest an active mastery
that is both more fragile and more costly than is readily
apparent. Newlywed women tend to operate within a social

milieu, and to be the focus of attention. They are actively and emotionally involved, show a relatively high level of successful task orientation, and a regard for the task as mastered or completed. This suggests realization of major goals or career attainment on the part of these women. However, though they tend to present themselves as successful achievers, they hold that position at some cost. Transitional mastery themes are more severely derogatory of assertive stances than in the high school group, and these women also tend to mirror passivity as enforced from outside themselves, rather than as voluntarily given up. The high school group exhibits more direct assignment of structure in their responses than do the newlyweds. This indicates more recourse to, or use of, ego energy, and results in a more assured organization of experience and attribution of meaning than is characteristic of the newlyweds, who show a preponderance of indirect assignment of structure in their responses. These women are more tentative in the structuring of their experience than the former group, and this is accompanied by a relatively high level of external restraint on action, immobilization, threat from both the environment and others, and failure. On one hand, this group manifests a confident "Look at me, I have arrived" attitude, and on the other hand, they exhibit anxiety related to the appropriateness of their behavior (conflict over active and passive modes), maintaining their position

(threat from the environment and others, failure), and a less clear and certain definition of their experience than is provided by the previous group.

As mentioned previously, while the male sample shows significant differences between the earlier and later stages, the female sample does not. Men show a linear decrease in both direct assignment of structure and in active involvement. When combined into early and late stages for statistical purposes, the women of the earlier stage reflect relatively more available ego energy. However, this is misleading in that the preponderance of direct assignment of structure occurs in the high school group (58%). This masks the relatively lower level of direct assignment in the newlywed group (36%), which is the same as that refelcted by the middle-aged group, and is somewhat lower than that shown by the preretirement group (38%). The tentativeness of this middle group is accompanied by relatively high levels of threat from the environment, others, and self action, as well as restraints on action and immobilization. This suggests that it is the middle stages of the female sample that are the most fragile with regard to the experience of mastery, both in that they reflect the most tentativeness in their assignment of structure and meaning to their experience, and they are the most vulnerable to threat from all sources.

Composite Group Profile
Later Stage Female Sample

In the newlywed group the optimism and the confidence accompanying goal attainment tends to provide a kind of grounding or positive balance for the relatively high anxiety (i.e., concern, vulnerability) manifested by these women. The middle-aged women lack both the optimistic stance and the involvement of the prior group. They offer the same degree of tentative assignment of structure as the newlyweds. The tentativeness in the assignment of meaning is compounded by the lack of clarity within the responses of this group, with the net result that these women offer the least specific responses in the female sample. Power location with reference to the environment is reflected as ambiguous twice as often here as in the newlyweds, and over 2.5 times as often as in the preretirement group. Regarding action outcome, they reflect over twice as much ambivalence as the newlyweds, almost three times more than the preretirement women. They also show by far the most open ended responses where action outcomes are not specified. Sparseness of response is also reflected in the least scorable task orientation in this group. Within this relatively ambiguous context, they evidence the least introduction of people in the female sample, the least internal power with regard to the environment and others, the least action and involvement, and the least successful action outcomes. This

group is the most externally oriented in the female sample, and they most often see the task as yet to be done. They are also the most often threatened by self action, exhibit the highest incidence of self limitations, and are second to the newlyweds in the reflection of threat from both the environment and others, as well as immobilization, and failure. They offer far the least positive emotion in the entire sample, and the most negative emotion in the female sample.

When these data are combined with the information yielded by the ego mastery profile, the following distinctions appear. The middle-aged women display the lowest level of active mastery in the female sample, and effort, though productive, is depicted primarily as negatively toned struggle which is accomplished through great strength and determination. The focus here is on the difficulty of the performance rather than on confident and positive goal attainment as in the prior group. Productive energies are muted relative to the other three groups. Capabilities are much in question, and their overall lack of confidence in their effectance is evidenced in their portrayal of self limitations and vulnerability to threat, in their reflection of the least internal power with regard to the environment and others, the least action and involvement, and the least successful outcomes, as well as the fear and failure portrayed in the transitional themes. This lack of clarity regarding their

capabilities is compounded by the ambiguity of the milieu, which tends to be too hazy to provide clear guidelines for successful performance. Rather, it contributes to lack of definition of power location and of action results. Social interaction makes less contribution to the context here than in the other three groups, both in that there are fewer introduced others, and that relationships tend to be more remote and negatively toned, e.g., distant observers of ambiguous and potentially dangerous action, rescuers of the insane, audiences that the observer looks toward, though without involvement. The underlying concern and vulnerability which accompany the positive assurance of the newlyweds increases in the middle-aged group, and is intensified by the lack of clear definition of accomplishment by either the performer or the milieu.

The preretirement women are second to the high school girls in direct assignment of structure in their projective responses, and second to the newlyweds in being the center of attention. They reflect the most internal location of power relative to others, and are next to the high school group in showing internal location of power with reference to the environment. Regarding action outcomes, they offer the most success, the least failure, and the least ambivalence. They show fewer open ended responses than either the high school or middle-aged groups, though somewhat more than the newlyweds. They offer more introduced others, more action and involvement, as well as

more positive and more intense emotion than the middle-
aged, though less than the early stage women. These women
tend to see the task as mastered or completed, as do the
newlyweds. They also evidence the least threat relative
to others. Where threat occurs in this group the hero
overcomes it. They exhibit the least presence of environ-
mental threat, the least threat through self action, the
least immobilization and least limits on the performer.
The most present time orientation is found in this group,
as well as less past orientation than in the high school
group, and less present/future than in either the newly-
wed or middle-aged groups.

When this profile is combined with that of the ego
mastery typology, the resulting picture differs substan-
tially from that of the former group. These women tend
to give structurally well defined responses within which
the performer moves confidently and purposefully. The
highest level of productive effort in the total sample
is found in this group. Power tends to be located in the
hero, and attainments are solid achievements, the result
of practice and hard work over time. This is in contrast
to the high school girls who reflect success set in past
time or seek direction for the attainment of future goals,
the more competitively oriented and less well grounded
attainments of the newlyweds, and the struggle of the
middle-aged. Action includes positively toned ongoing
modeling accompanied by pride in fitness. In the prior

three stages models of assertive stances are derided and
rejected. Assertive behaviors do not have bad outcomes
here as in the other three stages, and such behavior is
not accompanied by the degree of threat from the environ-
ment, others, or self action that characterizes the other
three stages, particularly the newlywed and middle-aged
groups. Neither do these women reflect the restraints
on action or the level of immobilization that character-
izes the newlyweds and middle-aged. That these women are
less conflicted regarding assertive behavior is also
reflected in the relative paucity of transitional mastery
scores, i.e., they display the smallest transitional
category in the entire sample. Passive mastery themes
emphasize the enjoyment of movement and the use of muscles
quite independently of competitive or work oriented ends.

The context within which the action takes place is
clearer than that provided by the middle-aged in that
there is more direct assignment of structure, clearer
delineation of power location, much less threat from any
source, and more distinctly specified action outcomes.
Contrary to the prior group, the individual is most often
the center of attention here. While social dynamics
tend to be central in the female sample, relationship
with others makes a richer contribution to the context
here than in the other groups. In the high school group
others serve the function of models, people to be served,
or sources of recognition. In the newlywed group, the

emphasis is on social acknowledgment and approval of positive accomplishments. The middle-aged evidences less interaction than the prior two groups and that depicted is both less positive and less involved. In the preretirement group relatedness is both more particularized and more specifically related to accomplishment than in the prior three groups. For example, the individual performs, not to win general praise or social acknowledgment, but to win the money he needs to get married....Living with a family provided the opportunity for both work and study which leads to an advanced degree....With ingenuity and determination, the individual, who is one of a group of boys, climbs to see the performance of others, as they play a ball game for which he has no ticket....Though the hero's outstanding performance is solo, he is defined as a member of a trampoline troop....Derogation by others provides the impetus for building a successful career as a strong man with the circus, where the hero can display his great strength....The satisfaction of being with others makes up for the "toils and labors" of life....A circus performer directs his talents to rescuing a child. (In the newlywed response of the same subject matter, people cheer as the performer rescues the child. In the pre-retirement response, others drop the rope down the well, the performer rescues the child and sends him up the rope, "...smiling because he knew that he was able to save the child." In the former response, the focus is on acclaim

for the rescuer. In the latter, it is on saving the child, with consequent internal acknowledgment and satisfaction. In the preretirement group, the interactional matrix tends to supply both impetus and direction for action. This action does not receive its validity from the evaluation of others. Rather, these individuals reflect solid and positive evaluaitons of their own performance.

