Consciousness raising groups: a strategy for sex role liberation.

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CONSCIOUSNESS RAISING GROUPS: A STRATEGY
FOR SEX ROLE LIBERATION

A Dissertation Presented
By
ALICE G. SARGENT

Submitted to the Graduate School of the University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of DOCTOR OF EDUCATION
February 1974
CONSCIOUSNESS RAISING GROUPS: A STRATEGY
FOR SEX ROLE LIBERATION

A Dissertation
By
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February, 1974
For everything that was difficult in her position she blamed him . . . If he had loved her, he would have seen all the bitterness of her position, and would have rescued her from it.

Anna Karenina

In education, in marriage, in religion, in everything, disappointment is the lot of women. It shall be the business of my life to deepen this disappointment in every woman's heart until she bows down to it no longer.

Lucy Stone - 1855

In an important sense there is only one complete unblushing male in America: a young, married, white, urban, northern, heterosexual Protestant father, of college education, fully employed, of good complexion, weight, and height, and a recent record in sports. Any male who fails to qualify in any one of these ways is likely to view himself—during moments, at least—as unworthy, incomplete, and inferior; at times he is likely to pass and at times he is likely to find himself being apologetic or aggressive concerning known-about aspects of himself he knows are probably seen as undesirable.

Erving Goffman

There is a tacit assumption that somehow we know the dictates of the real self, and that we should live in terms of these rather than of a romanticized self-image or of the pseudo-self of other's expectation. But like understanding of "reality," such a real self is something to be discovered and created, not a given but a lifelong endeavor.

Helen M. Lynd

iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis has a long and complex heritage. It owes its origin to my family which encouraged women to be super-persons; adequate as both women and men. That includes my mother, Adele, my father, Harold, my brother, Bob, with whom there are exciting opportunities to grow alongside each other, my grandfather, Harry, my two competent and loving aunts, Ruth and Gertrude. That climate continues in my present family with Dann and Elizabeth to whom I am also all things. I appreciate their interest, patience, impatience, and love—all of which contributed.

There is the Human Relations Center and Don Carew who encouraged me to teach the course for five semesters which generated the content for this thesis. There are the students in the course who trustingly came to share openly in looking at some of the toughest issues of identity before any of us today. Their continuous growth was the greatest incentive and reassurance that what was going on was meaningful.

There is a most special friendship and colleagueship with Dee Appley which constantly attests to the strengths, warmth, and pain that two women can share with each other. There is my support group which has developed over the past several years at the University of Massachusetts and which is a frequent reminder of genuine interdependence between women and men. That includes, besides Dee, Herb Shepard who has stimulated a great deal of my personal and professional
growth over the past several years and who is now a special colleague; Joe Litterer who has contributed his vision, his encouragement, and his rich concern throughout; Don Carew who has shared important spaces with me more and more over a number of years, and this year Edie Seashore has invested and shared so much of her zest, her interest, and her help. It is clear that this is more than a thesis.

Its roots are the fibre of my life over the past several years. I am ever so grateful to all the people I’ve mentioned and to Al Ivey, my advisor, whose careful reading and re-reading and comments were ever so constructive, and who, at a number of crucial moments, struck the baton at the podium that helped me pull this together.

The rest of my extensive support system included five spectacular women: my mother, who helped take care of Elizabeth during the critical period when this thesis was launched; Mary Lou Stetka, who took care of and loved Elizabeth for three years while I worked; Elizabeth Kamansky who managed our home in an unbelievably orderly manner so I could work; Gertrude Streety who has cared about me for the past thirty-four years, this time being no exception; and Maaveret Sandler who not only typed this a number of times but encouraged me at each step to provide more for her to type. Without this network, a great deal less would have been possible and what did happen would not have been the deep caring, and fine learning experience that it was.
CONSCIOUSNESS RAISING GROUPS: A STRATEGY
FOR SEX-ROLE LIBERATION

by

Alice G. Sargent

Submitted to the University of Massachusetts
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of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Education

ABSTRACT

This thesis looks at the problem of the loss of human, social, and economic rights due to the present differentiation in sex roles. What is involved is a humanitarian issue, a social issue, a policy issue, a legal issue, and a behavioral issue. While the political implications are broad, this thesis restricts itself to individual behavior change, both attitudinal and overt acts.

The crucial stage with which this thesis deals is the first step in the consciousness raising process—that of developing awareness about sex-role stereotypes. Drawing upon psychological theory, this thesis describes the unfreezing process from a variety of viewpoints. In the Freudian analytical framework, what is involved is bringing into conscious awareness, repressed or denied material or analyzing models, habits, patterns. In cognitive theory terms, what is going on is developing a cognitive map or structure to explain behavior. In social learning terms, individuals are becoming aware with their social learning histories, significant models in their lives, and their reward contingencies.

This thesis develops a strategy for increasing individual awareness of present sex-linked behaviors and providing opportunities for change. The proposed model for consciousness raising groups is already available in models used in laboratory education. What this thesis contributes is a
specific set of structured experiences to increase awareness about sex role expectations and to facilitate opportunities to try out behavior change. Foundations for this change process stem from Bandura and Mischel's social learning theory explanation that personality development occurs through the direct and vicarious reinforcement of powerful and nurturant models: Zimbardo's and Collins' view of attitudes as another form of behavior: Sears' explanation of dependency and aggression; and Lewin's three stage change process in small groups: awareness/unfreezing, changing, and refreezing.

The major contribution of this dissertation is The Handbook for Consciousness Raising Groups, a series of forty-five exercises directed towards increasing awareness about sex-role stereotypes. These exercises were developed over a period of two and one-half years in a course on Sex Role Stereotypes. As a result of participating in the course, the men developed greater concern about the meaningfulness of their work; concern for taking the initiative to build more interdependent relationships with women; for finding more intimacy or broad-based involvements with men other than task or team relationships; and for being more nurturant and affectionate with their children. For women, the areas of change involve collaborative instead of competitive relationships with other women, which includes sharing competence and being more assertive and freer among women; being more assertive in all social roles: worker, spouse, mother, daughter, friend; enjoying a sense of mutuality in relationships with men; feeling more in control of their lives, and hence learning to live more for themselves.

In order to measure the outcomes, the TAT was administered as a pre- and post-test to twelve females and nine males who were exposed to forty-five and one-half hours of consciousness raising experiences. Significant changes were noted for the men in increase and decrease of the affiliation motive which indicated a concern for interpersonal relationships and friendships. There were no significant changes noted for women in affiliation, achievement, or power motive. The women were a unique sample since their achievement scores were higher and their affiliation scores were lower than the men, which is not usually the case.
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 CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

There is currently a revolution taking place in the culture in the roles and the expectations of men and women. To some extent this revolution may be attributed to external conditions, i.e., the post-Darwinian era in which the concern is for over-population and the value of human resources as opposed to the competitive survival of the species; the increased awareness of the importance of good parenting; the increase in the divorce rate; the affirmative action program; the Civil Rights Movement; the creation of a political climate rather than a climate for social action, followed by Black Power and by Black Nationalism; the awareness of white racism which coincides with the concern for institutional racism; the ecologists' concern for wasted resources, more particularly human resources; the need for more talent such as managers in the work force; and suspicion of therapy and the medical fields.

Another revolution is taking place in the law with respect to women's rights. The 1963 Equal Pay Act; the 1963 President's Report on the Status of Women; Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act; the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and its guidelines over the past seven years; and the Equal Rights Amendment: all make public
the degree to which women are an oppressed group. At a time when Black people are demanding a portion of the power, consider the following figures: 1 per cent of the engineers are women; 2½ per cent of lawyers are women; 7 per cent of physicians are women. (The latter may be compared to 33 per cent of the engineers, and 70 per cent of the physicians in the Soviet Union, although in the U.S.S.R. there is the other issue that while women work, they also are traditional homemakers). Consider that four out of five women are in seven fields: teaching, nursing, music, social work, accounting, auditing, and library work. Consider the 1970 median incomes of full-time workers: white men--$9,373; minority men--$6,598; white women--$5,490, and minority women--$4,674.

Women are beginning to participate in consciousness raising groups around the country in order to examine their role and their dissatisfactions. They are beginning to be aware that they have much in common; that is, that as women they learned submission rather than dominance; they learned to compete with other women for the approval of men rather than to collaborate with women or men; and they learned to live for others, especially their husband and children, rather than for themselves.

Concurrently, men have become dissatisfied with their single-minded existence, their career-oriented life style in which they are servants of the megamachine. Men are expressing unhappiness over the lack of intimacy in their
own lives and their lack of involvement in their children's lives. There is a growing awareness among both men and women that they are not alone in their feelings. As both sexes test out new behaviors which are not sex-linked, there will be massive changes and much will be learned about child-rearing practices, how sex differences are acquired, and which sex-linked behaviors are most amenable to change.

This dissertation attempts to examine a change strategy to facilitate cultural change through the development of non-sex role linked behavior. Specifically, it will look at the structure of consciousness raising groups and their effectiveness for resocializing men and women. Consciousness raising defines both "the form and content of much of the activity of the movement." It is a small group--seven to fifteen persons--who meet to engage in discussions, much of which involves personal sharing of feelings about what it means to be a man or a woman. The inherent assumption is that a mass liberation movement will develop as more and more people raise their consciousness.

Kathie Sarachild describes her consciousness raising group as being personal and political when she says:

We always stay in touch with our feelings. . . .we assume that our feelings . . . mean something worth analyzing . . . In our groups, let's share our feelings and pool them. Let's let ourselves go and see where our feelings lead us. Our feelings will lead us to ideas and then to action . . . our primary task now is to awaken 'class' consciousness in ourselves and others on a mass scale. . . . Women need to recognize at the deepest emotional level their own contained resentment flowing from frustrated aspirations, their loneliness
as the givers of understanding who are themselves not understood.

Men's consciousness raising groups discuss their sex-role expectations, how they are oppressed, their relationships with women, their work, sexual expectations, competition, being a father, what it takes to be popular as a man, difficulty in expressing feelings, showing dependency and homosexuality. In Chicago, a men's group organized and named themselves MAC (Men Against Cool). Pleck (1972) says that:

... among some, the acceptable male role is changing in the direction of less emphasis on instrumental and organizational involvements to a greater emphasis on expressivity. This has major implications for men's relationships to women, fatherhood, male affiliation, and work.

Sexism in Our Society

A. The Problem

Jesse Barnard (1971) describes sexism as "the unconscious, taken-for-granted assumed, unquestioned, unexamined, unchallenged acceptance of the belief that the world as it looks to men is the only world, that the ways of dealing with it which men have evolved are the only ones, that the way sex looks to men is the only way it can look to anyone, what men think about what women are like is the only way to think about what women are like."

For example, as Chesler (1972) notes, characteristic female behaviors and ideals as described by men include: "self-sacrifice, masochism, reproductive narcissism,
compassionate maternity, dependency, sexual timidity, unhappiness, father-worship, and the overwhelming dislike and devaluation of women." Yet such behaviors on the part of women have been developed in response to the patriarchal culture and modern parent-daughter relationships. Women have simply been behaving in the way the culture expected them to and rewarded them. Developing awareness about sexism means getting in touch with what the implications are in this culture for being a woman or a man.

Our society is undergoing major changes in the access to power, responsibility, and opportunity among the races and the sexes. Third World people, and now women, are demanding a share of what has been the exclusive province of white men. The Women's Movement feels as if it is about three years behind the Black Movement. Black people have begun actively to overcome submission and oppression. Women are just beginning to move out of dependency to take their place as active participants in all sectors of society.

Just as black people have gone through separatism, women, too, want to explore with other women how to change, rather than automatically to adopt the values of white men, thereby continuing a patriarchal, hierarchial, competitive, non-collaborative, alienated, non-intimate society. The current division of labor in our society has allocated to women responsibility for intimacy and connectedness with men, and to men the values of work, power, and achievement.

Just as women are beginning to question their role
"boxes," so too, men are looking at the costs of being squashed into roles. Men are becoming aware that they have lost contact with their feelings, with a sense of a total self, and with a sense of purpose other than to achieve. Holmstrom (1972) points out there is an increasing drop-out among thirty-five to forty-five-year-old successful men who are frustrated because the rigidity of occupations means they must choose either themselves, their work, or their family.

Joans-Schwartz (1970) defines oppression as:
1) when one group defines another group in terms of behavior, i.e., roles and rules;
2) when there is unequal relationship and little or no chance to change it;
3) when you are born into the category; therefore, you had no choice of being or not being in the category;
4) you need not be aware of the oppression to be oppressed.

John Stuart Mill, in On the Subjugation of Women, cites an example of oppression:

Though women do not complain of the power of husbands, each complains of her own husband, or of the husbands of her friends. It is the same in all other cases of servitude; at least in the commencement of the emancipatory movement. The serfs did not at first complain of the power of their lords, but only of their tyranny.

The problem of sexism exists because of (1) mystification. There is a lack of awareness that the problem is a
social problem and not merely a personal problem and probably has a personal, social, and political solution. Until recently, many women and men who chafed under the constraints of their roles felt maladjusted, personally inadequate, insecure, rather than feeling that societal expectations were unreasonable. The effect of a consciousness raising experience is to point out to women and men how much they have in common. For some women it is a real awakening to discover other women for whom motherhood is not a totally satisfying experience; for some men it is an enormous relief to discover that being responsible all the time is not stimulating for other men. Demystification comes about by getting in touch with what the cultural expectations are and with how others feel about them.

The problem of sexism exists because of the perceived (2) lack of psychological strength by men and women to change a sexist system; schools, the family, and work.

The Redstockings' Manifesto, July 7, 1969, says:

Because we have lived so intimately with our oppressors, in isolation from each other, we have been kept from seeing our personal suffering as a political condition. This creates the illusion that a woman's relationship with her man is a matter of interplay between two unique personalities, and can be worked out individually. In reality, every such relationship is a class relationship, and the conflicts between individual men and women are political conflicts that can only be solved collectively.

This manifesto could be applied equally to women's relations with men at home and at work, to relations among men, and to relations between men and women.
The problem of sexism exists because of the (3) lack of awareness of its dimensions and the lack of knowledge of how to deal with this social problem. Only recently have there been widespread social efforts through consciousness raising groups; national organizations (Women's Political Caucus, NOW, Association of Feminist Consultants); and the Affirmative Action program to effect change collectively. The very process of consciousness raising works to overcome the psychological isolation of women. Women are a political group, a "class," and can exercise political power if they form a coalition.

B. The Approach

Strategies to combat sexism. Effective change strategies to encourage alternatives to presently defined masculine and feminine behavior need:

1) to create widespread consciousness/awareness through demystification about the cultural context in which people learn sex-roles and about institutional power realities (self-awareness);

2) to support self confrontation, exploration of new behaviors, changes in personal life styles, (interpersonal support systems);

3) to develop social change strategies to eliminate sexism, where what is required is not only personal change but also political activity, and culture change;
4) to change institutions; and 
5) to facilitate cultural change.

In order to raise personal consciousness regarding men's and women's behavior, changes in feelings, values, assumptions, perceptions, and cognitive structures are required. The first step in the change strategy and the one to which this dissertation is devoted is consciousness raising in order to help people develop awareness of sex-role stereotypes and the advantages and limits of their sex-roles. This unfreezing process will be facilitated through readings, talks, data collection by women and men on each other, data collection on one's own socialization process, all in the context of a consciousness raising group where others are available to share their experiences. As men become aware of what being a man has meant for them and as women do the same, they are freer to regulate their behavior. They can decide what behaviors they want to shed, what they want to retain, and what to add to their repertoire.

If change in sex-linked behaviors is to be facilitated, then the first task in the small group experience is to loosen this fixed set of available behaviors. The group offers a rich setting in which to raise consciousness about sex-linked behaviors, explore new behaviors, and to develop an alternative culture.

Shepard (1970) characterized the personal growth group or consciousness raising group as a "resocializing
institution, that provides conditions that disconfirm some mechanistic assumptions." Such a group affirms the possibility of what a "different world could be like and provides a practical model of what it would be like. The alienating forces the participants bring with them to the laboratory largely disappear in this new setting of caring and active listening to each other."

One of the ways such a group functions to facilitate change is to hold up each norm before it is taken on by the group, so that members do not simply carry over all the behaviors of the outside culture. The group decides whether to accept that norm or to develop a new one. For example, in this group are the women going to compete with each other the way they usually do, or is this group different? Are the men not going to show affection to other men as usual, or will they be able to express feelings of caring spontaneously?

The consciousness raising group is an alternative culture insofar as:

1) there is the opportunity to develop a new set of norms;

2) status rankings do not transfer easily;

3) the system of rewards and punishments is open to the group for defining and redefining;

4) participants may find that his/her experiences in the group "upend" her or disconfirm him. Behavior for which he/she has previously been
rewarded (i.e., dominance for men, submission for women) is no longer acceptable; and

5. through the process of feedback, information becomes immediately available about a person's impact on other people, (i.e., it hurts me when my feelings are ignored; or, you sound angry, but you look frightened).

It is not sufficient to say that if people communicate with each other and respond to each other's needs, social change will take place. There are cultural differences, value differences, and drastic inequities in the current allocation of power in our society. Jones (1971) says: "The culture creates and determines the nature of its institutions. The institutions socialize the individuals and the individuals perpetuate the cultural character."

The culture through its institutions has distributed inequitable privileges to men while limiting the life options of both women and men through role expectation. New members of the culture will continue to be socialized along these lines until there is massive change.

The fourth step involves a program of social action to challenge the institutional sexism which is all pervasive in our society. In order to alter the existing power structure each person needs to be intentional about the impact of his/her behavior on others, particularly on those who feel powerless. If a woman has been successful on her own and is not concerned for other women's search for
identity and search for a meaningful place in society, she is, in fact, part of the problem and not a neutral force, and most certainly not part of the solution to inequality. If a man is getting ahead at the expense of women, he must recognize that he, too, is part of the problem. Men and women need to join together to alter patterns of sexism in the family, work, and governmental institutions.

This dissertation will focus primarily on only one approach to combat sexism in our culture, i.e., creating widespread consciousness in individuals about the strengths and weaknesses of the current allocation of sex role behavior. The process of personal liberation through consciousness raising is an arduous course to follow to create massive cultural change. Until a critical mass of women who have participated in this process develops, the effect is almost unnoticeable except in individual households and organizations around the country. Mass education, if it worked, would be much more efficient. Political change through the election of women, giving women more power in any sector of the society would be even more effective. To follow either of these other strategies, it seems necessary first--just as it was with black people--that a critical mass of women needs to have awareness of what their own culture is like and what effect the larger culture has had on them. Consciousness raising seems a possible, albeit time-consuming strategy, for this stage. Subsequently, these women who have worked on their own personal unique
liberation can mobilize for widespread social and political change.

C. A Specific Program for Consciousness Raising

Forty-five exercises and topics will be suggested for use as a guide by people who want to engage in consciousness raising. These exercises are designed to:

1) help the members of a support group become acquainted and comfortable with each other by starting with people where they are;

2) help the members of a support group recognize similarities and differences among men and women;

3) help each person be more in touch with his/her own sex stereotype and how that stereotype enhances and limits the person's options in personality, in educational choices, in career choices, and in family alternatives;

4) help members of the group, if they want, to test out new ways of behaving that express the person more and the role prescription less, that show the person the choice between feeling more in control of his/her behavior as opposed to merely responding to societal expectations.

There are a number of schema which will be discussed for utilizing these exercises either in a two-day extended session with six to eight follow-up sessions or in weekly
sessions. They may be used in leader or leaderless groups.

The premise upon which these exercises are constructed is that if meaningful change is to take place for either sex, then it must occur for both. Therefore, the theoretical frame of reference is to look at the development of sex typing in both men and women to find differences and similarities. A heterogeneous consciousness raising group does not imply that both sexes meet in the same room always at the same time. In fact, in the design of the sample workshop it is suggested that some time be spent in separate sex groups and some time jointly. One of the problems this design strives to deal with is that when men or women who have been in a homogeneous group attempt to practice their new behavior they may encounter rejection, anger, or scorn. All they can do is to return to their single sex group with a description of the events. Whereas if they rehearse their new behavior in a mixed group they can get immediate feedback, help with that behavior, and maybe an opportunity to try out still another form of new behavior in the group.

This dissertation will be organized as follows:

I. Introduction and Rationale: Sexism is a problem for men and women and consciousness raising is a strategy for dealing with it.

II. Development of Sex Differences: Theory and Research.

a. An outline of theories of personality development with regard to sex-typing.
b. A summary of the literature on the
development of sex differences.

III. Development of Small Group Movement: Theory
and Research.

IV. A Theory of Resocialization through Conscious-
ness Raising Groups.

V. Methodology: Exercises.

VI. Evaluation and Discussion
   a. Programmatic
   b. Experimental

VII. Implications
Anyone involved in role liberation, as is someone who is a leader or member of a consciousness raising group, needs to have an understanding of sex role development. There are a variety of theories which explain how socialization of sex differences takes place in this culture, how these differences are maintained by the culture, and how sex-typing may be changed through resocialization, and hence the development of a different culture. What follows is an outline of four relevant theories and a discussion of how they deal with sex-typing. They are in no way intended to superimpose a monolithic theory, but rather to present some of the major issues in the field.

The four significant theoretical positions in psychology on sex-typing to be discussed are: Freud's psychoanalytical theory, Kohlberg's and Festinger's cognitive theories; Robert Sears psychoanalytic-learning theory; and Bandura and Mischel's social learning theory. At the conclusion of the discussion of each theory its relevance to consciousness raising will be briefly described.

The process of consciousness raising helps the participants to increase awareness about the development of a sex role identity. Lewin (1948) described the awareness
process as unfreezing, in which persons learn about their patterns of behavior and the constructs governing them and then feel the need to change. This notion of awareness as unfreezing will be discussed in relation to each of the four theoretical positions outlined in this chapter.

A. The Process of Sex Role Socialization and the Concept of Identification

1. Identification and Psychoanalytic Theory

The concept of identification is probably the single most relevant idea in the field of personality theory for conceptualizing the ways in which different theories have approached the development of sex differences.

Psychology owes this concept to Freud (1917) who first proposed that people get to be like the important "objects" (i.e., people) to whom they relate. Freud described a three-stage process for the development of identification. First, there is a primary identification at a stage before the infant can distinguish between himself and the external world. Identification is the earliest expression of an emotional tie with another person. It is a process by which children through an emotional attachment to an adult figure learn to develop similar attributes and behavior. In psychoanalytic theory, underlying the identification process is the dependency motive. Freud consistently sees identification as based on an "emotional tie with another person or object." Furthermore, the major
source of a child's sexual identity is the behavior of the same sexed parent.

Second, when the child can distinguish between himself/herself and others there develops a libidinal attachment to the parent objects. This form of identification as incorporation is an anaclitic (dependent) object choice, a preliminary asexual identification based on fear of loss of love, with the persons responsible for the care, feeding, and protection of the child.

Third, Freud (1904) in conjunction with his work with Little Hans, a five-year-old boy, had described Hans as having introjected his father who, in fact, was quite punitive. Anna Freud articulated the classic phrase for this phenomenon "identification with the aggressor." Freud characterized the relationship as follows: Hans has two ties: "... a straightforward sexual object-cathexis towards his mother and an identification with his father whom he takes as his model ..." Eventually, Hans notices that "his father stands in the way with his mother. His identification with his father then takes on a hostile coloring and becomes identical with the wish to replace his father in regard to his mother as well." Freud describes this process as occurring between the ages of four and one-half and five. Identification with the father reduces the fear of castration. Since girls are already "castrated," Freud assumed that fear of loss of love was the most important motive for girls and identification with the aggressor was
the most important motive for boys.

Fourth, due to a fear of loss of the object, or to an injury, or to an actual loss, the object cathexis is abandoned and withdrawn through introjection of the object into the ego. The individual then establishes identification with the internal image of the abandoned object.

The psychoanalytic school assumes that individuals develop a core personality and that behavior is the indicator of inferred or underlying dispositions, traits, or motives. Psychoanalytic theory assumes the existence of stable, underlying forces such as the sexual or aggressive instincts. In Freudian theory sex-typing suddenly takes place with a resolution of the oedipal feelings. Other theories see sex-typing as a much more gradual process of learning and reinforcement.

Freud's influence is so pervasive that no one today would think of disregarding the topic of mothers' and fathers' influence on sex-typing in a consciousness raising group. Nor would they be able to ignore the two basic dimensions Freud pointed to which differentiate the behavior of men and women: aggression for men and dependency for women. Much of the current discussion about psychological sex differences revolves around these polarities: men as dominant, initiative takers, forthright, aggressive, assertive; and women as dependent, reactive, passive, nurturing, non-initiative taking, and "bitchy."

Some of the criticism of Freud by the Women's Movement
stems from the problem that while Freud was describing "what is," many practitioners including Freud himself, have taken his statements to be what ought to be. Hence, treatment since Freud has to a great extent been devoted to helping people adjust and maintain the sex role differences he described rather than to break out of the roles.

Freud had a double standard of mental health for men and women. His view of women was quite limited, since it was based primarily on the kinds of "patients" he saw. Hence, women were "hysteric," "frigid," "fragile," "narcissistic," "passive," envious of penises and "depressed." Freud (1956) said "women refuse to accept the fact of being castrated and have the hope of someday obtaining a penis in spite of everything . . ." Freud (1933) said, "We say also of women that their social interests are weaker than those of men and that their capacity for the sublimation of their interests is less . . . The difficult development which leads to femininity seems to exhaust all the possibilities of the individual." It is clear why some feminists, notable among them Shulamith Firestone and Phyllis Chesler, are concerned that Freudian theory be reviewed critically.

The entire notion of psychoanalysis is based on the concept of heightening awareness or unfreezing the person so that he/she is in touch with heretofore unconscious patterns of behavior. Having made the unconscious conscious, the person must now either assume responsibility for maintaining these old patterns of behavior or else changing them,
since he/she can no longer repress their existence.

2. Identification and Cognitive Theory

Kohlberg (1970) influenced by Piaget, said that self-categorizations of gender become the fundamental organizers of sex role. Kohlberg said recent research indicates that:

... children develop a conception of themselves as having an unchangeable sexual identity at the same age and through the same processes that they develop conceptions of the invariable identity of physical objects. ... The child's sexual identity is maintained by a motivated adaptation to physical-social reality and by the need to preserve a stable and positive self-image.

The individual tells himself/herself: I know I am a girl or boy. I will watch other girls or boys behave, and I will behave in like manner. This selection of behavior from sex role stereotypes leads to the development of masculine/feminine values in children. Yet sex typing is taking place prior to the point where the child learns these concepts.

While Kohlberg very clearly takes account of the role of the cognitive process through self-categorization as the basic organizer for sex role, he gives the expectation that the product is going to be a relatively self consistent package. Consider the vastness of the category of male and female: there must be endless ways of being consistently a boy or a girl. Kohlberg's only allowance of additional causes as to the way in which selections are made within categories is to say of course the child's sex role may be
influenced by certain environmental variables. Nor does he value the importance of the same sex parent in shaping sex roles. He goes so far as to say, "It is not at all clear whether certain parental attitudes can create conflict and anxieties inhibiting the development of appropriate sex role attitudes."

Kohlberg says that after masculine/feminine values are acquired, the child tends to identify with like sex figures. This process is the reverse in sequence in social learning theory in which identification occurs first, then modeling, and then the development of masculine/feminine values. While cognitive consistency theory does serve to explain how individuals select new sex-linked behavior after they have reached the stage of concept formation, it still does not deal sufficiently with the effects of the rewards and punishments being directly administered in the environment.

Another issue is that cognitions may be viewed as behaviors as they are now by Kohlberg and most psychologists or they may be regarded as a different order of responses, e.g., attitudes, as Festinger did. Festinger (1954) stated that there is little evidence that alterations in attitudes or beliefs produce changes in relevant behavior. Festinger (1957) said it is likely that behavior and attitudes do not correlate, that they are under the control of different reward systems. Brehm and Cohen (1962) said it is also more likely that cognitive and value changes may follow after
new behaviors have been performed.

A research example in support of Festinger is Brody's (1965) study of relations between maternal attitudes and child rearing styles. Only seven out of fifteen constructs espoused by mothers correlated with their actual behavior. Hence, there was only a 50 per cent—-one out of two—-relationship between expressed maternal attitudes toward child rearing and direct observation measures of the mother's behavior toward the child.

Whereas Kiesler, Collins, and Miller (1962) in agreement with Kohlberg, hold that if attitudes and behaviors appear to be in disagreement, what is going on is an inconsistency in two different situations, since attitudes are simply another kind of behavior. Zimbardo and Ebbesen (1969) divide attitudes into three components: affect, cognition, and behavior. The affective attitude consists of the person's emotional response to some object or person. The cognitive component consists of the person's beliefs about, or factual knowledge of, the object or person. The behavioral component consists of the person's overt behavior directed toward the object or person. The three components can be measured differently. The affective components can be measured by physiological responses or verbal statements of likes and dislikes. The cognitive component can be measured by self-ratings of beliefs or self reports of knowledge about the topic. The behavioral component can be measured by direct observation of behavior.
Cognitive behaviors are more malleable, as demonstrated in the Asch (1946) experiment. Subjects shifted their attitudes about the length of lines radically if they were discrepant with others in the group. By contrast, overt behaviors are not quite as flexible as the verbalized attitudes in the Asch study. For example, it is a very different behavior to say, "I think it is fine to combine motherhood and work," versus actually being a working mother, or being the spouse or child of a working mother. Another example is that people claim verbally that they do not hold discriminatory attitudes, yet their behavior communicates a different message in terms of where they live, with whom they associate, and where their children go to school.