SUMMARY

Composite profiles drawn from the foregoing data point to differences in the organization of experience across the four stages. The internal location of power and relative lack of vulnerability manifested by the high school girls is based on successful performance set in past time. Their focus on present and future activity is accompanied by an inner uncertainty that is closely related to making a major shift in values, voluntarily moving from assertive to more passive stances. They are goal oriented. They work hard to meet their own standards of accomplishment, as well as for recognition by others. Though much of their activity is directed toward others, they reflect relatively little acknowledgment from those with whom they interact.

The newlyweds show a more competitive level of active mastery, and are more vulnerable than are the high school girls. Their successes are primarily future related. They see others primarily as oriented to the

performer, cheering successful accomplishment whether
the activity is winning a race or rescuing child. The
individual is often defined as having the confidence and
the abilities of a proved champion. However, assertive
stances are heavily derogated here, and passive behavior
is enforced by others. The negative attitudes toward
assertiveness, as well as the degree of threat, re-
straint on action, and immobilization, suggests that
aggressive behavior attracts negative sanctions from
many sources. The data suggest that these women may
utilize tentativeness as a way of minizing these negative
sanctions. That is, the newlyweds are more tentative in
the assignment of structure to their responses than the
high school and preretirement groups. In this group,
winning is accompanied by yielding certainty of experience.
As previously mentioned, tentativeness is essentially
protective behavior. For, as discussed with regard to
older males, tentativeness allows statement of position
without commitment. It is "safe" in that if the position
is challenged, it can be shifted in an accommodating
direction. Such tentativeness results in fewer challenges
and fewer negative sanctions than does direct statement
of position. However, it also has the effect of separa-
ting the individual from his or her own experience. If
it is "maybe this," or "perhaps that," then the structure
is not clear enough to provide firm guidelines for action.
The individual's own interpretation must be certified by

others before it can be acted upon. In this event, that part of experience comes to be authenticated externally rather than internally. To the degree that this occurs, the individual drifts in a sea of ambiguity, dependent on others for the definition of his or her experience.[49]

This lack of groundedness characterizes the responses of the middle-aged women. The milieu is relatively amorphous, and does not include clear guidelines for the location of power and action outcomes. Though these women do display active mastery, productive effort is reflected as negatively toned struggle. Energies tend to be muted relative to the other three groups, and capabilities are doubted. Action is accompanies by a relatively large degree of vulnerability, fear, and failure. The performer tends to look outward, though what is wanted or what is seen remains unspecified. Social interaction contributes relatively little to the grounding of these women, for

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[49]
The essence of ego is the organization and the construction of the individual point of view. It is through this experiential matrix that the individual relates to, and participates with, others. If, for any reason, the individual is not allowed to construct his own point of view, or if, having constructed it, it is invalidated regularly, he comes to manifest severe psychiatric symptoms. Reusch and Bateson (1951), Kelly (1955), Wynne and Singer (1963), Watzlawick, Beavin, and Jackson (1967). Wynne and Singer refer to schizophrenia as "an experience disorder" of the above aetiology. The point being that separation from one's own organization of experiences is separation from one's own ego function. As such, it has consequences, the severity of which depend on the degree of separation.

relationships also tend to be attentuated. Lacking the
balance or grounding provided by the positive goal attain-
ment of the newlyweds, amorphousness has increased to the
point that these women tend to be out of touch with
their capabilities. They have not given up, though they
lack clear structure by which to organize and interpret
their experience. The lack of clarity in the definition
of experience as it is reflected here suggests that this
group may be at some psychiatric risk.

The situation is reversed in the preretirement group,
which reflects less tentativeness of assigned structure,
and much less internal ambiguity. These women are much
more solidly grounded with regard to their performance.
Action is more sharply defined, less threatening, and more
successful. The social matrix tends to provide a clearly
defined foundation and orientation for action which
ylelds the experience of solid accomplishment.

Section VII

Sex Group Comparisons by Stage

This is an urban sample, representative of middle and
lower middle class individuals. In their sociopsycho-
logical study on this group, Lowenthal,Thurnher, and
Chiriboga (1975) note that men are generally focused on
some aspect of their careers, while women tend to be
focused on some aspect of family life. Given that jobs
are focal for men, and family life for women, it is likely
that questions regarding mastery also center on these

areas of personal experience. Sex group comparisons on the organization and interpretation of experience as it related to the location of strength and energy will be presented within this context.

High School

High school boys are less tentative about the organization of their experience than are the high school girls. They evidence both more success and more failure regarding action outcomes. They exhibit a higher level of active mastery than do their female peers. Their time frame is broader in that they exhibit more comprehensive time orientation, i.e., responses that include past, present, and future. The emphasis here is on the present/future, in contrast to the girl's lack of comprehensive orientation, and emphasis on the past/present ($p < .025*$). The purpose of introduced others tends to be that of the admiring audience, and they focus on a hero whose level of performance is worthy of their attention, i.e., he is an accomplished performer, a star. These boys reflect a confident, though untried, optimism that their work will be both satisfying and deserving of the attention of others. High school boys also exhibit more action-contingent vulnerability than do the girls. Transitional and passive themes center on action as risky. Less internal power location with reference to both the environment and others is accompanied by more threat from the environment, others, and self action, as well as more

limits on the performer, and more immobilization. They
exhibit somewhat less task orientation, action, and
involvement than their female peers, which could be due
to the relatively higher level of action-related threat.
External causes, rather than self limitations, are seen
as instrumental in those instances in which the individual
is threatened or overwhelmed.

High school girls, on the other hand, evidence more
internally located power and less threat from all sources
than do the boys. This level of confidence in their own
capability is related to successes set in past time.
Regarding present/future accomplishment, they exhibit
about 50% more ambivalence and undefined action outcomes
than do their male counterparts. This lack of closure is
related to a value shift in which assertive stances are
being voluntarily given up for more quiescent ones.
These girls do not project the easy and instant success
reflected by the boys. Rather, they display goal achieve-
ment as the result of hard work, and often look for some
type of interactional validation as a gauge for performance
evaluation. Their position is similar to that of the
newlywed men in the emphasis on social connection and
assessment, but different in that it lacks the attendant
degree of vulnerability. Also, as is characteristic of
the female sample, the action tends to derive its impor-
tance, not as action per se, but as an aspect of the
interactional social matrix.

Lowenthal et al. (1975) reports that the high school boys in this sample tend to be characterized by an initial and relatively unaware groping toward avenues of career development, accompanied by fantasies of "making it big." There is a large gap between where these boys are now and where they see themselves as adults, as well as a relative lack of awareness about how they are going to get there. However, their projective responses indicate that they tend to see themselves as possessing the internal strength to develop full lives which include important and satisfying jobs. Where limitations appear, they tend to be external rather than internal. While the boys show more action contingent vulnerability than do the girls, most reflect an automatic achievement of success and importance.

The high school girls, on the other hand, are reported to be primarily focused on finding a mate and getting married. Those who go on to college tend to do so as a stop-gap measure between high school graduation and marriage. Girls who do well in school evolve self concepts which include acknowledgment of their ability to compete favorable with others (Douvan and Adelson, 1966). However, if they wish to become wives and mothers, it is necessary to restructure their experience to allow the substitution of other behavior for the competitive ones. One indication of such a shift is Janis' (1969) observation that, while high school academic performance increases

for boys, it decreases for girls. He suggests that this is related to the anxiety of girls over the exhibition of aggressive, competent behavior before prospective mates. And, according to Friedan (1963), girls who choose to retain their competitive behaviors and move into careers experience another type of conflict, i.e., guilt over their continued expression of such behaviors. It is interesting to look at the current women's liberation movement in terms of its provision of cultural sanction for alternative constructions of the feminine role. And, to notice that, in this conservative, family centered, and male dominant urban sample (Lowenthal et al., 1975) the old values retain strong shaping influences. For, these girls show confidence related to past performance, a value shift toward more passive behaviors, lack of consolidation of new behaviors with action outcomes, and a looking toward others for guidance in accomplishing goals which require a change in behavioral approach.

Newlyweds

As with the prior group, the men here are more definite regarding the structuring of their experience. However, in the high school group, both boys and girls show more direct than conditional assignment of structure. In the newlywed group, more men continue to show direct attribution of meaning in the organization of experience, and more women show indirect or tentative assignment of organization.

The men of this stage show less active mastery, in which the hero acts effectively upon the environment, and more passive mastery, in which the hero accommodates to outer forces (p $<$ .10). However, the majority of these passive themes mirror receptivity in the service of gaining information from role models, and validation of performance toward the accomplishment of self definition and confirmation.

Newlywed men are more active and involved than their female counterparts. They are also clearer in the location of power with regard to the environment, i.e., they show less ambiguity, and both more internal and more external location of power. They display less than half as much environmental threat as the women. However, the story is reversed with regard to introduced others. These men introduce others into their responses more often than any other group in the entire sample. Over half of these are regarded as threatening, as compared to one quarter seen as threatening in the newlywed female group. Regarding interpersonal threat, newlywed men reflect both overcoming and being overcome more often than do the women. They show less internal location of power with regard to others than do the women, more external power location, and less than one quarter of the shared power manifested by the women. They reflect a much higher incidence of limitations, and these limits are primarily internal, rather than external, as is the case with the newlywed women (p $<$ .05*)

and both of the high school groups. These men evidence almost twice as much self threat related to action than do the women of this stage, and three times as much negative emotion. With regard to action outcomes, the newlywed men evidence less success, more failure, and more ambivalence than their female peers. The men of this stage tend to see the task as yet to be done, rather than as already mastered or completed, as the women do ($p < .05$). Their seeking for role models, as well as measurement and validation through performance standards is also reflected in their being the most externally oriented group in the total sample, while the newlywed women most often define themselves as the center of attention ($p < .005*$).

The men's severe derogation of assertive stances (e.g., as empty bragging or not all there is to life), combined with their external orientation, regard for the task as yet to be done, high level of vulnerability with regard to others, and their concern over "proving" themselves, suggests that conflict over active and passive tendencies is intensified by fear that their own assertiveness will not prove equal to the task they see before them.

Newlywed women differ from newlywed men in tending to present themselves as winners, focal points of social acclaim. Where the newlywed men tend to picture themselves as reconnoitering, and searching their way toward self definition, the women picture themselves as having

"arrived." This arrival is accompanied by the highest level of threat from the environment and others in the female sample. Compared to the men of this stage, they reflect considerably less interpersonal threat, and less external location of power with regard to both environment and others. However, they portray about one third more ambiguity with regard to power location vis-a-vis the environment, and over twice as much environmental threat as the males. They also display over three times more environmentally located limits, and more immobilization.

These women show more internal location of interpersonal power than the men, and less interpersonal threat. Their greater vulnerability lies in the ambiguity of power location with reference to the environment, and a higher level of environmental threat. Their presentation of themselves as having mastered the task and as the center of attention is at variance with their reflected uncertainty and vulnerability from primarily environmental factors. A clue to the dynamics at work here is provided by their reflection of themselves as assertively competent individuals, the strength of their derogation of assertive models, and their refelction of passivity as enforced from the outside. Taken together, the foregoing suggests a large degree of conflict between active and passive stances. This might evidence a continuance of the value shift toward quiescence exhibited by the high school girls, accompanied by

increased conflict as they continue to relinquish asser-
tiveness in order to meet the demands of the newlywed
role.

Tentativeness in the assignment of organization and
meaning to experience, which is proponderant in this
group, is one avenue to minimizing that conflict. As
discussed previously, such conditional or provisional
assignment of structure is protective behavior, which
also has the untoward effect of increasing the ambiguity
of events. In the initial stages of such ambiguity, the
individual is likely to retain an internal sense of
competence, but will lack direct personal verification of
it, in that the definition of experience is yielded to an
external source. Should that ambiguity continue, it may
eventually erode the internal sense of competence (i.e.,
internal location of power), with the result that the
individual may become separated from the experience of
capability and eventually come to experience him or her
self as ineffective against overwhelming and therefore
potentially dangerous external forces.

With regard to this dimension of experience, the
newlywed women resemble the middle-aged men in that they
show an internal sense of competence, the expression of
which tends to be accompanied by environmentally located
ambiguity and threat, though the middle-aged males
reflect both more ambiguity and more blocking of the
expression of competence than do these young women. Thus

these two groups show a similar peripheral diffusion in the structure of experience, which becomes more marked in the responses of the middle-aged women and the preretirement men.

Using other types of assessment instruments, including self reports on forced choice questions, and the analysis of structured interviews, Lowenthal et al. report that

> The self concepts of newlywed men suggest qualities of diffuse dynamism, of free--at times uncontrolled--energy to be expended in diversified or unconventional pursuits. [These men are over-engaged and]...riding on a wave of confidence.[50]

The methods of assessment used in that study do not tap the deeper levels of the organization of experience, and therefore do not reflect that this burgeoning activity is in the service of self definition and confirmation and that it is also accompanied by a high level of action contingent vulnerability.[51]

Further definition of this group by Lowenthal et al. includes notation of "marked adherence to traditional forms of male authority," wherein both sexes agree the man is the "boss." The women are absorbed in their relationships with their husbands, the nurturant position is central, and they subscribe to the ideal of "sub-

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[50]Marjorie Lowenthal, Majda Thurnher, and David Chiriboga, <u>Four stages of life</u>. p. 69.

[51]See footnote 29, p. 44.

ordinating personal inclinations" in the marital relation-
ship. On forced choice items, they give themselves high
ratings on submissive attributes. Also, according to
other indices, they and the middle-aged women are the
"most likely to have contemplated suicide."[52]

Though most of the newlywed women (84%) are employed,
they remain family centered. The purpose of work tends
to be either to support husbands in school, or to provide
a stable income while husbands explore career alternatives.
Children tend to be deferred until the husband has
settled into his chosen occupation. Newlywed men look
forward to parenthood in terms of providing for the family,
while the women focus on parenthood as prospective mothers.

In toto, the data suggest that the newlywed women are
immersed in a quid pro quo situation wherein they are
engaged in trading their experience of themselves as
assertively competent individuals for the highly valued
role of wife and prospective mother. This "something for
something" trade requires inhibition of assertive
responses and deference to the husband's point of view,
i.e., experience comes to be more externally than internally
defined. The situation is somewhat paradoxical, in that
"winning" (i.e., attaining the goal of marriage) is
accompanied by the loss of some measure of one's own

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[52]Marjorie Lowenthal, Majda Thurnher, and David
Chiraboga, Four stages of life. pp. 28, 77 and 105.

definition of experience (i.e., accommodation to the authority of the husband) and a concordant rise in vulnerability.

Middle-Aged

Though the middle-aged men offer less clearly defined experience than do the men of the prior two stages, their definition of experience is less equivocal than that of the women of this stage. They are more isolated, in that they introduce others into their responses only about one third as often as the women, (p $<.05$). They are clearer with regard to the location of power, reflecting both more internal and external placement with reference to the environment, and displaying only internal power with regard to the sparse interpersonal interaction shown. These men are much less vulnerable to either environmental or interpersonal threat than their female counterparts.

They exhibit a greater sense of competence than the women, evidenced both by an emphasis on the task as mastered or completed, and almost twice as many successful action outcomes, as well as less failure. Though productive energies are muted, relative to those demonstrated by the men of the earlier stages, and these men tend to be characterized by a non-involved and sterile focus on performance, they retain an internal sense of competence that is greater than that manifested by the women of this stage. The expression of this competence is hampered by

the ambiguity of the milieu, the characteristics of which are rendered uncertain by the degree of tentativeness and objectivity with which they define their experience.

The amorphous milieu has a stultifying effect in that, being uncertain as to whether the environment will support assertive action, these men hold back, i.e., they reflect less action and involvement than the prior male stages, and the middle-aged women as well. They also show more limitations on action and more immobilization than do their female counterparts. These men are not so much out of touch with their competence as they are inhibited in its expression. As a result, they show less active mastery and more passive mastery than the women of this stage.

The middle-aged women, who show the least internal power in the female sample, also portray less than their male counterparts. They evidence almost twice as much ambiguity regarding power location with reference to the environment, and more environmentally based threat. In a milieu that is much more social, in that it contains almost three times as many introduced others than that reflected by the men, these women exhibit a large degree of ambiguity regarding the location of interpersonal power. Only one third indicate interpersonal power as residing in themselves, while all of the men indicate such internal placement. The women also evidence much more interpersonal threat.

These middle-aged women operate in a more ambiguous milieu than their male peers, display much less confidence in their capabilities, and less assurance that their actions will result in positive outcomes. This is the only stage in which more women than men give evidence of being threatened by self action. More middle-aged women exhibit task orientation, and most of them see the task as yet to be done, where more of the males see it as already accomplished. As is the case with their male cohort, these women reflect an increase in inner uncertainty, relative to the prior stages, evidenced as a rise in ambiguity concerning power location as well as ambivalence regarding what is actually taking place. This diffusion is peripheral in the male sample at this stage. In the female sample, it has increased from the peripheral diffuseness demonstrated by the newlyweds to the point of eroding the internal location of power in the middle-aged, i.e., though these women have not relinquished action, they tend to be out of touch with their own capabilities.

Though they function in environments more amorphous than those of the men, and are less confident of their own effectance, they maintain a higher level of action and involvement than do the men. They also show less blocked or restrained action. Fewer restraints and the higher level of action and involvement are found in conjunction with a milieu that is more personalized than

that of their male counterparts. The men of the later stages distance themselves from their responses both by the tentative assignment of structure to their responses, and by justifying their assignment of meaning on the grounds of "objective" criteria such as the type of clothing they perceive, or description of the body as an object, in terms of its appearance, position, or placement with regard to other objects.