In an effective consciousness raising group, affect, cognition, and behavior are hopefully dealt with, although there is more emphasis certainly in the beginning on affect and cognition. Awareness is created or unfreezing takes place as men and women learn to make discriminations about sex role related cognitions and behavior. It is frequently much more expedient in a consciousness raising group to provide an alternate cognition to generate awareness, than to go through all the steps necessary to reshape the behavior. For example, it is easier to say, "Does this group intend to maintain the norms of the outside culture that women cannot show too much anger directly and men cannot show dependency, or does this group want to try to be an alternative culture?"

In contrast, a shaping procedure to affect change without
restructuring the cognition might entail many mistrials or many efforts at reinforcement before the group could look at the behavior. If a woman member of the group, particularly the leader, gets angry, or a man in the group makes himself vulnerable by crying, the group may be so threatened by the behavior they will deny that behavior or scapegoat the person who displayed it by making it deviant behavior only related to that person. In some situations where the norms are so ingrained, it is essential to begin to restructure cognitions before new behaviors are tried.

Lest this process sound direct or simple, as Freud made only too clear, the complexity of people is such that if they do not want to hear a cognition or let it permeate, they will not deal with it. Hence, the statement "women have trouble expressing anger and men have difficulty expressing pain" may be recycled in a group ad infinitum before it is heard, to say nothing of internalized by some members of the group.

If the members of the group are reinforced for their new non-sex role related behavior by other group members and by their own feelings of being freer or more authentic, and by people outside the group, then behavior and attitude change may take place. The first change as a result of a consciousness raising experience is likely to be attitude change. Some of the members of the consciousness raising group may choose to relabel themselves as androgynous persons once they have selected from all the behaviors available to
both men and women.

3. Identification and Social Learning Theory

Social learning theory has its roots in behaviorism. The terms, traits, motives, and instincts in psychodynamic theory can be translated as roughly equivalent to a "pre-disposition" in social learning theory terms. Given the fact that persons have a social learning history, they have a predisposition to behave in a certain way. The notion of "introjection" of the identified object, whether a parent model or a fictional model, can be described as "internalization," i.e., learning the model's characteristics.

Mischel (1968) claims Freud said that identification produces imitation whereas in social learning theory terms Bandura says imitation produces identification. Imitation refers to the tendency for a person to reproduce actions and attitudes exhibited by real life or symbolic figures. Observational learning is the social learning theory equivalent of "imitation." Mischel says in observational learning the person incorporates in his/her behavioral repertoire, the behavior of the model, either the verbal behavior or actual behavior. Social learning theory unlike psychoanalytic theory breaks identification down into numerous behaviors. There are multiple models including parents, siblings, friends, teachers, television, etc.

Social learning theory says the child is aware of and
then learns, and tries out the behavior of both parents which includes both sexes, but the environment does not support or else punishes "inappropriate" behavior. Social learning theory does not view socialization as the relatively homogeneous product of a unitary identification process. The theory and research look at more circumscribed units of behavior, more specific situational determinants and the different attributes of models. Some models are more powerful than others.

Bandura (1969) says the factors which determine the degree of influence the model has are: 1) high power or control over the person's life as with a teacher; 2) high rewardingness by being highly nurturant or affiliative; 3) similarity between model and observer, for example, same sex. The effect of modeling depends upon the nature of the behavior being modeled. There is differential attentiveness by those observing the model depending upon whether the behavior is sex typed or neutral. In some situations children adopt the behavior of their peers, while in others, those same children follow the adults. For example, in self-reward experiments they are much more likely to follow adults.

Social learning theory shows the influence of social psychology and cognitive theory on it through the incorporation of expectancy theory (Rotter, Atkinson, Lewin). Expectancy theory states that what you do in a given situation relates to your expectation regarding the consequences of that behavior in that situation. Thus, behavior can be
affected significantly by altering the individual's expectation. For example, if aggression is frightening for women, change the expectancy—by instrumental conditioning, through information giving, i.e., "It is all right in this group for women to experiment with new behavior, for example, to get angry."

Irons (1972) has obtained differential results in her pilot study of "aggression" among fourth grade boys and girls depending upon whether there is an adult present or not. If the adult is present, the girls demonstrate less of a tendency to hurt other subjects than boys, whereas if the adult is absent, the girls equal the boys in "aggressive" behavior. If the girls were to be told the adult thought it was all right for girls to be aggressive, thereby altering their expectation, it is possible that the girls' behavior would be identical with the boys even with the adult in the room.

The major impact of social learning theory has been the concept that each person has a unique social learning history of role models and rewards and punishments for past behavior which has shaped his/her repertoire. These behaviors have been in particular social contexts social learning theorists claim, rather than in general orientations as Freud thought. Hence, they are much more malleable to reshaping than psychoanalysts contended.

One of the major goals of consciousness raising is to help each person bring into awareness his/her social learning
history in order to understand which specific behaviors are sex-linked. Having recognized that he or she may be holding on to certain behaviors merely because they are appropriate to his/her sex role, the person is freer to choose whether to maintain that sex role or to give it up for another role or for more human-role free behavior. The consciousness raising group experience provides another opportunity to experience diversification in sex role models, namely aggressive women, timid women, sensitive men, assertive men, women who get angry, and men who cry. In further contrast to psychoanalysts, social learning theorists hold that both in the past and present, other models than parents are of great importance.

The consciousness raising group provides a secure temporary setting in which participants can rehearse new behavior, possibly non-sex-role-linked, to see how it feels and to get feedback on it. In order to complete the resocialization process, the members need ultimately to try it out in their home environment.

4. Robert Sears: Identification and Psychoanalytic-learning Theory

The work of Robert Sears comes closest to providing a synthesis of psychoanalytic theory, social learning theory, and cognitive theory. Sears (1965) says the term sex typing

... refers to the developmental process... which is the link between the ascriptive act by the society, namely the parents, and the role performance by the
child. Somehow, once the society has agreed on a gender label, the gender-appropriate forms of behavior must be learned by the child . . . Sex typing results from the imposition on the child of a number of training practices that have the specific consequences of producing masculine or feminine qualities of behavior.

Sears (1957) concluded that dependent and aggressive behaviors are conveyed according to the sex of the child. Boys have the additional complication of experiencing reinforcement for dependency from the mother without benefit of sex appropriate modeling. Boys and girls acquire female, i.e., maternal styles of behaving with respect to dependency but the boy in addition has to depend upon a "cognitive map of male roles." With this statement Sears almost sounds like Kohlberg.

Demonstrating his Freudian ancestry, Sears (1957) said that identification has its roots in the early experiences of spontaneous imitation of behavior and reinforcement for imitating, and personal satisfaction in finding behavior of others in one's action. Sex differences and the socialization of such differences create normative developmental differences. Sears used the Freudian concept of identification plus a learning model to explain sex typing, adult role formation, self-control, self-recrimination, pro-social forms of aggression, guilt feelings, and other expressions of conscience. His major contributions to sex role theory are the longitudinal studies of child rearing practices and his intensive exploration of the socialization of the sex-linked behaviors of dependency, frustration and aggression.
Sears (1965) separated himself from psychodynamic theory. He said he

... had originally assumed that a dependency motivational system would provide the reinforcement of the imitative responses that constituted the new repertoire. There was no evidence in the data from the longitudinal studies, however, that any unitary concept of dependency was justified. In light of these considerations, the notion of the dependency drive as a source of reinforcement for imitation or modeling ... was abandoned.

Sears (1965) said, "In its eternal attempt to exemplify classificatory problems, Western civilization has almost always defined the two gender roles as opposites, e.g., activity--passivity, aggression-non-aggression, independence-dependence." Sears went on to elaborate in great depth on aggressive and dependency behaviors. Sears defined dependency behavior as: (1) negative attention getting, getting attention by disruption, aggressive activity with minimal provocation, defiance or oppositional behavior (e.g., opposing and resisting direction, rules, routines, and demands by ignoring, refusing, or doing the opposite); (2) reassurance seeking: apologizing, asking unnecessary permission, or seeking protection, comfort, consolation, help, or guidance; (3) positive attention seeking: seeking praise, seeking to gain an in-group by inviting cooperative activity, or actually interrupting a group activity in process; (4) touching and holding; and (5) being near: following or standing near a particular child or a group of children or an adult.

As well as being reinforced to some extent for
dependency behavior, boys are reinforced for masculinity, e.g., freedom of expression, taking control of things or people, mastery of his environment. Masculine attitudes in both boys and girls are reinforced through a high value being placed on social aggressiveness and freedom of expression—and a tendency by the parents for permissiveness. Whereas high standards for manners, careful toilet training, inhibition of overt expression of aggression, and sex anxieties— in other words the tendency toward restrictiveness—seem to contribute toward feminization of boys and girls.

Sears says aggression arises in response to frustrations which are part of life. It is a form of anger or rage frequently viewed as a response to a frustrated drive. When the frustrated infant cries out in rage, he/she develops a cognitive map that this behavior may produce a response to his/her needs. She/he learns to use aggression to produce compliance. Furthermore, by hurting the frustrator, he/she may insure receiving that which is withheld. Both extensive permissiveness and extensive restraint foster aggressive behavior. Punishment of aggressive behavior occurs too late after the aggressive act has taken place and after tension reduction. Therefore the person has already been reinforced for the aggressive action. If the punishment is severe, it serves only to introduce new frustration without providing an outlet for the concommittant aggression.

In addition, Sears (1965) found that permissiveness
for aggression increases aggressiveness toward the parent, but decreases it outside the home; while non-permissiveness toward aggression decreases it at home but results in greater aggressiveness in school and elsewhere.

Sears' work is rich in pointing out significant theoretical and research questions for the field of sex differences and child rearing. However, his longitudinal studies have been questioned on so many grounds by Mischel (1968), most specifically for the use of self-report by the mothers instead of careful observation of maternal behavior, that there is little that is conclusive from a research standpoint about them.

Sears' expansion of the concepts of dependency and aggression into pro-social and anti-social aggression are significant delineations of behavior which is central to sex-typing. Sears raises the issue of how to allow boys to be dependent or passive, as girls have been. Such changes in behavior for boys and girls require the collaboration of parents, teachers, and television models all at once to facilitate changes in behavior acceptable within the child's peer groups. For women or men interested in alternatives in child rearing practices, Sears' work focuses the discussion on how to "allow" girls to express aggression in pro-social and anti-social ways without encouraging them to be destructive. Sears does not have answers to this issue, but Lazarus' (1971) assertiveness training provides
a possible model.

This chapter has reviewed four major theorists of sex-typing and has attempted to show how Robert Sears has synthesized three theories. Any theory of sex-typing needs to describe how sex differences are learned; if they are learned from various role models why were some models selected and not others? Why people have complied to fill their sex roles so well? What are the processes through which people go to give up their sex role boxes?

Regardless of which theory one uses, psychoanalytic theory, cognitive theory, and social learning theory all hold that much of the development of sex roles is learned behavior. Starting at a very early age, boys and girls learn sex appropriate behavior. The cognitive theorists claim that sex-typing begins to occur when the child tells himself/herself I am a girl or boy and therefore I must behave in a certain way. In contrast, psychoanalytic theorists and social learning theorists hold that the process commences at birth when the child begins to imitate highly rewarding and nurturant role models, namely parents. Some of the imitated behaviors are reinforced and others are punished, depending upon the sex of the child. The constellation of behaviors which relate quite heavily to sex roles are those surrounding dependency and aggression. Dependency, passivity, showing vulnerability and pain, all
tend to be allowed to girls and denied to boys. Whereas aggression, negative attention getting, physical strength, being tough, tend to be allowed for boys and denied to girls. Social learning theorists differ from psychoanalytic theorists in contending there are a number of significant models who influence the child's behavior besides the mother and father. These include the media, teachers, friends. Social learning theorists hold that children of either sex are quite familiar with the behaviors allowed to the other sex and need only to be in a situation where these behaviors are rewarded in order to exhibit them.

B. Some Recent Research on the Development of Sex Differences

Until recently psychological research on sex differences has not helped women or men to know much about how their culture influences their behavior. Nor have psychologists been concerned with what would help women or men to act differently. As Weisstein (1971) points out "until social expectations for men and women are equal, until we provide equal respect for both men and women, our answers to these questions will simply reflect our prejudices." Most psychologists interested in individual differences, namely Tyler and Anastasi, two women, regarded gender as an explanatory fact. Their summaries of the decades of research treat gender differences as given, just as they regarded traits within black and white people, lower, middle, and upper class people, men and women, in a similar
fashion. While the vast compilation of data is helpful, the lack of concern for the etiology is not. Their writings were viewed as providing parameters for sex-linked behavior, a misfortune which has yet to be undone.

Anastasi (1958) somewhat preceded her time in recognizing the problem of treating individual differences as causal factors rather than antecedent factors. Writing at the same time and in the same manner as Tyler, Anastasi takes account of the differences between cultures. For example, she writes while male dominance is pervasive in different cultures, "the amount of such sex differences in dominance varies widely from culture to culture as does the manner in which it is expressed." Sex differentiation with respect to occupations for adults differs greatly from culture, as does play activity for children.

Anastasi cites the outstanding research of Margaret Mead (1935) which was being overlooked by most at that time and only now is beginning to receive proper attention. Mead notes, regarding play activities in other cultures, that when dolls were presented to children on the island of Manus in New Guinea for the first time, it was the boys, not the girls, who were eager to play with them. They crooned lullabies and behaved like parents. Their behavior, in fact, imitated their parents, since it is the fathers who are principally responsible for child care on the island.

These contradictory traits of temperament, which different societies have regarded as sex-linked, are merely
human potentialities specialized as the behavior of one sex. Mead writes:

We are forced to conclude that human nature is almost unbelievably malleable, responding accurately and contrastingly to contrasting cultural conditions. The differences between individuals who are members of different cultures, like the differences between individuals within a culture, are almost entirely to be laid to differences in conditioning, especially during early childhood, and the form of this conditioning is culturally determined. Standardized personality differences between the sexes are of this order; cultural creations to which each generation, male and female, is trained to conform.

Mead was a pioneer in pointing out the significance of the culture in influencing sex-linked behavior. Psychological research only recently has begun to ask questions about how the culture supports sex differentiation.

Another issue in the field of the psychology of sex differences is that some of the most influential theorists with regard to the development of sex differences were clinicians rather than researchers. Freud and Erikson are prime examples.

The Women's Movement has raised significant questions about both. No longer will Erikson's famous statement wield the same prescriptive power that a woman's "... somatic design harbors an 'inner space' destined to bear the offspring of chosen men, and with it a biological, psychological, and ethical commitment to take care of human infancy."

Rheingold (1964), a psychiatrist at Harvard Medical School, said:
anatomy decrees the life of a woman... when women grow up without dread of their biological functions and without subversion by feminist doctrine, and therefore enter upon motherhood with a sense of fulfillment and altruistic sentiment, we shall attain the goal of a good life and a secure world in which to live it.

A notable sociologist, Parsons (1955), classified the male role as basically instrumental and the female role as expressive.

For a number of years the model for research on sex differences has emanated from just such a sense as Rheingold and Parsons that there were innate individual differences between the sexes, such as a maternal instinct, or at a minimum the research did not ask questions as to what was maintaining these differences. For example, in Terman and Tyler's (1946) review of sex differences, they state that "girls have a lower rate of delinquency, have fewer school and home problems leading to clinic referral, and are rated higher by peers and teachers for various moral traits." They do not go on to speculate about what in child rearing practices is shaping girls to behave this way, or how girls do express anger if they are so compliant.