The women of this stage show somewhat less tentativeness in the assignment of structure than the men, and their involvement tends to be more personalized in that they pay less attention to the "objective" criteria preferred by the men for providing assignment of meaning. The women's reflections of the identity and the intent of the individual are likely to be based on such qualities as his body build, his character as revealed in his features, and his circumstances with regard to his relations with others. The responses of the women tend not to reflect the individual as an impersonal object, but as a specific individual. Though the interpersonal relationships of these women are attenuated in comparison with those of the women of the other stages, the degree of social embeddedness and personalization of relationship is much greater than that evidenced by the men. Within this context, the women show more active mastery and less blocked activity than their male peers. This shows as a trend in this stage, and becomes much

more pronounced in the next.

Lowenthal et al. note that, whatever the stage of the life cycle, the men of this sample "provide classical examples of the instrumental role player."[53] They describe themselves in terms of their economic function as providers, and the middle-aged men reflect work as the primary source of stress in their lives. In general, they have found their work less satisfying and important than they expected and wanted it to be.

> Like Chinoy's (1955) automobile workers, they entered the work world with the assumption that their efforts and diligence would somehow being them 'success.' Most of the middle-aged men of our study clearly had reached a plateau in their occupational career, a situation which provoked some of them to question the extent to which they are responsible for their own success or lack of it.[54]

These men tend to reflect boredom with relatively meaningless jobs, and a strong preoccupation with surviving to their best advantage until retirement, which is looked toward with both anticipation of freedom from work requriements and anxiety regarding financial security. The middle-aged emphasize retirement more than do the preretirement group, though they are further from the actual transition than are the older men.

Lowenthal et al. also indicate that, as "expansiveness

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[53]Ibid., p. 69.

[54]Ibid., pp. 19-20.

and diffusion" characterize the newlywed males, so does "orderliness and caution" and a "need for scheduling" define the middle-aged men. While these men exhibit more control over their circumstances than do the younger men, "...the control is also extended to the self...[to some degree] then, their control over the environment is gained by the exercise of a considerable degree of self-restraint."[55]

Control through self-restraint characterizes passive mastery (see pages 49-50), which typifies both this and, to a larger degree, the preretirement stage of the male sample. The data from this TAT study suggest that the "orderliness and caution" and the "need for scheduling" which delineates this stage from the earlier stages of the male sample serves as a means of control over anxiety accompanying peripheral structural diffusion in the organization of experience (i.e., peripheral ego diffusion).

According to Gutmann (1970) the male approach to the TAT card is characterized by distancing and objectivity such that the card is responded to as a task or a puzzle. This impersonality is held to be a mark of good ego functioning. It is related to successful participation in the marketplace, which rests on recognizing that

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[55]Ibid., pp. 70-71.

> These milieux pool together individuals and
> agents who are by and large intent on their own
> purposes--who will only recognize the existence
> of others if they interfere with or are necessary
> to the accomplishment of individual goals. On
> the personal level, allocentric domains provoke
> a chronic sense of self-other, subjective-objec-
> tive boundaries, of discontinuity between
> fantasy and actuality, and of discontinuity
> between personal motives and the conventional
> guidelines of behavior.[56]

In other words, in his organization of experience,

the man on the job must second-guess the motives and

intentions of others who, as decision makers, will

hinder or further his own advancement. That is, rather

than depending on his own structuring and assessment of

his experience, he must defer to the organization and

assignment of meaning provided by others. The data

from the study at hand suggests that, as with the newly-

wed women who defer to the authority of their husbands,

deference to the authority of "higher-ups" in the market

place by these middle-aged men has resulted in movement

toward external rather than internal definition of

experience, tentative structuring of experience as a

coping mechanism, and consequent peripheral ego diffusion.

The later stage men of this study do not demonstrate

clear "subjective-objective boundaries." Rather, they

inperpret their experience in objective terms. (See pages

95-97, and 130). This has the effect of further

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[56]David Gutmann, "Female ego styles and generational
conflict." p. 82

separating the individual from the organization of his
own experience, in that the structure is taken to rest
on objective criteria "...that which belongs to or
proceeds from the object known, and not from the subject
knowing."[57]

This position may rest on the relationship of the
American male to his job, in that, most often, he is
merely a cog in the industrial wheel. For, over the past
several decades,

> As production became more complex and efficient,
> work became increasingly specialized, fragmented,
> and routine. Accordingly, work came to be seen
> as merely a means to an end--for many, sheer
> physical survival; for others, a rich and satis-
> fying personal life. No longer regarded as a
> satisfying occupation in its own right, work had
> to be redefined as a way of achieving satisfactions
> or consolations outside work. Production, in this
> view, is interesting and important only because
> it enables us to enjoy the delights of consumption
> ....There is an even deeper sense in which mechan-
> ization and the introduction of routine degraded
> the act of work. The products of human activity...
> took on the appearance of something external and
> alien to mankind. No longer recognizably the
> product of human invention, the man-made world
> appeared as a collection of objects independent of
> human intervention and control. Having
> objectified himself in his work, man no longer
> recognized it as his own.[58]

Nor does he recognize himself in subjective rather
than objective terms. The net result is a depersonal-

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[57]Definition of "objective," Webster's Dictionary.
p. 1152.

[58]Christopher Lasch, Haven in a heartless world.
p. 7.

ization that decreases the experience and demonstration of personal effectance in these middle-aged men, long before the physical debiliteis of old age set in.

Both the middle-aged men and women are characterized by diffusion in the structure of their experience. In that of the men, diffusion is peripheral and accompanied by an objectification that results in the impairment of assertive action. The structure provided by the middle-aged women shows a more global diffusion than that evidenced by either the newlywed women or the middle-aged men. This amorphousness is accompanied by embeddedness in a personalized social milieu and a higher level of active involvement than typifies the men of this stage.

Lowenthal et al. record the middle-aged women as being immersed in family affairs.

> Their concerns were primarily with inter-personal relationships; judging from their anticipated changes in goals, the objects of this concern might change, but they did not expect to shift to issues bearing on their own growth or self-realization. Thus, with the imminent departure of their youngest child, their future aims were viewed as coming to be more centered in their husbands.[59]

Such family focus provides attendant stresses which contribute to this being evaluated as the most unhappy stage in the female sample, i.e., the youngest children are about to leave home, and husbands tend to be

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[59]Marjorie Lowenthal, Majda Thurnher, and David Chiriboga, Four stages of life. p. 128.

unavailable in that they are preoccupied and anxious with regard to their work. While the men of this stage report more work related stress, the women are more stressed by the strains encountered by significant others.

For example, occupational, educational, and marital conflicts experienced by their children are sources of worry and unhappiness for these women. For many, the relationship to the husband is central, and their own sense of well-being is closely keyed to that of the spouse, e.g., "I thought I was happy. Then all of a sudden, I realized my husband was unhappy, so I became unhappy too."[60]

According to Gutmann (1970), ego diffusion and embededness in a social context that is an extension of herself through her family relations are two attributes of the autocentric ego development characteristic of American women (as well as both men and women of preliterate societies and "hippies"). That is, experience that is ordered from the self and extended through interaction with similar others, results in a different organizational structure than the allocentric organization which is a product of participation in an impersonal, unpredictable environment within which change proceeds from inscrutable external orientations; which organization Gutmann ascribes to the American male, as well as to "literate and,

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[60]Ibid., p. 73.

especially, bourgeois urbanites, regardless of sex."[61]

He notes that

> ...autocentric environments provide individuals
> with recurrent experiences of continuity with or
> inclusion in those agents which have been made
> relevant to the self, either by cultural prescription
> or by personal experience. The sense of self is
> dispersed into or includes, all those objects and
> agents that persistently provoke actions and
> affects from the ego. Indeed, in the autocentric
> world firm ego boundaries as we know and value
> them in urban *allocentric* society, can even be
> maladaptive--a sign and source of pathology.[62]

Contending that the autocentric position displayed

by American women "reflects nurture more than nature,"

he points to the separation of the domestic realm from

the marketplace.

> Even in the midst of the city the domestic
> environment is to some degree separate from its
> surroundings. As a distinct but informal sub-
> culture it reflects in large part the wishes,
> tastes, and schedules of the homemaker who is
> central to its maintenance. Furthermore, her
> children are quite literally extensions of herself,
> just as she is a physical extension of the mother
> who trained her for domesticity and motherhood.
> Like her mother, the homemaker deals in her
> domestic sphere with a world of her own making--
> a world that extends her and thereby meets the
> criteria for autocentricity....to the extent that
> the neighborhood provides tradition, extended
> family relationships, and clear physical boundaries,
> it can convey to the established resident the
> autocentric experience of living at the center
> of converging kinship ties and affectional
> bonds....Firm ego boundaries could lead to alien-
> ation--to a rupture of empathic bonds with one's
> family and with the pleasant self-confirming

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[61]David Gutmann, "Feminine ego styles and genera-
tional conflict." p. 82.

[62]Ibid.

cycles of domestic and neighborhood life.[63]

Though half of these women are employed, their family centeredness and focus on interpersonal relationships would seem to qualify them as autocentric in the structure of their experience. However, at least at this point in their lives, their experience is more aptly categorized as that of "not so quiet" desperation, rather than as pleasantly self confirming redundancy. Most importantly, though this group yields a profile that includes global ego diffusion and great unhappiness, the structure provided by experience that is personalized, i.e., ordered from the self, is accompanied by a higher level of activity and involvement and more expression of effectance than is demonstrated by the middle-aged men, whose experience is depersonalized.

Preretirement

The preretirement men resemble the middle-aged women in that they too display a global ego diffusion. However, such inclusive ambiguity is more detrimental to the experience and expression of personal effectance in this stage of the male sample than in the middle-aged stage of the female sample. The depersonalization that first appeared in the responses of the middle-aged men has increased here to the point that the individual is reflected as isolated, uninvolved, hollow, objectified

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[63] Ibid, pp. 83-84.

to the point of resembling an empty bag blowing in the wind.

The experience of the men of this stage is much less clearly defined than that of the preretirement women. Power location with reference to the environment is predominantly ambiguous for the men, and internal for the women ($p < .05$). Six times more men than women reflect environmental threat with uncertain outcome. The women depict overcoming environmental threat 2.5 times more often than do the men. With regard to inter-personal power, the men emphasize external and ambiguous power location, while the women accentuate internal and shared power. The men show more limitations than the women ($p < .01$), displaying both more internal and more external restraints.

These men evidence little sense of competence. Though most depict the task as yet to be done, this group shows the fewest instances of successful action in the total sample, as well as more ambivalence and failure than the preretirement women. In most cases, action outcomes are ambivalent, are not mentioned, or are not clear due to the sparseness of the response. More women portray the task as mastered or completed, and this group yields the highest level of successful action in the total sample, as well as less ambivalence, no failure, and half of the undefined outcomes exhibited by the males. The preretirement men are characterized by

sparse and open ended responses which do not include
action outcomes, and the women are typified by successful
outcomes (p $<$ .005). The men of this stage are char-
acterized by passive mastery. The context provided by
this group is one of low keyed and pervasive amorphousness
where, at best, the location of power is uncertain. At
worst, it is external and, due to their own lack of
power, potentially dangerous.

The women of this stage present a strong contrast
to their male counterparts. Where the men are distin-
guished by passive orientations, the women demonstrate
active mastery (p $<$ .005). The men tend toward external
orientation, and the women define themselves as the center
of attention (p $<$ .05). These women show less restrained
activity, and a higher level of involvement than do the
men. The responses of the women are richer in that they
introduce more other people, more feelings both positive
and negative, and more non-human objects. Actions and
outcomes are more clearly defined, much less threatening,
and much more successful. Overall, these women show more
internal location of power, less threat, and more success
than any other group in the sample.

As with the prior stage, the women are less tentative
in the structuring of their experience than the men. This
tentativeness is accompanied by a strongly personalized
orientation in the structuring of experience. That is,
these women tend to depict the individual as a particular

person, immersed in an interactional social matrix that
supports and gives direction to successful personal
accomplishment. In the male sample, tentativeness is
accompanied by an objectifying of experience such that
relationships remain tenuous, and the individual tends to
look toward others from an isolated and uninvolved
position. There is little to no sense of personal effec-
tance, or social support for well defined and personalized
action.

In comparison with the middle-aged men, the pre-
retirement men show an increase in ego diffusion, and a
continued retreat from active orientations and overall
involvement. In contrast with the male sample, the ego
diffusion of the middle-aged women, characterized by nega-
tively toned struggle within an amorphous though personal-
ized social milieu, has receded in the preretirement
sample. It has been replaced by a solid sense of personal
effectance within a well defined social matrix. Lowen-
thal et al. found the preretirement men to be less
invested than the men of the earlier stages.

> The preretired men are mellow--significantly
> less dissatisfied and unhappy--compared to men at
> earlier stages. While their self image reflects
> less drive, there are compensatory factors and
> fewer rough edges: they see themselves as less
> hostile and more reasonable. They feel less
> ambitious but also less restless then any of the
> younger men.[64]

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[64]Marjorie Lownethal, Majda Thurnher, and David
Chiriboga, Four stages of life. p. 71

While the middle-aged men, who are further from the
actual transition of retirement, are found to exhibit a
great deal of anxiety regarding this transition, the
preretirement men are either "satisfied or resigned"
regarding retirement resources. This group was also
found to reflect more "life satisfaction" than any other
of the eight groups under examination. On the indices
used by Lowenthal et al., these men seem to have turned
from their jobs to their relationships with their wives
as sources of satisfaction. However, these researchers
also note the puzzling finding that, while "these men are
the most likely to rate themselves as having warm inter-
personal relationships,"[65] they score low on mutuality,
which is defined as "the capacity for relationships
characterized by respect, trust, support, empathy, and
responsibility, as well as the capacity to give as well
as to receive."[66] They speculate that this finding might
reflect "wishful thinking or hopes for change in the
future."[67] The TAT data from the study at hand indicate
that the experience of these men has become so depersonal-
ized that they have little to no capacity for mutuality.

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[65]Ibid., p. 112

[66]Ibid., p. 111.

[67]Ibid.

Thus, it is not surprising that what they indicate as "warm interpersonal relationship" has less substance on this rating than the relationships described by others, particularly the preretirement women, who rank high on mutuality.

A major finding by Lowenthal et al. was that, regarding adaptation, it was

> The psychologically less complex, who had sought and developed self-protective, stress avoidant life styles, who were aging most contentedly....the majority of men...seemed content with what they had accomplished thus far and wanted only to relax into a life style best described as dependent and comfortable, spiked now and then with a bit of hedonism....[68]

What is not indicated by these data is that, for the most part, these men have objectified their experience to the point of being out of touch with themselves as valid, effective individuals. Inasmuch as these are not old men (53-67), the almost total lack of energy projected in their TAT responses, including the paucity of personal effectance and the scantiness of interpersonal relationships, would seem to be the result of the way in which they have structured their experience, rather than their age.

This conclusion is strengthened by the data on the preretirement women, who are of similar age, show a different organization of experience (i.e., structure

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[68] Ibid., p. 231.

ordered from the self, rather than from outside the self),

and a relatively strong psychic energy.

Lowenthal et al. report that the preretirement women

differ from the middle-aged women in exhibiting more

optimism, and a more positive self image, including a sense

of self acceptance, competence, and independence. These

women are

> unique in their focus on assertiveness and com-
> petitiveness[69]....It is in the preretirement stage
> that women seem finally to hit their stride. The
> problems with competence, independence, and inter-
> personal relations...appear resolved. The pre-
> retirement women see themselves as less dependent
> and helpless and so more assertive: "I don't have
> the fears and tragedies that I had when I was
> younger. I can say what I feel, I am not embar-
> rassed by many things anymore, and my person-
> ality is better"....in the areas of competence,
> women in the preretirement stage resemble the
> middle-aged men more than they do those facing
> retirement.[70]

The data from the study at hand show the preretire-

ment women to be more aware of themselves as individuals

than are the middle-aged men in that they demonstrate less

ambiguity, and fewer restraints on action, as well as

more internal location of power, and more active mastery,

founded upon a strong sense of personal effectance within

a well defined social matrix.

The importance of personal relationships as a

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[69]Ibid., p. 78

[70]Ibid., p. 74

primary support for individuality and action shows not
only in the more solid sense of personal identity dis-
played by the older women, but in the further finding by
Lowenthal et al. that:

> Among men across the four adult life stages,
> interpersonal resources increasingly served as
> buffers against excessive preoccupation with the
> past, or with stress, and were associated with a
> relatively positive stance toward the future in
> general.[71]

That is, men who evidence interpersonal relationships
(even though they have less substance than those indicated
by the women), are considerably better off in that they
demonstrate more power to cope with the circumstances of
life than do those who evidence fewer and/or more tenuous
interpersonal relations. When experience ordered from
the self rather than extrinsically is added to embeddedness
in a personalized rather than objectified social milieu,
the result is a sense of active mastery, the power to
influence and thus control to some extent, the circum-
stances of the individual life.

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[71]Ibid., p. 231.

PART III

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

As previously noted, the exploration of adult personality continues to be analogous to that of a comparatively unexplored wilderness. The field is complex and, at the theoretical level, there is little agreement regarding either the development or the constitution of adult personality. Exploration is also hampered by research costs and problems with research methodology (Lowenthal, Thurnher, and Chiriboga, 1975, Neugarten, 1977).

The characteristics of this study reflect the state of the field. One, it is descriptive, rather than theoretical. What is described are sex and stage related patterns which emerge from an analysis of the ways in which men and women at four different life stages organize and interpret their experience, i.e., sex and stage related ego mastery orientations.