Tyler (1947) reports "males tend to be higher in tests involving mathematical, spatial, and mechanical materials. Females average higher in verbal, perceptual, and memory tests, and in dexterity tests involving light, swift hand movements." Nowhere in her writing is there to be found any speculation about why women score this way on these tests. She presents the data as a fact that is not tied to
any effect the culture may be having on the individual.

Maccoby (1966) is still carrying on such research. She said that there are no intellectual differences among boys and girls until high school, not even differences in field dependence at the age of five which others claim exists. However, in high school girls begin to do poorly in arithmetic reasoning but Maccoby goes on to add--which Tyler did not--"just as everyone expected they would." As Mussen (1969) points out, some students become intelligent if teachers are given higher IQ scores for them, and rats run mazes better when experimenters are told that these rats are bright. Therefore, in order to know the meaning of Maccoby's and Tyler's results on girls and boys, teachers need to be told that girls do as well in mathematical reasoning as boys to see if changes in expectations affect the scores.

Changes in personality theory as a result of social learning theory, cognitive theory, and the work of Robert Sears, provide the opportunity to take a fresh look at the entire field of sex-typing research. Sears (1965) on pro-social aggression in girls and anti-social aggression in boys, furnishes data that can be seen from quite a different point of view. In addition, there is now greater awareness of the constellation of behaviors of passivity, submission, of being a "good girl" and how costly these behaviors are to women.

Bem (in press) provides an important example of the new work in sex role research in her development of the
Bem Sex Role Inventory. Utilizing both cognitive theory and social learning theory, she treats masculinity and femininity as two independent dimensions which permit seeing individuals as androgynous, thus:

They might be both masculine and feminine, both assertive and yielding, both instrumental and expressive, depending upon the situational appropriateness of these behaviors. Conversely, strongly sex-typed individuals may be seriously limited in the range of behaviors available to them as they move from situation to situation.

This scale provides the opportunity to research the consequences for an androgynous person in our society, which has heretofore valued a more rigid sex-role differentiation.

Some issues which psychological research in the area of sex differences should be addressing are:

1) How much of the variance in sex typing is based in the genetic make-up of the individual versus how much is related to experience?

2) What are the differences in child rearing socialization practices for boys and girls? What are the differences in rewards for different behaviors, e.g., aggression and dependency for boys and girls?

3) Given that, what are the differences in the power of different models? We need to know who is more important: the same sex or cross-sex models. Do females value females or males more? It would appear that females value males, but it is difficult to tell in an imitative study because girls will not practice male behavior.
When rewards and expectations are changed, how easy is it to change sex stereotyped behaviors?

This chapter will outline some of the new research which looks at sex differences in the context of how the culture maintains these differences and what the implications of these differences are for the people who must follow them. For a thorough discussion of the research on sex differences in women, see Julia Sherman, *On the Psychology of Women*.

1. Nature versus Nurture

No longer is there the dichotomy between nature and nurture; it is widely recognized that there is an interaction between genetics and environment. In order to understand the development of sex differences, a background in both the physiological differences and the psychological differences is essential.

Money and Ehrhard (1972) hold that: "... alone among the diverse functional systems of embryonic development the reproductive system is sexually dimorphic ..." The genetic background is in effect a program for the organism. For example, when the male hormone, testosterone, is administered to pregnant animals it increases the incidence among female offspring of rough-and-tumble play, and decreases the tendency to withdraw from irritation, threats, and approaches of others. Erhard and Money find that there is a greater activity level and a greater degree of rough-
and-tumble play in girls who have a higher level of androgen. The hormone happens to be present in these girls because it was administered to their mothers during pregnancy to prevent miscarriage.

The following review does not attempt to describe genetic, biological, or innate bases of psychosexual development. Excellent summaries of the physiological issues may be found in Robert Stoller's "The Bedrock of Masculinity and Femininity: Bisexuality," J. M. Tanner' "Growth at Adolescence," and also in Seymour Levine's article, "Sex Differences in the Brain." Instead, this review will briefly summarize the research on the socialization process.

2. Socialization

Psychological research has been unjust to both fathers and mothers. There has been much more research on motherhood than fatherhood, all of which attributes primary responsibility for parenting to the mother and denies it to the father. The literature is filled with studies describing the impact of "maternal deprivation" and maternal excesses of overprotection in contrast to "father absence."

Regrettably, Spitz' (1945) studies of maternal deprivation have been used as strong evidence in support of the quantity of mothering a child receives and even as reasons against mothers of young children working. Yet the children Spitz studied were grossly deprived and rejected and had had traumatic experiences with their families in the first few
months of their lives. Maccoby's research which is in progress, of Israeli kibbutz families, may shed some light on the impact of communal life, surrogate parents, and the quantity versus the quality issue for good mothering and fathering. There is a new field yet to be written about the terms of fathering behavior. Fein's dissertation (1974) will be very helpful.

Biller (1971), more than any other current researcher, has looked at fathers, but again as a secondary role to mothers. Biller found that the father absent boy is more dependent, less aggressive, less competent in peer relationships than his father present counterpart. If the boy becomes father absent after five, his sex-role development appears to be much less affected. Biller found that boys with highly available and salient fathers are more secure than either father absent boys or boys with ineffectual fathers. Girls, as well, develop better self concepts with highly available, salient fathers. Father present boys with ineffectual fathers are not more masculine (and may even be less masculine) than father absent boys. One explanation may be that they are less prone to look for male models in the environment because their set is that men will be ineffective people. The father present but maternally dominated child is prone to see men as ineffectual. Biller used interest inventories, drawings of self, the IT scale-picture of an ambiguous figure--(actually looks like a male), the French drawing test, projective toy selection,
and doll play.

Sears (1965), in his longitudinal studies of mothers, found a greater permissiveness towards dependency behavior in female children and a greater permissiveness towards aggressive behavior in boys. He also found that at the age of three, boys and girls were equal in the amount of verbal aggression but that boys were slightly higher in the amount of physical aggression. By the age of six practically all physical aggression had been extinguished in girls, but girls far surpassed the boys in the amount of verbal aggression. Sears points out that girls express aggression in pro-social terms, by emphasizing the importance of following the rules for acceptable forms of conduct, and boys express aggression in anti-social terms through acting out behavior. Sears says that parents tolerated much less aggression towards them from girl children than they did from boy children.

In sharp contrast to Tyler's research, Bandura took the issue of how to alter patterns of behavior with respect to aggressive behavior. Bandura (1965) showed boys and girls a film of a model exhibiting verbal and physical aggression. In one treatment, the model was severely punished following the aggressive behavior; in the second the model was generously rewarded with treats and praise; in the third condition there were no consequences to the model. Subsequently, the children were asked to imitate the model's responses. Both boys and girls imitated a significantly
greater variety of responses in the model rewarded and the no-consequence groups. Boys reproduced more of the model's aggressive responses than girls under all three conditions, but the differences were greatest for the model-punished condition.

Following this performance test, the children in all three groups were offered incentives if they could reproduce the model's responses. The introduction of the incentives eliminated the previous performance differences. An equivalent amount of learning had taken place under all three conditions: model-rewarded, model-punished, and no-consequences. Most significant for this review is that the initially large sex differential was virtually eliminated. Bandura's interpretation of this study is that it disproves that there is a "deficit in masculine-role identification by girls." In other words, girls have learned the behavior of boys; they simply do not practice it for fear of punishment.

Douvan (1971) said feminine character develops more slowly than masculine character. Girls are more authority reliant. They identify more with other people. They have less of a sense of being self-directed or autonomous. Her results were based on interviews and picture stories.

Horner (1971) demonstrated that women are aware of the "negative consequences of success," and that, in fact, some women develop a motive to avoid success. Women are reinforced as people for success and punished as women by
"feelings of being unfeminine or inadequate as women," as well as by fears of social rejection. The responses of women to this ambivalence are feelings of frustration, hostility, bitterness, and confusion. Horner found that 60 per cent of Radcliffe students demonstrated this ambivalence in their responses on TAT sentence stems. The women scored similarly on the TAT to black men who have also learned that success may be accompanied by punishment through ostracism or rejection. As Margaret Mead (1971) reflected, "each step forward as a successful American person means a step back as a woman."

Even when women have pursued professional lives, they have been viewed as lesser authorities than male counterparts. Goldberg (1971) asked female college students to rate articles in each of six fields. Some of the articles were identified as being written by Joan McKay and others by John McKay, even though they were the same articles. The identical article received significantly lower ratings when it was attributed to a female rather than a male author. Daryl and Sandra Bem (1971) replicated this work with male students and found the same conclusions: the male authors received higher ratings.

Moss (1972) says that the state of the infant determines mother-child interaction more at three weeks than at three months. However, the mother's state, her cognitions affect her response as well. If the mother is unable to soothe an upset male infant, she may eventually come to
classify this intractibility or irritability with "male-
ness"; saying "boys will be boys," whereas she may expend
more effort on a girl child expecting success because
"girls will be girls."

In contrast, Goldberg and Lewis (1972) hold that girl
infants and boy infants are treated the same during the
first three weeks. Then maternal behavior shifts, and there
are significant changes. There is more verbalizing, more
touching-holding, and more nursing of girl babies. Goldberg
and Lewis claim they are not in disagreement with Moss over
which is more influential—the state of the child or the
behavior of the mother. They claim there is a circular
process of influence so that by thirteen months the inter-
action goes, that the girl child smiles more and is smiled
at in return, and the boy child smiles less and so is
smiled back at less.

What this review points out vividly is how malleable
behavior is to situational contingencies. The small group
seems to be a significant place to turn to utilize this
phenomenon of situational determinants further. The small
group can provide opportunities for men and women to explore
the extent of their own sex-linked behavior and the degree
to which that behavior is fixed within them. The group
affords a potentially secure climate in which individuals
can explore their attitudes and behavior with various models
who may demonstrate a diversity of sex-linked behaviors as
well as who may challenge current stereotypes.
Before proceeding, it seems relevant to explore further the potentiality of the small group as an effective place for individual change and social change.
CHAPTER III
THE CHANGE PROCESS IN SMALL GROUPS

The purpose of this review will be to explore the potential of small groups as a place for individuals to examine attitude and behavior change. The ultimate goal is to ascertain the value of small groups for consciousness raising with respect to sex-linked behavior.

Over the past thirty years the fields of group dynamics, social psychology, and more specifically, laboratory education, have demonstrated the richness of the small group as a place for behavior and attitude change. The following discussion will briefly review the field of laboratory education as conceptualized by Lewin, Bradford, and Gibb, to see what rationale it provides for consciousness raising groups.

The models of small groups to be discussed here include groups which facilitate self-awareness, personal growth, and increase human potential for openness, trust, participation, and congruence between thought, feeling, and behavior; increase interpersonal competence (T-group and sensitivity training); and heighten awareness of inter-member relationships and other group processes (T-groups and sensitivity training). This review will not include
groups which focus almost exclusively upon leader-member, power and authority relationships (Tavistock groups), or groups whose goal it is to help members generate insights, to relieve pain, or to re-integrate personality (Gestalt, therapy groups). Gibb (1971) provides a thorough description of the differences between the kinds of groups.

This review does not include the literature on experimental group research which can be found in Cartwright and Zander (third edition) providing a thorough discussion of the research. This review will include (A) some of the research which demonstrates the power of groups; (B) a summary of the stages through which groups develop; (C) the role of leaders in sensitivity groups and evaluations of their effectiveness; co-training in mixed sex pairs; (D) factors other than the trainer which influence learning, such as feedback role-playing, group climate and trust, and (E) a critique of T-groups.

**A. Groups are Powerful Change Agents**

There are many social psychologists who hold that groups are powerful vehicles for social change. Yalom and Lieberman (1973) provide data as to the influential but coercive nature of groups on participants while they are part of the group. There is, however, greater speculation over whether the changes made in groups are maintained after the group is over and if they are, what the particular training effect is. This question will be discussed at the
end of the chapter when the research of Campbell and Dunette is reviewed.

Lewin (1948) points out the effect groups have on changing the behavior of the individual. He compared the effectiveness of a group decision versus the lecture method to encourage a group of mothers to use less desirable, but more readily available, cuts of meat during World War II. Of the women who listened to the lectures without participating in a discussion, only 3 per cent tried any of the recommended foods. The women who attended the lectures and also discussed the problem, however, arrived at decisions regarding the use of these meats. The groups were effective in encouraging 32 per cent of the people involved to try the recommended foods. Other methods are needed to reach the 68 per cent. There is a methodological artifact in this study because the groups knew there would be a follow-up.

Bolman (1970) extended Lewin's research to show laboratory training proved more effective than a lecture plus discussion approach to interpersonal relations in organizations. Both programs produced equal change in participants' stated beliefs about effective interpersonal behavior. However, laboratory training, as expected, showed greater personal effects on participant behavior and self-perception as analyzed from tape recordings. The one reservation was the difficulty participants had in transferring learning from T-groups to other parts of the program which had different norms and conflicting goals. It is not surprising that
they had even greater difficulty transferring learning to their back-home organization.

Lewin observed that a small group offers its participants opportunities for learning and feeling what their customary way of acting does to themselves and others. With the help of the group in self-diagnosis of the strengths and weaknesses of one's interpersonal style, participants are free to rehearse a wider variety of behavior in the laboratory setting. As the participants deal with the incongruence between the way they see themselves, and the way others perceive them, they may decide to alter their behavior to bring it more in line with their intentions.

With specific reference to consciousness raising, the small group setting offers a mini-culture in which participants can data collect on what men have in common and what women share, be it a sense of competition or the role of being responsible. An effective small group can provide a secure environment in which to become more aware of the socialization process for men and for women. One of the potent learnings customarily derived from such sharing is the "I am not alone feeling." For women and for men, usually the result is that what they thought they alone felt is shared by many others of the same sex. What was thought to be an individual problem, frequently turns out to be a social problem. It is easy to guarantee that during a consciousness raising experience, a woman will discover that there are a number of other women who do not feel that
being a mother and a wife meets all their needs. Or that men will discover a number of other men who feel inadequate as fathers because they really never learned to be nurturant. Having discussed this with other men and women, the commitment to change may be greater. The same information can be conveyed in a talk by a woman or a man, but the opportunity to examine and to share the implications with other members of the group is an important step in building a commitment to change. A lecture which does not allow for two-way communication may simply harden attitudes by reinforcing fears, and thereby make change more difficult in the long run.

B. Stages of the Change Process in a Group

Groups have stages of development that closely parallel the stages of development for individual growth.

The process of change in a group is a dialectical process, according to Lewin (1951). The first stage is unfreezing the present levels of behavior, then moving to a new level. However, the movement of the group is not always smooth, as there is a tendency for approach/avoidance towards change. Schein elaborates on this process. Unfreezing is the process by which a person's present equilibrium of person constructs and behavior is upset or altered, thus creating a felt need for change. Change is the process of developing new constructs and behavior to re-establish an equilibrium. Refreezing is the process of
stabilizing and integrating the constructs and behavior into the rest of one's personality.