Two, it is cross sectional, and the study's focus on changes in the organization of experience is indirect rather than direct in that the same individuals are not followed over all four of the life stages under examination. Nevertheless, the study does have particular value in that individuals from one large homogeneous urban sample, and who occupy one of four different stages of the life course, were examined at one point in time. This

offers a broad view of the life course, with the opportunity to test hypotheses regarding differences in the organization of experience over the wide span between early and late adulthood. Granted, the dissimilarity between the stages may be a function of either age or cohort differences. However, cost practical methods for separating out age and cohort differences in complex data are not yet available (Schaie and Parham 1976; Neugarten 1977). Given this state of the field, investigating life stages for differences in the organization of experience (ego mastery style) offers both a grounding for the exploration of personality data, and a basis for continuity in that "bridges" may be inferred between stages. That is, stages are not based on the passage of time per se, as is age, but upon the events or the substance of the time as it is experienced by the individual in his or her movement through common and serial stages of the life course (e.g., high school graduation, marriage and preparation to be parents, completion of child rearing, and anticipation of retirement from the work force). The investigation of cohort influence (differences between groups of individuals born at different periods of historical time) will have to wait until researchers have both more information about adult personality development and more sophisticated and generally applicable methods for separating out the inherent complexities.

Three, Neugarten (1977) notes the lack of agreement

regarding directionality of change in writings on adult

personality development (viz, the incremental position

characterized by self actualization theorists, the

decremental position represented by biological models, the

relative stability postulated by traditional psycho-

analytic models). Commenting that "...none of these views

of directionality in adulthood rests on a compelling

rationale[72]..." she suggests the question of directionality

be put aside for now, in favor of a focus on the process

of development as containing both biological and environ-

mental components.

> The term *development* refers here not only to pro-
> cesses that are biologically programmed and
> inherent in the organism, but also to those in
> which the organism is changed over time by inter-
> action with the environment. Because of the
> cumulative record of adaptations to both bio-
> logical and social events, there is a *continually
> changing basis within the individual* for per-
> ceiving and responding to new events (italics
> in text).[73]

Neugarten also suggests that the exploration of

developmental factors be ordered along an age continuum,

as a first approximation. This was not done in this study

both for the reasons stated under two above, and because

of the cognitive emphasis in the definition of ego used

in this paper, which is compatible with the idea of

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[72]Bernice Neugarten, "Personality and aging." p. 630.

[73]Ibid.

looking at individuals at particular life stages with
regard to their organization and interpretation of the
experience of mastery as a function of the broader
experience of stage membership.

The cognitive emphasis is in line with Lowenthal's pro-
posal regarding the adoption of a sociopsychological stance
toward life course studies, in that a basic component of
such studies should be an examination of "... the percep-
tions of individuals in various stages of the life
course with regard to their own competence, and their
frames of reference for such self assessment...."[74]

It is also compatible with cognitive theorists who,
in general, stress man's symbolic capacity, his func-
tional goal directedness in thought and action, as well
as his interaction with the environment, e.g., Murphy
(1947), Miller, Galenter and Pribram (1960), G. Kelly
(1955, 1969, 1970), Breger (1969), Carson (1969), and in
particular, Thomae (1970) who states in relation to aging
that "Any change in the situation of the individual is
perceived and evaluated in terms of the dominant concerns
and expectations of the individual."[75]

This study, then, is primarily descriptive, and it is
cross sectional. There is ground for discussing patterns

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[74]Marjorie Lowenthal, "Toward a sociopsychological
theory of change in adulthood and old age." p. 118.

[75]H. Thomae, "Theory of aging and cognitive theory
of personality." p. 5.

in the organization of experience (ego mastery style) as developmental in that they may reflect differing patterns of cognitive orientation based on an ongoing inter- action between biological and social factors over the life course. Further, the patterns in which the inform- ation is organized and interpreted delineate salient (though not necessarily conscious) issues with regard to mastery.

Within this context, this dissertation has focused on an exploration of patterns of ego mastery orientation exhibited over the life course from early to late adult- hood, through an examination of an urban community of adults (ages 18-67), at four normative life stages.

Projective data were measured on two indices. One was Gutmann's Ego Mastery Typology, and the other was a Manifest Content Index constructed for this study. The thesis upon which Gutmann developed the ego mastery typology is that men are typified by active mastery orientations which, over age, move through the trans- itional, passive, and magical mastery orientations as a function of the interplay of a relatively autonomous ego and an instinctually expressive id, along the continuum of an age related decline in available ego energy.[76] The

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[76]Transitional mastery, which reflects conflict between active and passive modes of mastery orientation, and which Gutmann hypothesized in 1971 as perhaps a stage of disequilibrium between active and passive stances,

active mastery category is seen as a reflection of the

ego (secondary process) functions of delay, objectivity,

and self-other boundary. With aging, ebbing ego energy

allows the emergence of the dependent and sensual

demands of the id, hence the conflict between active and

passive stances characterized by the transitional cate-

gory, the dependent, sensual modes delineated by passive

mastery, and finally, the magical thinking that defines

things not as they are, but as they are wished, which is

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was found to be almost constant across all four stages of
the sample. This suggests that each stage has it's own
vicissitudes, and that these changes necessitate responses
which may be conflicted not out of age related declining
energy, but out of the individual's perception of his
capabilities in the face of the stage specific require-
ments being made on them, e.g., for the high school boys,
movement toward independence through further schooling
or finding a job, or some combination of the two; for the
newlywed men, taking on responsibility for the spouse and
upcoming family, as well as assessment of job potential
and career choice; for the high school girls and the
newlywed women, conflict over the value shift from active
to passive stances previously discussed.
     Magical mastery, in which the individual shapes his
perception of reality by projecting outward unacceptable
impulses from within himself, or by denying potentially
threatening stimuli, is absent only in the high school
group, and then is almost constant across the remaining
three groups. This sample is younger than those studied
by Gutmann, and may not be expected to show the increase
in magical mastery that has been associated with advanced
age. However, avoidance of taking instrumental action in
the service of making changes either in the environment
or in themselves is not, in this study, characteristic
of only those whose age related declining energy make such
demands on the defenses of denial and projection in
service of the experience of control of self or
environment.

delimited by the magical mastery category.

Gutmann's psychoanalytic stance results in a focus on internal conflict as the developmental matrix for the adult personality and the ratings on the typology are based on latent content themes taken to reflect ego-id conflict. It was found that this level of analysis did not allow for discrimination between the range of contexts within which the mastery orientations were exhibited.

Therefore, the second of the two measures, the Hodges Manifest Content Index was constructed. It is based on the point of view that the ego functions to structure and interpret information toward creating coherence and meaning as a basis for behavior, that it functions holistically, i.e., having to do with the individual as a functional whole, though containing possibilities of inner conflict inasmuch as some of his experiences are held outside the limits of his conscious frame of reference. The ego is also seen as inherently social in nature in that the individual is surrounded by a social milieu, the structure of which serves as a pattern for the construction of his world view.

This is a cognitively oriented stance which results in a focus on the cognitive ordering of events as reflective of the personal contexts of individuals. From this position, it is appropriate to evaluate the manifest content of projective data to illumine the individual's perceptions of his capabilities and oppor-

tunities, i.e., his ego mastery style. This allows for a finer discrimination than does assessment at the thematic level, and also permits an examination of differences in the organization of experience at the four normative life stages under analysis.

The projective responses were rated as one fully blinded set. That is, raters had no information on either the sex or the stage of the respondents. This was to support the emergence of distinctions which might be lost with division of the sample along lines of sex or stage.

Two hypotheses were chosen for investigation. These were:

1) Ego mastery styles exhibit a shift from active to passive over the life course.

2) Within the shift from active to passive mastery styles over the life course, differences in patterns of ego mastery style and other significant qualitative differences in the interpretation of experience exist between men and women.

Hypothesis One
(See Figure 1, p. 76a)

The data were found to support hypothesis one for the male sample, though not for the female sample. While

the mastery profile of the male sample was characterized
by an increase in passivity over age, that of the females
was found to exhibit more active mastery over age.
Given the idea of an age related mastery continuum, the
pattern of the findings was unexpected. The results indi-
cate a much more complex interaction between biological and
social factors than is congruent with the idea of a
developmental continuum from active through magical
mastery over age, though overall patterns do appear.

Hypothesis Two
(See Figure 2, p. 76b)

The data reflect significant differences in patterns
of ego mastery style between men and women, as well as
other important qualitative differences in the organization
of experience. The basic difference between the exper-
ience of men and women as reflected in this data is that
men organize their experience of mastery around a focus
on activity qua activity, or performance; whereas women
structure their experience of mastery around a core of
activity as an expression of affiliation, or relatedness.
This difference has major implications with regard to
the contstruction of the life experience of men and
women.

Discussion
The young men and women of the early stages (high

school seniors and newlyweds) are alike in exhibiting
available ego energy that can be readily utilized in the
organization and interpretation of information, though
the integration differs according to sex.

The focus on performance as an index of mastery which
is characteristic of men is accompanied by ego mastery
characteristics, including vulnerabilities, associated
with career performance at each life stage. The active
mastery of the high school boys is largely anticipative
of their own realization of the American ideal that all
men have access to satisfying and important careers.
They see themselves as confident performers whose level
of assurance and proficiency is worthy of the attention
of others. The limitations on effective action are
environmental rather than personal at this stage. These
boys have yet to deal with the reality of career achieve-
ment, which is rarely, if at all, as effortless as is
pictured here. In their study of this sample, Lowenthal,
Thurnher, and Chiriboga (1975) note the importance of
personal achievement to these boys, and also the
assumption of ease regarding its attainment.

> I figure that I'll be working for the most of
> my life, so I want to get a good job that I'll
> be able to enjoy. So then I'll be able to enjoy
> my life, because that will be my life. Of
> course, you can't really enjoy life unless you
> have a lot of money. It's important though to
> get a good job that you enjoy, because I couldn't
> stand doing a job that I didn't like even if it

paid good.[77]

While active mastery was the largest category in the high school group and those boys defined themselves as the center of attention, passive mastery was the largest category in the newlywed group and these men looked to others.

Newlywed men tend to see themselves as prospective bread winners, with the responsibility concordant with the establishment of families.[78] Their responses reflect the effort and the vulnerability involved in career choice and establishment. They are receptive to direction in the interests of defining and meeting performance standards, and they look for self confirmation through fulfilling the expectations of others. These men are highly involved in the establishing of their careers, emotionally expressive, and very anxious regarding their ability to meet performance demands. They, like the high school boys, want satisfying jobs,[79] and some part of the emphasis on nurture found in the responses of this group may reflect a search for personal validation or acknowledgment that their performance is appreciated

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[77]Marjorie Lowenthal, Majda Thurnher, and David Chiriboga, Four stages, p. 178.

[78]Ibid., p. 17.

[79]Ibid., p. 179.

by their role models.

The early stage men are characterized by an availability and assertiveness of ego energy that is lacking in the later stage men. Their mastery stance is primarily passive, and these men exhibit relatively little available ego energy. They have distanced themselves from their experience through tentativeness and objectivity in the assignment of structure. A focus on performance and membership in an industrial work force where they must contend with the distant decisions of managers and the hidden agendas of fellow workers constitutes a threat to the experience of competence in these men and is thus a major point of vulnerability in the male ego. For, the adoption of a provisional and impersonal assignment of structure which rises out of the need to second guess his managers and fellow workers, gives rise to uncertainty regarding the definition of the milieu in which he performs. In these middle-aged men, this uncertainty has weakened their sense of mastery and, concordantly, lessened the quality of their perfromance, long before the actual decline of their physical capabilities. This diffusion in the organization of experience is peripheral in the middle-aged men. They tend to have a sense of capability, but to be blocked in its expression.

Another contributing factor, which increases the insult to the male ego, is that in the industrial/

managerial work setting jobs are fragmented, mechanized, and made routine in the interests of efficiency.[80] Jobs of this nature foster little sense of contribution or of satisfaction. The health or robustness of the egos of these middle and lower middle class men seem at considerable risk in that they organize their experience of mastery around performance, and their performance takes place in an impersonal, ambiguous, and stultifying environment. In the study by Lowenthal, Thurnher and Chiriboga (1975) these men are described as isolated, contained, obsessed with financial security, bored with their work and already looking forward to retirement though it is years away, and they do not have much hope that leaving the work force will change the quality of their experience.[81] Though they still possess an internal sense of competence, they seem well on the way to being "burned out" regarding its expression.

While peripheral diffusion characterizes the ego style of middle-aged men, a much more extensive diffusion characterizes the experience of the preretirement men. They are uncertain of both their environment and their capabilities, and consequently have little to no sense of control vis-a-vis any aspect of their lives. Their

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[80]Christopher Lasch, Haven in a heartless world. p. 7.

[81]Marjorie Lowenthal, Majda Thurnher, and David Chiriboga, Four stages. p. 110.

passive mastery stances reflect very little energy
exchange in either direction between the environment and
themselves. Thus, while the middle-aged men have energy
enough to be anxious and frustrated regarding retirement,
the older men, who are closer to the event in time, are
either satisfied or resigned regarding their circum-
stances.[82] Ego energy tends to be at low ebb here,
though these men are only 53 to 67 years old.

Gutmann (1969a, 1969b, 1970) defines active mastery
reflected by men as the peak of mature ego function.
He bases this stance on his observation that the qualities
of delay, objectivity, and self-other boundary (the
secondary process characteristics of optimal ego function
according to psychoanalytic theory) are the basis of
adaptability to the usual male work situation. He
attributes these qualities to active mastery orientations
in middle-aged and older men. Yet in this study, given
the younger stages for comparison, and a level of analysis
less global than thematic interpretation, these dis-
tinctions appear to characterize the later stage males in
general. Impersonality and provisional definition of
experience is associated with a high level of passive mas-
tery here and with men whose sense of competence has drained
away long before they are physically incapacitated. The
overdoing of delay, objectivity, and self-other boundary,

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[82]Ibid., p. 15.

has led to a marked depersonalization in these men, and
a consequent ennui which precludes anything but shallow
involvement in their lives, though they have years left
to live.

A strong implication of this finding is that if men
are to retain a level of ego energy that supports con-
tinued robust participation until physical decline in
the later years of life, they need jobs that are whole
rather than fragmented, and that offer a sense of dignity
and satisfaction rather than of mechanization and routine.
According to Lasch (1977), such jobs are beyond the reach
of the majority of the working force in the industrial
economy of the United States, and he sees the consequences
to be as grim as those indicated in this study by the
inexorable ego diffusion which marks the diminishing
life force of the middle and lower middle class men of
this sample, who are "old" before their time.

For these men, then, the organization of the
experience of mastery around career performance has
specific consequences. The same is true for the women
of this sample, in that the organization of the experi-
ence of mastery is structured around a focus on activity
as an expression of relatedness, and the life stage
differences in ego orientation reflected here revolve
around issues of affiliation.

High school girls are distinguished by a shift in
values that involves letting go a sense of active mastery

largely based on skills developed as students, and taking

on more passive attributes in preparation for marriage.

Lowenthal, Thurhner, and Chiriboga (1975) note that "All

of the girls see marriage and family as primary in their

lives.... In this study The occupational world did not

serve as a frame of reference for girls."[83] Further, in

an exploration of values, they report that:

> Among the younger groups, systematic value
> shifts were found only among high school girls,
> who showed a significant decline in personal
> growth values. The anticipated decline in
> values, centered on personal development,
> comes as something of a surprise from so young
> a group. For many of these young people,
> perceptions of responsibilities and rewards of
> marriage and family apparently precluded fur-
> ther opportunity for educational or avocational
> pursuits, or interest in the acquisition of new
> knowledge and skills.[84]

Though the giving up of instrumentality is voluntary,

in the interest of the achievement of the further goal of

marriage, it is not a conflict free transition. Such

conflict is also an important adjunct to the competitive

and winning stances that distinguish the newlywed women,

who are also focused on achieving identity through

affiliation. They have achieved their major goal in

life. Yet movement into marriage is movement into a

submissive role where the husband's dominance precludes

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[83]Marjorie Lowenthal, Majda Thurnher, and David
Chiriboga, <u>Four stages</u>, pp. 16 and 178.

[84]Ibid., p. 192.

their keeping their own points of view about how things
are. As a result, newlywed women show similar levels of
anxiety and frustration as those displayed by the middle-
aged men, and a similar peripheral ego diffusion. That
the individual organization of experience is weakened in
women by their commitment to relatedness is very evident
in the middle-aged group. The ambiguity which has begun
to erode the certainty of experiences in the newlywed
group appears here as a global amorphousness within which
there are no clear paths for action. The value orientation
of these women as explored by Lowenthal, Thurnher and
Chiriboga (1975) reveals that

> Ambitions toward personal achievement were often
> viewed as incompatible with the essential
> responsibility of raising a family: "Once you
> get married and have children, the task is just
> to see they are raised properly. Because unless
> your children develop well, you are bound to
> be unhappy no matter what else you do. To keep
> your home happy, your job is bound to be
> secondary."[85]

This focus on family tends to be a major point of
vulnerability for middle-aged women. For it is at this
period in their lives when their last child is about to
leave home, and their husbands are relatively unavailable
due to their own emotional isolation as well as their
preoccupation with anxiety and frustration over their
jobs, that the attention of these women is directed back
to themselves as individuals. Their primary experience

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[85]Ibid., p. 180.

of themselves has been as wives and mothers, and these experiences are no longer available to them in the old forms. The diffuseness in the structure of their experience at this point closely resembles that of the preretirement men. However, it differs in one important and pivotal way.

As previously discussed, ego function in later stage men is distinguished by relatively unavailable ego energy, marked by tentative or provisional assignment of structure to the organization of experience, and a degree of objectivity that gives rise to depersonalization.