These stages overlap with Bandura's explanation of individual change in social learning theory. Change involves awareness of prohibited behavior; ceasing to punish that behavior; rehearsing new behavior; rewarding oneself for that behavior and being rewarded by others; and finally, describing oneself in a new way so as to include this new behavior.

Unfreezing occurs for the group members as they experience conflicts over their desire for self-disclosure and their fear of disapproval or punishment for the data about themselves which they might disclose. This is particularly true of data which testify to weakness and inadequacies (Jourard, 1964). Further unfreezing occurs as members confront the various dilemmas of this group experience. These include the fact that the trainer does not behave as a traditional leader who determines the structure and agenda of the group; member behavior which was effective back home does not seem to work in the group, since the behaviors which are now rewarded are an open expression of feelings of aggression and intimacy, rather than a guardedness or "playing it cool." In a consciousness raising group, in addition, sexist behavior such as passivity for the woman, is not rewarded. Unfreezing is assisted because the trainers heighten the dissonance by actively modeling or serving as influence agents for behaviors that create
dissonance, such as the open expression of emotion.

Changing occurs as the participants respond to the discontinuity between this new behavior in the group and their back-home behavior. In the midst of this ambiguity members scan the interpersonal environment for models with whom to identify. Festinger (1954, 1957) said "people appear driven to compare themselves with others," and to deal with the discrepancy between their behavior and the behavior of others. Kohlberg (1966) noted that an awareness of incongruity or dissonance in cognition and feelings is a highly motivating state. The desire to change is increased or decreased coincident with the degree of attraction the members of the group feel towards each other (Festinger, Schachter, and Back, 1950).

Lewin (1951) noted that changing involves removing the restraining forces such as fear of disapproval, not simply putting on the driving forces by saying, for example, "It's good to take risks." Bandura describes this same phenomenon as lowering the avoidance gradient rather than raising the approval gradient. Trainers may facilitate risk-taking by suggesting role playing to legitimize members trying out new behavior. Also, the trainers can facilitate by encouraging members to give each other feedback about behavior so that participants can constantly test their expectations as to which behavior is rewarded and which is punished against the reality of this environment. The ambiguity of the T-group environment may lead members to observe each other's behavior more carefully.
because of the open-endedness and newness of the situation. As Schachter (1959) concluded, a person's need for anxiety reduction and for self-confirmation will be greater in an ambiguous social situation. Change may stem from a degree of forced compliance because of the potency of the trainer's influence and the importance of member's feedback in this new setting. If the change is pressured, it is likely to drop out as soon as the group is over.

**Refreezing**, the third stage, occurs as members integrate their new responses into their self concept and their relationships with others, and as the group climate shifts to adapt to the changes. Most relevant to the issue of whether change occurs during refreezing is the manner in which the group members cope with dissonance. They may attempt to reduce dissonance by discrediting the stimulus for change, either another person or the entire experience. This would depend very much upon the amount of dissonance that had been produced (Howland & Pritzker, 1957), and upon the source of the disagreement (Zimbardo, 1960).

Dennis and Shepard (1956) arrived at a theory of group development which contends that the group goes through the same phases as does an individual in therapy. The group as a whole moves from a concern for authority to a concern for intimacy among peers. There are two phases of group development: in the first phase, the group moves from submissiveness to rebellion to a resolution in independence. In the second phase, the group members move from identification
with the leader to self-identity to acceptance of interdependence. The conflicts in each of these states are represented by polarities of:

1. group and individual rights and responsibilities;
2. comfort and growth; and
3. authority and freedom.

The issues around authority and freedom are frequently worked out around the group leaders. A mixed sex co-training pair provides the opportunity to deal with the different attitudes felt toward male and female authority figures.

Tuchman (1965) identifies four stages which occur: (1) member testing and dependence on trainer; (2) intra-group conflict among members and between members and trainer for control; (3) group cohesiveness and the emergence of a shared set of values and norms; and (4) high productivity.

Gibb (1967) hypothesizes that T-groups move through (1) membership, (2) decision-making, (3) productivity, and (4) organization.

Schutz (1958) suggests that members are concerned with meeting a sequence of interpersonal needs which affects the development of the group: (1) inclusion, (2) control, and (3) affection.

Mann's (1967) theory embodies both cyclical and sequential theories of group development. The six themes, each of which is bi-polar, are: I. Initial complaining: enactment vs. dependent complaining; II. Premature
enactment: Loyalty vs. rebellion; III. Confrontation: Counter-dependent flight vs. resistant complaining; IV. Internalization: relating to leader as colleague vs. concern with inner distress; V. Separation: anxiety vs. depression; VI. Terminal Review: involvement vs. neutrality.

In general, the principles on which laboratory training is based are:

(1) Feedback of interaction in the group stimulates the members' desire to examine and possibly change their behavior (Jenkins, 1948).

(2) The process of group building in a laboratory environment has transfer potentialities to a variety of back-home organizational and community situations.

(3) The opportunity to examine individual behavior in a laboratory situation is a good way to train people as change agents for back-home social change.

T-group members establish a process of inquiry in which data about their behavior, motives, and strategies for dealing with other persons are noted and analyzed simultaneously with the experience which generated the behaviors. In addition, the individual also learns of the reactions he/she produced in others as he interacts with them. The primary learning in the T-group is learning about self, but certainly another part of the learning is learning about others, and increasing one's awareness of communication processes and group development. This learning about self occurs in a laboratory setting in which the individual has the opportunity to try out new behavior, i.e., . . . to increase his abilities to respond integratively and adaptively in new situations (Bradford, Gibb, and Benne, 1964).

The various learning opportunities available to laboratory participants are:
(1) opportunities to test out their behavior and discover dissatisfactions;

(2) opportunities to test congruence between goals and action;

(3) opportunities for collaboration in setting directions for changes;

(4) opportunities to determine pathways to changes;

(5) opportunities to practice, internalize, and apply new behavior.

There is a lot of overlap between the stages of group development and the stages of development for individuals. The inclusion stage to which Schutz is referring is derived from Freudian theory--identification or dependency, during which the person is concerned about getting his/her needs met. In Lewin's terms, unfreezing refers to what Freud would call bringing repressed material into awareness, or what Kohlberg would call labelling, or Bandura would say was getting in touch with one's learning history.

The next stage for Schutz is control, which is comparable to the anal stage in Freud during which the person is concerned about self control and autonomy issues. If change is to occur at this stage it is necessary in Festinger's terms to create dissonance so that an attractive alternative is available to the person. In Bandura's language, the person may imitate the behavior of an engaging important model through role playing.

The final stage for Schutz is affection, or in
Freudian terminology, the genital stage in which persons move to mature interdependent-independent relationships with each other. Members of the group have resolved membership and authority issues and are relating to each other as peers. In Lewin's sense, refreezing occurs as the group moves to a new level of relatedness and members elect to add their new-found behavior to their repertoire and their social learning history.

C. Leaders as Effective Change Agents

The primary effectiveness of the leader is as a role model for the group members. What the leader/facilitator chooses to do and what he/she chooses not to do are equally important to the group. Frequently, the leader's comments relate to the process of the group rather than the specific content under discussion. Basically, the leader models that he/she generally is:

(1) comfortable with the spontaneous expression of whatever he/she feels and what anyone else is feeling;

(2) comfortable with analyzing group process;

(3) comfortable with verbal and non-verbal expression;

(4) comfortable with expressing feelings of intimacy and comfortable with the expression of intimacy by others;

(5) comfortable with expressing his/her own aggressive and dependent feelings and comfortable with other's expressing dependent and aggressive feelings;

(6) uncomfortable in his own or a member's refusal to
look at his/her behavior;

(7) uncomfortable with anyone's refusal to deal with feedback or to "track down" the basis for a feeling held by another;

(8) uncomfortable with behavior that is highly controlled or controlling of others;

(9) uncomfortable with passivity or non-involvement over an extended period of time.

Obviously this presents a problem to those trainers whose style is detached and analytic.

The leader functions as a facilitator to keep communication flowing in the group by pointing out over/under participation. The leader helps to formulate hypotheses about what is going on in the group, and in individual members. The leader is a teacher of the problem-solving style which includes careful diagnosis before deciding what the problem is, participative decision-making around a solution and implementation of the solution.

This set of leader behaviors is susceptible to treatment similar to that of the social learning research of Bandura and Mischel. Bandura studied the modeling of aggressive responses with Bobo dolls (Bandura, Ross, and Ross, 1961) which offers a paradigm for research on trainer behavior. The potency of the trainer as a model seems obvious: she/he has high credibility due to his expertise (he/she is viewed as the only person in the situation who knows what is going to happen in the new group); she/he has
some degree of rewardingness; she/he has additional power if he is going to be involved with group members in the future.

On a group sociogram the trainer typically scores as one of the stars. Peters (1966) discussed the nature of identification between members and the leader, and how this is related to personal change. He used sentence completions and semantic differentials to measure actual self, desired self, actual self vs. trainer, trainer's actual self, and trainer's ideal self. Peters says, "It appears that most participants began the laboratory with a small degree of self-concept similarity with the trainer figure; this gradually increased to a moderately high degree of similarity by the end of the laboratory."

Back (1948) has suggested that the trainer's behavior may function as a model for the group members, particularly with reference to the kind of affect expressed in the group. It is only within the past five years, however, that a helpful paradigm has been suggested by Culbert by which to evaluate the effect of trainer behavior on member behavior change.

1. Research-Trainer Effectiveness.

Much of the research in T-groups has focused on the issue of what the trainer is doing and how effective is he/she at it. Trainer effectiveness research has encountered many of the same methodological problems that
therapist effectiveness has. Some of the best work has been done by Culbert, Clarke, and Bolman. Culbert (1968) evaluated the effect of trainer self-disclosure on member growth. What Culbert actually measured was the power of the trainer in modeling the behavior of openness. Rather than programming the trainer's behavior, Culbert chose to do a content analysis of the trainer's interventions, and noted the:

(1) frequency with which the trainer talked about herself/himself;

(2) frequency with which the trainer discussed the way some group member or group incident affected him/her; and

(3) frequency with which the trainer discussed the effect his/her participation had on the group or on some group members.

Using the van der Veer and Tomlinson Problem Expression Scale (1962), Culbert made a content analysis on the speech of the members of the group to determine the number of self-references and the degree of self-disclosure. Culbert found that in those groups where the judges described the trainers as more genuine, involved, personal, appearing more vulnerable, expressing feelings more frequently and generally more self-disclosing, the behavior of the subjects was also self-disclosing. However, Culbert did find a ceiling effect; i.e., too much self-disclosure by the trainer tended not to encourage members to disclose
and may have produced the opposite effect. There are no follow-up results as to the degree to which the members' behavior was transferred to other settings. The trainer did not have a lot of power or control because he/she did not have future contact with the group.

Culbert could have related his research to the modeling paradigm. If he had wanted to utilize this paradigm, he might have chosen to manipulate the trainer's behavior to isolate the specific behaviors being modeled by the trainer and to assess which of these behaviors were rehearsed and learned by the members. Culbert's study might have been made stronger by referring to the work of Bandura and Huston (1961), Grusec and Mischel (1966), and Mischel and Grusec (1966).

Clark and Culbert (1968) did a variation on this study which attempted to measure changes in attitudes of group members as a result of the relationship they had formed with other members of the T-group. They did a content analysis of the dyad relationship the member indicated was most important in his/her movement toward self-awareness. Their findings were presented in rather vague self-report terms and not supported by any observational data on behavioral changes in the group. They reported that self-awareness increased in relationships which were described as having: (1) a high level of positive regard, (2) a high degree of empathic understanding, (3) congruence, and (4) unconditional regard.
Luke (1972) concludes, like Culbert (1968), that members perceive the trainer as exerting more influence than the members, and that the degree of mutual influence possible between trainer and member is largely determined by the trainer. The norms which the trainer was seen to influence are: (1) expression of feelings and open acceptance of that expression coupled with an avoidance of intellectualization: (2) acceptance, formation of trust, (3) awareness of reactions to each other, (4) giving and receiving feedback, (5) process diagnosis, (6) group decision-making, (7) experimentation with behavior, (8) problem solving, (9) role fixation, and (10) traditional structure.

Maier and Hoffman (1965) attempted to demonstrate how the trainer's behavior with reference to conflict resolution either facilitates resolution or seems to reinforce resistant behavior and thus hardens the attitudes. They were not sufficiently explicit about either the effective or ineffective behavior being modeled by the trainer, and hence their research seems of little use.

Bolman (1971) studied the effects of trainers in a human relations laboratory on their T-groups. The trainer behavior variables he used were as follows:

**Affection** - the amount of caring, liking, and concern experienced by the trainer toward group members.

**Conditionality** - the trainer acts which tend to reward or punish behavior by group
members. The more conditional the trainer, the more his/her liking or approval is contingent upon the members' behaving in ways he/she defines as appropriate.

Empathy - the extent to which the trainer is in touch with the thoughts and feelings of group members.

Openness - the trainers' openness and authenticity.

Persuasion - the behavior in which the trainer attempts to sell a course of action to the participants.

Security - the trainer's own personal comfort and non-defensiveness.

The results indicated that:

(1) The trainer who shows affection to group members can be confident that they will return the affection. However, affection does not correlate with any of the other variables, namely group climate or learning.

(2) Congruence/empathy correlates with the participants' liking for the trainer, identification with the trainer, and self-rated learning.

(3) Trainer openness does not relate to any of the variables.

(4) Trainer conditionality does not relate to learning. It does affect liking for trainer and the group climate by making it more tense.
The trainer's security related to liking for the trainer and lower levels of tension and withdrawal in the group climate. Congruence empathy clearly stands out as the most important dimension of trainer behavior. The trainer's openness, use of influence, conceptual input and affection do not seem to matter. Identification with the trainer by group members was reliably related to ranking high on learning and change.

2. Co-Training: Mixed Sex Pairing

There are a number of unresolved issues surrounding the role of the trainer(s). Since identification with the trainer is such a potent force in learning, it would seem important to have cross-sex training pairs. It remains to be determined whether reinforcement across sex lines may not be more powerful. If a male trainer says to a woman, "It is all right to be assertive," does that carry more weight than if a female trainer does, or if a female trainer models aggressive behavior regardless of whether it is reinforced or punished by the male members of the group, does that facilitate the expression of aggression by the women members of the group?

Questions about the advantages and disadvantages of co-trainers have been raised by Frankiel (1971). Frankiel found that members of two trainer groups did not form relationships which were both mutually therapeutic and confronting as frequently as did members of one trainer group. Groups with co-trainers did not become as engaged
in confronting or in being close. Frankiel suspects that two trainers provide a different constellation of behaviors for participants to use as models and that two members, or a member and leader in such a group do not. This finding would argue for a group with co-trainers breaking down in two smaller groups to increase contact and intensity in the group.

To date, this is the first study of this type. It has widespread implications for the co-training issue. Until the issue of the potency of different sex leaders as models for the members of the group has been dealt with, it seems essential to have cross-sexed training pairs in T-Groups.

3. Leaderless Groups

Mintern and Lansky (1972) in their spoof on the advantages of leaderless groups cite some of the serious plusses. Leaderless groups: (1) communicate trust at the outset that the group has the resources to take care of itself. (This is a particularly significant issue for a women's group for whom hierarchy is already such an issue); (2) emphasize group resources rather than leader resources; (3) circumvent the laborious, time-consuming process of the group dealing with its feelings towards the trainer--both during inclusion and termination; (4) reduce dependency on outside help; and (5) are less expensive.

The disadvantages are the absence of the highly rewarding person, the trainer, who can reinforce experimenting
with new behavior and who models new behavior. In Freudian terms, the leader facilitates resocialization by permitting dependency and building a secure environment for the members. The members can use the leader to project anger or frustration for previously unmet needs, thereby trying to resolve issues of deprivation of love, insecurity, and anxiety. In this new secure environment, the members are able to, in effect, grow up again and have another opportunity to get their needs met and learn to meet their needs for themselves.

In Bandura's language, dissonance is created by the leaders modeling behavior which is different from "back-home" behavior and being reinforced for this behavior. Members, therefore, see the attractive alternative generated by the behavior of the leader and try it out. They come to identify with the leader as a result of trying out his/her behavior. They then may restructure their cognitions so that they now describe themselves in terms of their new behavior.

D. Research on other Factors than Trainer Effectiveness that Facilitate Learning in T-Groups

In addition to the learning that is facilitated through the trainer's modeling of behavior, the group also has its own reinforcement, both direct and vicarious. The power of a group resides in its ability to punish collectively by exclusion of a member from the group, thereby
rendering him/her invisible, and to reward collectively by inclusion of a member, thereby giving him the affiliation and warmth of the group. It is through these means that members become socialized to the norms of the particular group (Lakin and Carson, 1966).

The presence of widely-agreed upon norms indicates a relatively trusting mature group. Otherwise, there would be sub-groups and competition, leading to a lack of shared values or direction. Trust has been regarded by Gibb (1971) and Friedlander (1970) as the most effective predictor of group effectiveness. This work will be reviewed. In addition, feedback and role-playing will be discussed as tools which facilitate learning.

1. Group Climate: Trust versus Mistrust

Friedlander (1970) found that early trust is a better prediction of group accomplishment in work groups than any other measure taken early among training groups including group effectiveness, leader approachability, mutual influence, and personal involvement.

The definition of trust versus competiveness, which Friedlander employed and the direction in which it is scored is:

(1) There is a destructive competiveness among members of the group (−).

(2) Others in the group are reluctant to sacrifice ideas so that the group may agree (−).
(3) There are too many personal opinions raised at meetings as opposed to the broader point of view.

(4) There is trust and confidence among members of the group.

The theory behind the study was Gibbs' theory of group development as contingent upon trust formation. The formation of trust and the acceptance of self and others, the reduction of fear, and the consequent growth of confidence are the factors which facilitate individual and group development.

2. Feedback and Role Playing

Gibb and Platts (1950) studied the potency of feedback in facilitating behavior change. They demonstrated that in a group receiving feedback twice as many persons altered their behavior as in a group in which members received no feedback. By role playing new behaviors, members have the opportunity to experience "real-world" behavioral consequences (Kelly, 1955), and Rosenberg (in Bradford, 1964) studied the influence of role playing on three groups: those playing roles in the group, those who were asked to identify with specific role players, and members who observed the role playing. Both those playing the role and those asked to identify with role players demonstrated greater involvement and greater behavior change than those who simply observed. Feedback can generate dissonance for the person if it turns out that, in fact, he/she is being experienced in a way that is different
3. Areas of Attitude and Behavior Change

Lieberman, Yalom, and Miles (1972) found six months after a group experience with various leader orientation (Gestalt, National Training Laboratories, Transaction Analysis, Rogerian, Esalen), the stable areas of change were values, attitudes, and the self system. Participants were more likely to shift their value structure in the direction of being more change-oriented and more growth-oriented. Their self images moved toward seeing themselves as more change oriented; they all perceived more congruence between self and ideal images. In behavioral terms, participants reported more adequacy in coping and saw their behavior as more adequate interpersonally.

Two major areas of change as a result of an experience in a small group are an increased awareness of self and an ability to articulate what one is about, and an increased understanding of group processes. Lieberman, Yalom, and Miles' work supports the notion that changes in the area of self concept are one of the major outcomes of a group experience. In Freudian terms, the person has increased awareness of his/her own motives, needs, patterns of behavior, and is in touch with feelings that have heretofore been repressed or denied. In cognitive theory terms, the person has gone through an experience which generated dissonance about his/her self concept and now the person
has new cognitions to label new and old behavior. In Bandura's schema, the person has awareness, and may also have imitated new behavior and resocialized himself/herself by adding it to the repertoire.

E. A Summary Critique of Small Group Research

The evidence is fairly compelling that T-groups do produce behavioral changes in "back-home" situations following the group. However, as Campbell and Dunnette (1969) note, it is very difficult to find research that specifies the "typical training effect." Rather, the research seems to view "each trainer's pattern of change as unique." If outcomes are truly unique and unpredictable, no basis exists for judging the potential worth of T-group training from an institutional or organizational point of view. Instead, success or failure must be judged on the basis of the personal goals of each laboratory trainer and trainee.

Campbell and Dunnette (1969) hold that the assumption that "T-group training has positive utility for organizations rests on shaky ground. It has been neither confirmed or disconfirmed. . . . The utility for the organization is not necessarily the same as utility for the individual."

T-group participants need to be much clearer about issues involved in the transfer of learning to their back-home situation both at work and at home; they need to know what the effect will be if they try out some of these new behaviors outside the secure environment of the T-group.
For example, just as Culbert (1968) demonstrated that too much self-disclosure by the trainer seems to inhibit the group, the same may hold for a returning participant from a T-group in his/her work situation. Too much self-disclosure may render her/him ineffective on the job, whereas just enough may create a more caring, more human environment.

Researchers have tended to measure the effect of laboratory training on every unique person in the same way. There may need to be different kinds of measures for different persons: Lewin (1948), in the study described earlier, found that 32 per cent of the people involved in the discussions actually tried different cuts of meat. Group researchers, therefore, need to be able to say more about how, for example, persons with greater or lesser tolerance for ambiguity will be affected by T-group experience. Some kinds of participants may respond better if more time is spent in the unfreezing phase; others may be ready to move immediately into changing. Some participants may prefer more cognitive material in advance; others may disregard or be negative about theory sessions.

Given the amount of research on T-groups, there is little in it save for Clarke, Culbert, Miles, Schmuck, Bolman, Tuchman, and Gibb that offers much upon which to base conclusions. The group researchers have failed to use significant research paradigms from the field of social psychology particularly the modeling research and the
attitude change research. In similar fashion, educators have failed to demonstrate the effectiveness of different structures for facilitating learning.

What the review of the literature in this chapter does seem to point out is that for some the small group is a significant medium for increasing awareness of behaviors and attitudes, and even for trying out new behaviors which have been modelled or discussed by other group members. The small group is quite valuable for demonstrating the effect of culture to persons who considered themselves to be alone in their feelings of dilemma. The advantages of effective small groups are that they provide opportunities for participation, support, confrontation, and change, all in a trusting environment. The small groups lessen the likelihood that persons will sit back or withdraw from dealing with differences. Instead, for the duration of the group the individual must deal with his/her feelings towards himself/herself, as well as with the reactions of the other members of the group. In such a fertile milieu, there can be ample opportunity to examine stereotyped sex role behavior with assistance from the facilitator and other group members.
CHAPTER IV
TOWARD ANDROGYNY:
A THEORY OF RESOCIALIZATION THROUGH
CONSCIOUSNESS RAISING GROUPS

Our culture has taught certain well-defined sex roles to boys and girls. Until recently, men and women who did not adapt to these roles felt inadequate in themselves, rather than feeling that the roles as the culture defined them were inhuman. Even if there was a desire to expand the roles, men and women have felt helpless in the face of a sexist society with sexist institutions like the family, schools, and work.

The psychological theories which describe the development of sex-typing help demystify sex differences. They show that sex differences are learned through vicarious and direct reinforcement from powerful, highly rewarding, and nurturant models who possess a high degree of future control over a child's life. The most important models are usually the mother, father, siblings, relatives, friends, teachers, T.V., and people to whom the child is frequently exposed. Imitation is the major means by which the child acquires the sex-typed behavior. That behavior is then reinforced or shaped. Because people expect rewards for
one kind of behavior and not for another, they practice those behaviors which are linked to their sex in their culture and not others. In fact, they know that they will be punished for certain behaviors if they attempt to use them.

When the incentives or expectations are changed in a situation and the cognitive map is restructured, there may then be vast differences in all kinds of behaviors in boys, girls, women, and men. These changes occur without further observational learning and rehearsal of behaviors. Men and women have a wide variety of behaviors available to them, only some of which they use. Boy children and girl children are fully aware of the behavior of both sexes through observational learning. The set or expectancy is stable because of the expectations about what is appropriate, and what will be rewarded or punished by the environment.

The first step towards increasing the options for behavior available to men and women is to bring into awareness what current sex-role expectations the person and the culture hold. In that respect, a consciousness raising group is an effective means for learning what it means to be a man or a woman in this culture, partially because the small group serves as a mini-culture. Consciousness raising groups have certain similarities to human relations groups. T-groups or human relations groups encourage being trusting, open, risk-taking, showing love, getting angry,
being more personal, whereas behavior change in a consciousness raising group involves increasing awareness about what sex-role boxes look like, and trying out non sex-role related behaviors.

The way learning occurs in both a T-group and a consciousness raising group is similar. Members have the opportunity to compare and contrast behaviors with others in the group in a relatively secure environment. Participants give each other feedback as to how they are coming across to each other. Leaders or members model behavior which, in turn, is tried out by members. Ideally, participation is high with everyone expressing his/her feelings verbally or non-verbally so no one need worry that others are holding back negative feelings. Leadership is shared so that members need to take responsibility for what is happening rather than submitting and complaining later. However, in consciousness raising groups, the unfreezing process is also facilitated through readings, talks, data collection by women and men on each other, data collection on how one's own sex-role socialization process limited options with respect to personality, educational choices and family style: all in a context where others are also available to share their experiences.

The first step in consciousness raising is creating an awareness of which behaviors are sex-linked. Men and women need to be able to label what I am and what I do, and what the conditions are that every woman and every man
undergoes that produce this outcome. Women and men need also to be in touch with prohibited behavior which might include being aware that as a woman I censure or start devaluing myself for getting too angry or being too assertive, or as a man I keep myself from showing more tender feelings, like sharing pain and being too dependent.

It is likely that a participant in a consciousness raising group is already in a partial stage of unfrozenness. He/she has volunteered for this experience and, to that extent, has expressed curiosity about increasing awareness of sexual behaviors and about developing male consciousness or female consciousness. From the moment the individual decides to participate he/she probably begins to expand awareness about sex stereotypes.

As men become aware of what being a man has meant for them, and as women do the same, they are freer to regulate their behavior. With awareness, this set of fixed sex-role related behaviors is loosened. Within the climate of the consciousness raising support group, the person may choose to try out taboo or unused behaviors. For change to occur for some people dissonance must first be generated by demonstrating that there is a choice between attractive alternatives which the person did not recognize. He/she may try out these behaviors if the leader and the group give permission, either through overt statements, or through modeling of the untypical behaviors by the leader or group members.
By altering the expectations and rewards for current behavior and hence rewarding behaviors that men and women have learned, but do not currently practice, there is encouragement to try out new behavior. There is self regulation within the group, during which the individual with a new awareness of his/her sex-linked behavior and new awareness of what is required and allowed for men and women, is freer to practice alternative behaviors. These new behaviors are frequently reinforced by the group.

The final stage in the change process occurs when the person relabels his/her behavior and reorganizes his/her cognitive structure to include that behavior, perhaps after discussing it with the group and after receiving feedback and confirmation on that behavior outside the group. The person now describes himself/herself as behaving in this new way, rather than the old. The next step involves sharing this awareness with others outside the group to maintain the change.

The structure of the consciousness raising group is one of the principal concerns of this dissertation. In contrast to T-groups which are unstructured since their purpose is to learn about their own group processes, whatever they are, consciousness raising groups do have a content area which is to increase awareness of sex differences. One way to provide this content and to deal with the issue of a professional facilitator who is relatively unsophisticated about sex-linked behavior, or the
leaderless group, is instrumented learning. The set of exercises developed in this dissertation to facilitate awareness of sex-role stereotypes and of alternative attitudes and behaviors, provides a structure which can be used in groups with leaders or leaderless groups.

One of the elements that is important in consciousness raising that may not be as important in T-groups is the time span. Consciousness raising needs to occur over a period of time. The initial unfreezing, getting acquainted, support group building phases occur best through intensive sessions of twenty-four to forty-eight hours, rather than weekly three to four hour sessions. In weekly sessions, until the group develops a fair amount of cohesiveness, whatever has been built one week is lost by the interference of so many demands on people and other variables. Once the group has a momentum of its own, then weekly sessions are particularly relevant to consciousness raising. They allow learning from one week to filter through the levels of the individual's awareness and allow time and outside exposure to enhance learning.

Once the group is over, follow up is still necessary for the person to reach "center" again and to experience himself/herself in this alternate culture. As Gibb (1971) notes:

"... the initial period of training must be long enough for persons to 'learn to learn' from feedback or to reach a critical point at which internal organismic processes occur in the individual, which sustain
change. How long training should be, and what temporal patterns of 'booster shots' are optimal for long-range effects, are critical questions for investigators.

Where facilitators are used, their expertise may be in group process and not in the content of the liberation movement. It is essential that the facilitators at a minimum have self awareness about their own sex-linked behaviors and their own sexism. Since these groups raise the questions about alternative behaviors, the facilitators need also to have a commitment to loosening sex-roles. Whether consciousness raising groups should utilize leaders/facilitators or not is an open question. There are good reasons on either side. Trainers are powerful contributors to the learning process, yet there has been a joy within leaderless consciousness raising groups at finding their way without the aid of an outside consultant.

In order to use the exercises, the participants and facilitator need to be aware of their own theoretical bias in terms of the development of sex typing. These exercises were developed so that people with different theoretical frames of reference might use them. None the less, participants may construe themselves more as Freidians seeing their mother and father as the critical and exclusive role models for their sex typing; others may feel they have a wide variety of role models and are closer to a social learning theory view. For example, two exercises readily demonstrate this: (#27) describe five significant role
models and how they were influential, or (5) draw a picture of ten vignettes from your childhood which influenced your sex typing. These exercises could be discussed and processed using the entire spectrum of theoretical positions.