The women of this stage more closely resemble both early stage men and women than they do their middle-aged male counterparts in that, though their energy is less than that of the earlier stages and is diffused, it has not become impersonalized as it has in the later stage males. This difference is pivotal in that the organization of experience around affiliation results in the integration of experience at a personal and relational level rather than in one of fragmentation and depersonalization.

A major consequence of this level of integration is that ego energy, rather than being bled out and drained away, remains accessible and can be utilized. Thus, though having a diffuseness of structure that matches that of the preretirement men, these women tend not to give up their efforts toward bringing a measure of coherence and control into their experience.

The difference between these two levels of integration is much clearer in the structure of experience as presented by the preretirement women. Their experience is much more clearly ordered than that of the middle-aged women, or either group of the later stage men. They are more solidly active and assertive. Lowenthal, Thurnher, and Chiriboga (1975) describe them as having a sense of self acceptance, competence, and independence, and as "...unique in their focus on assertiveness and competitiveness.... in short, just ...hitting their stride."[86] The basis for the active mastery that tends to characterize these women is the strength of experience as ordered from the self rather than from the outside, and embeddedness in a personalized rather than an objectified milieu.

Gutmann notes that older women are more energetically interactive with the world in general than are older men. However, he sees this involvement as springing not from active mastery, but from magical mastery, a stance from which "...they confabulate versions of reality which permit them to act in their accustomed and preferred ways."[87] He places them in this category because their ego mastery orientations are not characterized by the depersonalization which distinguishes those of men. He

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[87]David Gutmann, "An exploration of ego configurations." p. 147.

does not seem to be aware of the identity issue involved in acting in an "accustomed and preferred manner." Yet the literature suggests that individuals of either sex whose experience of identity is well grounded at the level of personal contribution tend to remain energetic and participative well into their later years (Sears, R., 1977; Sears and Barbee, 1977). Given the broader perspective of this study, which includes middle and lower middle class men and women at four normative stages of the life course, it becomes apparent that, at least for this sample, the integration of experience around impersonalized performance results in the early attenuation of ego energy, while the integration of experience at the personal and relational level allows for continuing vigorous and effective participation in life.

APPENDIX

EGO MASTERY TYPOLOGY - 1969

ACTIVE MASTERY

A. Promethean

1. Challenge and competition: The hero demonstrates his strength, usually in successful competition. However, the rope may break at the moment of triumph; and the respondent himself may deride the hero as a "show-off."

B. Productive-Autonomous

2. Productive effort: The hero strives vigorously, sometimes zestfully, towards a self-determined productive goal. He does not compete against others, nor flaunt his strength.

PASSIVE MASTERY

A. Anxious Constriction

3. Externalized inhibition: The hero is immobilized by environmental agents which do not collaborate with his action, or which block it; the rope is slack; the cliff is slippery.

4. Threat from internal or external aggression: The hero is threatened by destructive external forces; alternatively, the hero's aggression is turned against himself (suicide) or is out of control and constitutes a threat to others (the hero is homicidal).

5. Role dominated: The hero climbs, though without much involvement, for conventional purposes. Or, the respondent conforms to his role as subject by giving a minimal though accurate description of the card.

B. Syntonic Passivity

6. Somaticized passivity: The hero lacks force to match his purpose; he is tired or ill.

David Gutmann, The country of old men, 1969b, pp. 12-13.

7. Sensual receptivity: The hero has hedonic or security-seeking (rather than productive) purposes; he plays on the rope; he dives into water, he climbs to see something, to get a morsel of food, or to find his home.

MAGICAL MASTERY

8. The hero is not erect; or, the rope is not a rope (the hero is lying down; the hero is wounded; the rope is a snake, etc.).

EGO MASTERY TYPOLOGY - 1970

ACTIVE MASTERY (Alloplastic)

    1. Challenge and competition: Self Initiated and Successful striving against competition and challenge.

    2. .Productive-Autonomous: Self challenge, the hero strives vigorously toward a self-determined productive goal.

    3. Ambivalent: The hero is punished for self-initiated action.

PASSIVE MASTERY (autoplastic)

    4. Passive Inhibition: Movement limited by environmental threat; e.g., escape from fire. Action oriented toward maintaining the status quo.

    5. Passive Autonomy: The hero moves within limited perspective and with limited goals.

    6. Sensuality--Receptivity: Hedonistic; the hero looks toward external sources of supply which are either available, or ought to be.

    7. Perceptual Constriction: The respondent names the stimulus accurately, but in a minimal way.

MAGICAL MASTERY (perceptual distortion)

    8. Personal distortion: The respondent maximizes, at the expense of the stimulus, the bad and evil in the environment; e.g., the hero is fighting a snake.

    9. Denial: The respondent plays down the possibilities suggested by the card.

    10. Impersonal distortion: There is massive denial of the stimulus, or oranicity; e.g., the respondent cannot see the card.

    David Gutmann, given at visiting lecture for the Human Development and Aging (formerly the Adult Development Program) General Seminar, June 4, 1970.

1969 RATING FORM

TAT CONTENT ANALYSIS-17BM

(Rope Climber Card)

A. Location of power with reference to the environment:

   1. Internal: The hero acts effectively in the environment

   2. Ambiguous: Uncertain as to power location

   3. External: The hero is (heavily) influenced by the environment

B. Presence of environmental threat: (non-human)

   1. No, supportive environment.

   2. No, neutral environment.

   3. Yes, but the hero overcomes it.

   4. Yes, and the outcome is uncertain.

   5. Yes, and the hero is overcome.

C. Introduction of other people into the story:

   1. Yes

   2. No (skip D and E)

D. Introduced characters: presence of threat:

   1. No, supportive characters.

   2. No, neutral characters.

   3. Yes, but the hero overcomes it.

   4. Yes, and the outcome is uncertain.

   5. Yes, and the hero is overcome.

E. Introduced characters: current power location for hero:

   1. Hero acts independently of others.

2. Hero shares with others.

3. Hero is dependent on others.

F. The hero has limitations: (Score yes if either external or internal restraints to free action are mentioned.)

   1. No

   2. Yes

G. The hero's limitations are caused by:

   1. Self

   2. Others

   3. Environment

   4. No limitations

H. Introduction of non-human objects:

   1. Yes, and objects are positive and supportive.

   2. Yes, and objects are neutral, or balance between positive and negative.

   3. None introduced.

   4. Yes, and objects are negative.

I. Primary results of interaction with the environemnt:

   1. Success

   2. Pleasure

   3. Ambivalence as to outcome (story teller vacillates between alternatives)

   4. Failure

   5. Results of interaction not mentioned, or are not clear due to sparseness of response.

J. Presence of Striving: (intentional efforts toward a goal)

   1. High degree

   2. Medium

    3. Low

    4. Absent

K. Immobilization of hero:

    1. No

    2. Yes

L. Hero is involved in the task:

    1. Yes

    2. No

M. Time perspective (time tense or tenses of story)

    1. All (past, present, future)

    2. Future

    3. Future/Present

    4. Future/Past

    5. Present/Future

    6. Present

    7. Present/Past

    8. Past/Present

    9. Past

N. The Hero is Self Confident:

    1. Yes

    2. Ambivalent

    3. No

O. Hero's Orientation to the Rope

    1. Going Up

    2. Going Up and Doen

    3. Coming Down

4. Security Seeking (indirect threat)

5. Amusing Others

6. Desire for Admiration

7. Hostility, fear (direct confrontation of persons)

8. Not enough information given to score.

V. Affect Present (must be <u>mentioned</u>, in terms of enjoyment, confidence, fear, etc., or <u>described</u> in terms of facial/body expression. Do not read affect into the story)

W. If Affect is Present It Is:

1. Positive, expressed in terms of enjoyment, elation hope.

2. Positive, expressed in terms of confidence, satisfaction.

3. Negative, expressed in terms of fear.

4. Negative, expressed in terms of hostility.

X. The Hero is Lying Down or Wounded (not erect).

1. No

2. Yes

Y. The Rope is Not a Rope (Rope is a Snake, etc.):

1. No

2. Yes

Z. Presence of an aside that nullifies the major theme.

1. No

2. Yes

AA. The Rope.

1. Doesn't break

2. May break

3. Does break

4. Immobile

5. No Mention

P. Hero's current physical activity:

1. Active

2. Inactive

Q. The Focus of the Story is on the hero:

1. In action and/or showing someone how to do something thing.

2. Contemplating Action.

3. Rejecting Action.

4. Little or No Action: description of Hero, Body, Clothing, Position.

R. The Hero is a Show-off:

1. No

2. Yes

S. The Hero is Threatened by Self Action (Suicidal or Possibility of Injury)

1. No

2. Yes

T. The Hero Threatens Others (Homicidal)

1. No

2. Yes

U. Major Action Orientation.

1. Productive Effort (non-competitive goal orientation)

2. Competition and Challenge (showing strength)

3. Pleasure (personal)

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