The forty-five exercises in The Handbook for Consciousness Raising relate primarily to the (1) awareness or unfreezing stage which seems to be as much as can be accomplished in one semester or fourteen sessions of a group. Other exercises which would relate to (2) changing and role rehearsal of non sex-role related behavior, and then (3) refreezing or resocialization which would go on both in the group and in the back home environment, remain to be developed. The primary focus of these exercises is two-fold: bringing into conscious awareness for the participants what behaviors in their repertoire are sex-role related, who their models for these behaviors are, and what sex-role related behaviors they are prohibiting themselves out of fear of rejection or ostracism; and building a support system in a small group setting which facilitates trust and openness so that the participant will feel freer to explore, share, and report progress on these tough issues of self-concept, relationships with others, and attitudes about work and family.

Exercises like data collecting on what women have in common and what men have in common either in terms of what is allowed or required of them or what behaviors are
forbidden to them or the similar incidents each sex experienced while growing up, help participants see cultural stereotypes. Time and again members of the group say: "You feel that way, too? Isn't that amazing! I thought I was the only person." Other exercises while demonstrating cultural stereotypes also enhance self awareness and an understanding of one's self by answering questions like, "Who am I?" a number of times or drawing a picture of one's body, exploring role models, including parents. They help the person get in touch with the degree to which he/she restricted himself/herself from exhibiting certain behaviors. Getting in touch with limitations of certain roles as well as assets of these roles, opens the possibility for the next step, role rehearsal of other behaviors by other models.

So, too, does getting in touch with the emotional range the person allows himself/herself. The clearest understanding of differences, as Sears describes them, frequently occurs when men share, for example, how difficult it is for them to cry, or how uncomfortable they feel being dependent, and women share how much pain they've experienced, how helpless they feel, or how difficult it has been to get really angry. Once aware of these underpracticed behaviors, the person may decide to try them out in the group, using one of the members who has these behaviors available as a model.

The Life Planning series of experiences particularly
encourages men and women to look closely at the specialization of behavior among them and try to see the degree to which each party has taken that division for granted. Women have the opportunity to see what effective planners men are in their lives and how much more control the men tend to feel they have over their lives than the women. In contrast, the men have the opportunity to hear to what extent mothering is built into the plans of the women and how few men include fathering in their pictures of their lives. With these differences in mind, some of the participants may try to change, in which case the other sex may serve as a most effective consultant or model.

The group exercises which include the Johari Window, the non-verbal communication experiences, the alter ego, the force field analysis, the fishbowl, are all designed to facilitate unfreezing and openness in the group. They help participants to share anonymously feelings about the group so there isn't the burden of owning some of these feelings. They also demonstrate how many other people in the group feel the same way: once again, that you are not alone in your feelings. They look at people and issues that are blocking effective communication and try to deal with them. By generating data about feelings in the group, these experiences increase awareness about the dynamics of the group in the same way that the sex-role expectations exercises increase awareness about the dynamics of the culture. Neither set of exercises go far beyond the
awareness level into changing and refreezing experiences.

The exercises are principally devoted to building a cohesive support system. Then—in this secure milieu—both men and women can examine how culture-bound they are, and what the costs and rewards are for changing into being more truly, uniquely themselves.
CHAPTER V

A CONSCIOUSNESS RAISING HANDBOOK FOR MEN AND WOMEN
Introduction

For more than ten years I have been involved in group dynamics in an effort to assist people in becoming effective social change agents. Two years ago I began to focus more and more on the implications of the issues involved in human relations training for female-male relationships and the Women's Movement. Motivating this new emphasis were my underlying concerns for direct and authentic communication between people as well as my hope for intentional behavior and proactive rather than reactive behavior in interpersonal relations. I taught an experiential course on sex-role socialization, and then participated in the construction of a series of courses in Women's Studies, now Feminist Studies, which explored sexual stereotypes and how they are changing. Along the way I led men's groups, women's groups, and mixed sex groups, as a part of a course sequence in contemporary sex-roles. It seemed to me essential to bear in mind that beyond the women's movement is the human movement, the raising of consciousness in both men and women so that life styles can emerge which go beyond traditional role relations to human relations.

Now, through my increased, and increasing, consciousness, all my roads seem to lead to sexism. I can no longer focus only obliquely on the destructive aspects of sexism
in peer relationships and in building community. I must now deal directly with the oppression women feel from men, the feeling of competition for the approval of men rather than collaboration among women and men, and the desire of men to be more responsive to women's needs and not knowing how to do so.

This book is an effort to share some of the learning which has been important in my development and which I have found to be significant to others. The articles and activities are the results of teaching Sex-Roles and Sex Stereotypes at the University of Massachusetts for the past two years. They are intended to provide a means for you to experience your own old and new behavior more consciously and to analyze and reassess your attitudes about "sex-roles." It is, in one sense, a set of do-it-yourself experiences so that you may be responsible for your own development. It is a way to take yourself by the hand, along with your chosen fellow travelers, and follow a road map for self-exploration and expression.

Because so much of this search involves understanding expectations related to the fulfillment of sex-roles which society has put upon you, I feel that it is most effective to pursue this experience in a support or consciousness raising group. In the group you are able to obtain feedback from others who come to know you, and you may receive confirmation that you are not alone in
your reactions, but instead share many responses with other people of the same sex. In the group you can derive support as you tentatively try to redevelop your own attitudes and values.

The change process leading to self-awareness involves (1) recognizing, through consciousness raising, how much of your behavior is related to sex role expectations. After recognition of your own personal encapsulation you may attempt to change by (2) confronting yourself, exploring your potential, and (3) trying out new behavior. As you run into roadblocks because of reactions in your family, community, or professional world, you may find the group's support and encouragement quite important to your continuing with the change. In addition, there will be certain social issues in which personal change is not the issue, but rather what is required is organization and political action, as in the area of job options and salaries. Similarly, men who want to work other than full-time, or those concerned with child care, may find that commitment to action follows consciousness raising.

I have reservations about the potential artificiality of a set of structured exercises if the context in which they are used is not a genuinely supportive and cohesive climate, or if they are seen as a technology apart from a value system. These exercises and readings are best used when they are personally relevant. Since I cannot
anticipate where each person is "at" and since the form of the book has limits, I hope you will feel free to use the exercises flexibly. The group experiences will not spark instant intimacy, but perhaps they will help a group to confront the universality of certain stereotypes and reactions about maleness and femaleness more openly and honestly. It is very important to discover and to be reminded over and over again that what has looked like a "personal problem" is a "social issue."

I recognize that it is awkward for a woman to write a consciousness-raising handbook for men and women and thereby continue a tradition, i.e., one sex writing about another, that has been carried on for so long. My excuse for doing this could be that as a member of a "minority group," I have studied my male "masters" for years to find out how it is done and how to be successful. But that is not my "reason," or my rationalization. I have worked closely with men all my life, much more than I have worked with women. I have also taken time to share all parts of the book with men friends and colleagues to assess its usefulness to their sex.

I have found it a constant struggle in my own life to be mindful of my own self-actualization, rather than to submit or succumb to living for and through others. Many times I have been tempted to abandon my total self to a lesser sense of self, thereby letting the noise of life
drown me. After all, I am "just a woman with work, family, husband, friends, teaching, and groups." Many times I wish I could appear cool, compartmentalized, task-oriented, and single-minded like my male friends, and how many times I wish I had a wife to go shopping for me, do some laundry, prepare dinner, play with our child, and soothe my weak ego.

Consciousness about sexism, women's liberation, or human liberation is fomenting a revolution in a variety of social institutions: marriage, the family, work, as well as an individual's personal development. At the heart of this revolution and of this handbook is a growing dissatisfaction with the process of socialization, the values of our society, the way our institutions have helped to build and maintain the status quo. To date, women and men have been socialized to fill very different roles, without regard for the individuals of each sex who do not choose, or could not conform. Underneath many of these roles unique individuals have been squashed by the parts they had to play in the script.

The sex role expectations in our society are so deeply ingrained that they are not going to change simply by offering equal jobs and equal rights, or even the "pill" for women or men. Sex role expectations are at the core of child rearing-practices and the modeling behavior of parents. They came to us through St. Augustine, The Bible, Freud, Erikson, D. H. Lawrence, Dr. Spock, and Madison
Avenue. We have learned that men's work is to provide a living for the family; women's work, in addition to whatever else they do, is to "make babies and to care for the home." Many women are concerned that if they are too committed to a career they will be regarded as unfeminine or too ambitious, or like men. Certainly there are a percentage of ambitious, competent, achieving women, but they are regarded as the exception rather than the norm. As Margaret Hennig\(^1\) points out in her case studies of one hundred top women executives, they are likely to be oldest or only children. In addition, they are women who were raised to be both women and men, not simply to be like women or men.

If a daughter has for eighteen years seen her mother care for the home, the children, and her father, while subjugating her own emotional and intellectual needs, she will not easily shed the feeling that she should also fulfill those roles someday. If a man has for years seen his father arrive home from work, read his newspaper, and ask his wife when dinner will be ready, he is unlikely to relinquish this perogative. This is particularly true if his wife does not work outside the home as one contribution to their lives. Underneath both these sets of role behaviors

are unique individuals whose emotions and abilities undoubtedly cross sex lines, but who may spend their entire lives without ever fully understanding that many of their frustrations result from being constantly pinched by sex role expectations.

Women have been socialized to be expressive, reactive, dependent, and to meet other's needs by caring for their emotional needs. Their role models include nurses (Cherry Ames), social workers (Jane Addams), lovers (Lady Chatterly), sex objects (Ursula Andress), politicians (Bella Abzug), and writers (Gloria Steinem). Men have been expected to be instrumental, task-oriented, introspective, strong, silent, responsible, coping, and competitive. Their role models include cowboys (John Wayne), playboys (Hugh Heffner and Steve McQueen), jocks, astronauts, explorers (Tom Swift), intellectuals, doctors, teachers, and political heroes (from Jerry Rubin to George McGovern, or Robert or John Kennedy, or Howard Baker).

Yet, parental and other relationships require the same person to possess this entire spectrum of behaviors. Rossi (1968)\(^2\) describes the parental role as including "spontaneity and flexibility, the ability to be tender and loving and to respond to tenderness and love from a child."

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Many men are inadequately prepared to be fathers in the sense Rossi describes. Many women may have the necessary nurturing behaviors but feel a loss of autonomy and privacy, become bored and anxious, if they feel solely responsible for nurturing and meeting the needs of the next generation.

To date there has been a specialization with respect to parental roles. As conveyed by the media and literature, the father is construed as the provider, the disciplinarian, and someone to be protected from family pressures because of all the work he faces. Women as mothers are expected to be caring, involved, efficient, and self-abnegating.

The motherhood mystique is being shattered as women speak out about their lack of total fulfillment from their other-directed lives devoted to meeting the needs of their children and their husbands. Men, on the other hand, are expressing greater interest in fatherhood and an eagerness to relate to their children. The role for men is shifting so that expressive behavior is valued at work as well as at home. The new style manager, doctor, policeman, lawyer, teacher is someone who expresses feelings as part of the job.

With respect to cognitive styles, women have been encouraged to express themselves in the "aesthetic mode," i.e., art for art's sake, and men in the technological and
pragmatic modes.  

Attitudes toward sexual intercourse are probably changing more rapidly than any others at the present time. As testimony to this fact, impotency among men under thirty is now second to the cold as the most frequent reason college males are consulting university health services. The impression of university physicians is that at the root of this impotency, whether real or imagined, is the psychological issue of being sexually adequate for the "new woman." 4 Women are increasingly interested and appreciative of sex for their own pleasure. In my experience in groups, either the number of women who are considering sex with other women, who may after all know more about it, is increasing or they are being more open about it.

Our present socialization process fails to value intentionality as the most important component of behavior. Instead, the process encourages--and indeed requires--automatic, non-intentional, categorized, stereotyped behavior. This book invites you to ponder what you and others would be like if you could select freely from all the behavioral options available to you without regard to sex-role expectations. What if you could look at life's

3 Shulamith Firestone, The Dialectic of Sex, Bantam, 1969.

issues of self-actualization, developing boundaries, building relationships, becoming secure, finding meaning, being authentic, being creative without regard to sex-role expectations? What if you could be primarily concerned with the fulfillment of your human potential rather than with the fulfillment of your role prescriptions? What would it be like never again to behave out of guilt or a sense of imposed role-related responsibility to others, but rather out of a sense of self-fulfillment? What if each time you acted you would pose the question: What am I getting out of this, as well as what am I giving?

It feels like it is time to begin to use this book to explore the possibilities. In a sense we will be shipwrecked together as we go through this experience with one group.

I would very much like to hear about your experiences if you would be willing to share them with me.

Alice Sargent
Structure for a Group Using this Book

You may choose to use these exercises in stranger groups, family groups, couples groups, or mixed consciousness raising groups. None of the groups are mutually exclusive; all are undoubtedly relevant at one time or another.

Getting acquainted and building cohesiveness and caring in your group are particularly relevant experiences in order to embark upon the exploration of your sex role stereotypes. If your experience is like mine there are some attitudes, such as how your feelings about your body affect your identity, that you will go over many times and experience new facets of each time. Your work with the group is like a kaleidoscope. Each time you turn it the same pieces fall into place a little differently. It is, however, a special kaleidoscope because it lets you insert a new piece. Through growth, such as behaving in a new way, you add a new piece to your identity.

Let me suggest that you first read through this book quickly to get an overview. Then try an extended experience in your group, perhaps a twelve hour, one-day or two-day workshop in which to begin to develop trust and openness.
Goals for the extended workshop might include:

1) becoming acquainted and comfortable with each other;

2) beginning to encounter similarities and differences in each other;

3) beginning to become more in touch with your own sex stereotype;

4) becoming aware of how sex differences affect your own personal make up, the process of your education, and your career choice;

5) testing out what changes you are able to make for yourself in your own attitudes and behavior as you are more aware of stereotypes; and

6) feeling freer to select options for behavior as you realize your own potential rather than in fulfilling your sex-role expectations.

After the opening session, you might utilize one of the following structures:

(1) Elect to have eight three-hour sessions spent on personal sharing and the last four three-hour sessions spent on presentations and discussions of a topic. Members of the group can present pertinent information at the beginning of the session (for about fifteen minutes) followed by a group discussion.

(2) Elect to have twelve three-hour sessions in which the first hour is spent in discussing a topic, and the next two hours are spent in personal consciousness raising and sharing of attitudes and behavior related to that topic.
Some Discussion Topics

a. What do we have in common as women?
b. The Liberation of Men: What does it involve?
c. Our Body Images
d. Sex Roles and Stereotypes: The Socialization Process
e. Our Mothers and Fathers
f. Sexuality
g. What is Sisterhood?
h. New Patterns in Marriage and Family: What is effective and what is dysfunctional about the nuclear family?
i. New Couple Relationships--What is open marriage?
j. Women in the Arts
k. Organization Man and Woman; How do they work together?
l. New Work Styles for Man and Woman
m. Economics of Women's Liberation
n. Women's Health
o. Implications in the Practice of Psychotherapy for Men and Women

Leadership in the group is shared and non-hierarchical in keeping with the spirit of the Movement. My assumption is that participation in and responsibility for the group will be shared equally among all the members. Since the exercises are merely catalysts for dealing with yourself and sharing with others, you will make changes freely if
these structures are not suitable for your group.

The major prerequisite for membership in a consciousness raising group is a willingness to participate actively and openly. In addition to a willingness to stay with it, each member should come to give something and to receive something. Since silent members do not give very much to others, even when they receive something themselves, they are a luxury that a new group can rarely afford. Since participation versus being alienated or withdrawn is a difficult undertaking, the group may want to spend some time exploring the problems of under and over participation and what participation means for one person versus another. Participation, however, in any particular experience of the group must, of course, always be voluntary.

The groups are existential in that they focus on "here and now" feelings. Hopefully, you will feel comfortable to "level" with members of your group at any particular time about what you are feeling. At those points where you collect data from your past the goal is not to dredge up secrets. Consciousness raising groups are not therapy groups, but serve to substantiate the commonness of certain experiences and the similarity of our socialization processes. With the new awareness, you may feel more in control of your strengths and weaknesses. Simply by becoming aware on all levels, the emotional, the cognitive, and the physical, change is facilitated. The value of discovering
that we share feelings in common with others is, perhaps, one of the most health-giving and energy-giving experiences possible.

For purposes of keeping track of your own growth, you might complete a "critical incident" form after each session (see page 106). It is always surprising how group experiences blur and the specifics of a learning experience are forgotten if it isn't recorded. If a critical incident form does not appeal to you, then perhaps a diary or a log is more reasonable for you.

In order to make changes in your attitudes and behaviors you will need support groups, diaries, encouragement in intimate relationships, time to reflect on your behavior, and a constant awareness to put yourself first more than you have in the past. It is a difficult undertaking to try and become aware of behavior that has been reinforced for many years, and it is always impressive to me when someone is willing to attempt it.
Workshop Design

The optimum environment for the workshop is away from home in a live-in situation where there are a minimum of distractions. Frequently there are summer camps for rent for such experiences. The work can be divided up for making the arrangements, getting food, cooking, etc., thereby beginning to build a sense of community within the group. In fact, a lot of data about the group is generated in these activities which are as much a part of the life of the group as the exercises. Particularly in a co-ed situation, how these tasks are handled interjects dynamic real life data about the participants into the history of the group.

It is helpful if participants do some reading in advance of the weekend workshop. The article, "Fourth World Issues and Beyond," included here is suggested.

Suggested Workshop Schedule

Friday night - 8 pm - 12 midnight
8 - 9:30 - Activity to get to know each other.

Select one exercise from
2 - Experience in Data Collecting
3 - Get Acquainted Exercise
4 - Brief Get-Acquainted Exercise
5 - Pictorial History of Your Sex Roles
9:30 - 9:45 - Break

9:45 - 12:00 - These three exercises can be used together.
   
   6 - Who Am I? What Are My Sex Role Stereotypes?
   7 - Sentence Completions About Sex Roles
   8 - Sex Role Expectations

Saturday

9:00 - Exercise 9 - Sex Role Stereotypes

   Exercise 20 - Today's Emotions

10:30 - Exercise 19 - My Body

12:00 - 1:15 - Lunch

   The afternoon is a time when the group is likely to lag: physical activity may be helpful.

1:15 - 2:30 - Exercise 12 - Being in Touch

2:30 - 5:00 - It may now be time to pay attention to the group climate and to building openness and cohesiveness. If so, some of the following exercises may be helpful.

   Exercise 18 - Force Field Analysis
   Exercise 14 - Johari Window
   Exercise 15 - Fishbowl
   Exercise 13 - Power Line
   Exercise 16 - Taking the Temperature of the Group

5:00 - 7:00 - Play and Dinner
8:15 - The group may have generated a momentum of its own by now so that there are enough issues before it without loading more exercises onto it. If so, then this may be a good time for an unstructured session. In this case the group may find it helpful to appoint one or two process observers or facilitators to be responsible for keeping the group in touch with its goals.

Exercise 22 - Anger
Exercise 23 - The Group

Sunday
9:00 - Breakfast
9:00 - 12:00 - Exercise 24 - Behavior Change Contract
   Exercise 11 - Alter Ego
12:00 - 1:00 - Lunch
   Exercise 25 - I Learned Statements
   Exercise 26 - Post Meeting Reaction Sheets
       Critical Incident Form (Exercise 1):
       (Complete several (3-4) for Journal for the weekend)

Plan for follow-up sessions.
Exercise #1

Critical Incident Form

Try to complete this after each session of the group. Be as specific and objective as possible in your descriptions.

Date____________________ Name____________________

1. Critical incident related to the small group consciousness raising experience.

Think of your experience in your small group today and describe the incident (a situation) in which you were involved that had the most impact on you (either positive or negative).

a) Describe the situation (include date and time); background or activities that led up to or influenced your behavior, i.e., what was going on before and at that time.

b) Describe exactly what you did, said, or thought.

c) Outcome--analysis of how your behavior, intervention or lack of overt behavior influenced the group and how you felt about it.

d) How would you in retrospect have liked to respond? What do you think you will do the next time a similar situation arises?

2. Critical incident outside of class related to Sexism.

Think of your activities during the week and describe an incident in which you were involved and that had a significant impact on you.

a) Describe the situation (include date and time); background or activities that led up to or influenced your behavior, i.e., what was going on before and at that time.

b) Describe exactly what you did or said (or thought).
c) Outcome—analysis of how your behavior, intervention, or lack of overt behavior influenced the group and how you felt about it.

d) How would you in retrospect have liked to respond? What do you think you will do the next time a similar situation arises?

Contributed by Professor Dee G. Appley, Department of Psychology, and Professor Don Carew, Human Relations Center, University of Massachusetts.
CONSCIOUSNESS RAISING AND BUILDING
GROUP COHESIVENESS

Extended Workshop Series
2 days

Reading 1: Fourth World Issues and Beyond—Alice Sargent

Exercise

2 - Experience in Data Collecting
3 - Get Acquainted Exercise
4 - Brief Get Acquainted Exercise
5 - Pictorial History of Your Sex Roles
6 - Who Am I? What are my Sex Role Stereotypes?
7 - Sentence Completions about Sex Roles
8 - Sex Role Expectations
9 - Sex Role Stereotypes
10 - Our Sex Role Myths
11 - Alter-Ego
12 - Being in Touch—non verbal exercises
13 - Power Line
14 - Johari Window
15 - Fishbowl
16 - Taking the Temperature of the Group
17 - Feedback
18 - Force Field Analysis
19 - My Body
20 - Today's Emotions
21 - My Emotions Collection
22 - Anger
23 - The Group
24 - Behavior Change Contract
25 - I Learned . . . . .
26 - Post Meeting Reaction Sheet
FOURTH WORLD ISSUES AND BEYOND

Alice G. Sargent

Our society is undergoing major changes in the access to power, responsibility, and opportunity among the races and the sexes. Third World people, and now women, are demanding a share of the action which has been the exclusive province of white men. The Women's Movement feels like it is currently around three years behind it. Some of us dreamed that we might be able to learn from the experiences of black men and women and eclipse portions of the process. This does not appear to be possible. In order to grow up, each movement seems to have to live through all of the stages of development; dependency, counterdependency, and finally, independence, and interdependence.¹

Black people have already begun to overcome submission and oppression; women are just now providing themselves with opportunities to move out of the dependent stage. Some black people are also leaving counterdependency behind just as the advance guard of women are moving into this stage which is characterized by much rhetoric, anger, indignation, blame, and separatism. What the movements have in common is that some women will be able to put it together better in the company of other women without men being present, just as many black people trust
self-exploration more in the presence of other black people, with whites excluded. Together women may express heretofore silent sides of themselves; they can relinquish self-hatred, give up putting other women down; discover from within who they are, and feel good about that self; and stop living through and for others. For too long women have identified with their aggressor--the white male--and have tried to take on his attributes. They have looked to him for ratification of their identity, in spite of their subservience. Black solidarity has already done that for black and brown people. Just as other people of color are building a sense of community, now women, too, must look within themselves and to other women if they are to find out how they came to be who they are, and the options for change that are open to them. They must recognize that what they have long considered individual problems are actually social problems. In separateness, women and men may not find equality, but a sense of uniqueness and togetherness which will lead to the next stage when human choices about how to behave can be made.

Lest this sound pessimistic, let me say that the hope for real change in the future for men and women rests on the movement going through this stage of separatisrn. Without this opportunity for women to explore with other women the possibilities of non role-related behavior, women might merely adopt the values of white men and continue a patriarchal, hierarchial, competitive, non
collaborative, non-intimate society. However, if women do recognize, just as black people have begun to do, what they have to offer our society that is unique, then there is hope of changing the pervasive white male culture and value system. The division of labor in our society has allocated to women responsibility for intimacy and connectedness with men, and to men the values of work, power, and achievement.

It is essential that the values of affiliation and achievement become human values espoused by all human beings. It is my hope that in the Fifth World, power will be replaced by collaboration and a greater democratization of the family and the work environment.

To test out our attitudes we might now list to what extent men's roles are more desirable, and women's roles less desirable.

Let us complete the following sentences ten times:

For Women
Since I am a woman I must..............................
If I were a man I could.................................

For Men
Since I am a man I must...............................
If I were a woman I could............................

To date the only items I have seen men put under "if I were a woman I could"; are: have a baby; play tennis whenever I want; wear jewelry; not work for a living; play
golf. I wonder how many applicants would apply to fill such a job description if all options were open to them.

Forcing people into sharply differentiated sex roles has been costly to both men and women. Psychology has been of little help to men and women in understanding whether there are any real sex differences. In fact, psychological theory has been destructive in understanding the identity of women. Freud and Erikson expounded the myth of the sex organ causality. Women have an empty inner space in which they can carry a child. As Erikson says, "Anatomy decrees the life of a woman. Her 'inner space' is destined to bear the offspring of chosen men and with it a biological, psychological, and ethical commitment to take care of human infancy."²

To date, fulfillment for women has consisted in their obtaining the kinds of men and the kinds of homes which will allow them joyful altruism and nurturance as they care for their families. The care of families is critical, but until the present most of the responsibility has fallen unquestioningly upon one party, the wife. The cost to many women is that much of their daily life is lived in a world of children, homemaking, and other responsibilities, which do not provide them with sufficient "open space" for self-exploration and self-actualization.

In the Fourth World, women will question the assumptions of this division of labor. We will not continue to
support the male-dominated political system, and will welcome political candidates. We will avoid or desert doctors who do not consider the health care of women in prescribing inadequately-tested contraceptives, who convey incorrect sex information, who recommend unnecessary radical surgery, or provide poor information about abortion. We will change all that sets women apart from women, including what keeps white sisters apart from black sisters. We must not fall into the comparison trap with men which robs us of our own focus for our lives; we must be wary of the so-called sexual revolution which permits women to be attentive to the needs of many men rather than just one. The role of wife must be redefined. No longer will it remain the traditional role of the appointment-maker, housekeeper, cook, child-care officer, record keeper, ego supporter. So, too, other exploitively designed jobs for women will change. The position of secretary as women have conceived it must be reexamined. Should it include making doctor's appointments, typing only the man's ideas, bringing coffee, filing, finding lost papers, cleaning up, regardless of the experience, educational background, and competence of the person? The position of nurse is already changing from that of an attendant to that of an independent professional who does nursing, teaches health care, and is an advocate for the patient. If men had been office secretaries or nurses, how different these professions would be today!
Are white males really better off? Some do have power and a sense of accomplishment, but they also are apt to die at a younger age. The recent rise in the "drop out rate" in businessmen between the ages of thirty-five and forty-five may indicate that men feel hollow, and lack a sense of purpose. Perhaps they are achieving and accomplishing without gaining a clearer sense of themselves. They may be becoming aware of what their position is costing them--a loss of contact with feelings, a loss of a sense of self, a loss of purpose other than to achieve. They have been seduced into the system without creating it and without assessing what its' human qualities are. They have not been allowed to be dependent, to be afraid, or to hurt out loud.

Research Findings

In social learning theory terms, Albert Bandura finds in his studies of aggression that boys reproduce much more aggressive behavior in imitation of a model towards Bobo dolls than do girls, just as they do in society. Yet when incentives are introduced, boys and girls exhibit the same amount of aggressive behavior. He concludes that girls are fully aware of masculine behavior, i.e., in this instance aggressive behavior; they simply do not practice it because of the likelihood of punishment.

Eleanor Maccoby says that there are no intellectual
differences until high school. Girls then begin to do poorly in arithmetic reasoning\(^5\) "just as everyone expected they would." As yet we do not have culture free teachers. We know that some students become intelligent because teachers expect them to be intelligent, just as rats run mazes better because experimenters are told that rats are bright. We need first to tell teachers that girls do better in mathematical reasoning than boys before we arrive at any conclusions.

Matina Horner demonstrated that women are aware of the "negative consequences of success" and that some women develop a motive to avoid success. Women are reinforced as people for succeeding, and punished as women by "feelings of being unfeminine or inadequate as women," as well as by fears of social rejection. Margaret Mead said, "each step forward as a successful American person means a step back as a woman." The responses of women to this ambivalence are feelings of frustration, hostility, bitterness, and confusion.\(^6\)

Even when women have pursued professional lives, they have been viewed as lesser authorities than male counterparts. Ask women you know how many of them go to women doctors, and if not, why not? Philip Goldberg did a study in which he asked female college students to rate articles in each of six fields. Some of the articles were identified as being written by Joan McKay and others by John
McKay, even though they were the same articles. The identical article received significantly lower ratings when it was attributed to a female rather than a male author. Daryl and Sandra Bem replicated this work with males and found the same conclusion: the male authors received higher ratings.7

What work, if any, has there been on the socialization process? Robert Sears in his longitudinal studies of mothers, found a greater permissiveness towards dependency behavior in female children and a greater permissiveness towards aggressive behavior in boys. He found also that at the age of three, boys and girls were equal in the amount of verbal aggression, but that boys were slightly higher in the amount of physical aggression. By the age of six, practically all physical aggression had been extinguished in girls, but girls far surpassed boys in the amount of verbal aggression. Hence, we see the antecedents of "bitchiness" at six years of age. Sears pointed out that girls express aggression in pro-social terms, by emphasizing the importance of following the rules, and boys express aggression in anti-social terms, acting out behavior.8

There are reports now that in the so-called liberation nursery schools, girls are more aggressive and boys cry more often.

Having reviewed the research which demonstrates the depth to which our attitudes have been corroded by
stereotyped behavior, change seems an arduous process. In the Fourth World every woman will probably need to be part of a support group where she can engage in her own consciousness raising in order to perceive how she is putting her man, or men in general, up, because they are men. Hopefully, in such a group she can explore to what extent she feels she is currently fulfilling her potential and is a self-actualizing person. She can examine her ambivalence and fears toward achieving and toward asserting herself. She can look at the way she is growing and changing her options to meet the different stages of life ahead of her. She can test out her fantasies for the future. She can consider new learnings for her children if she chooses to have them, so that may follow less rigid sex roles. She can look at her feelings towards other women. In sum, she can resocialize herself.

Women growing in awareness of themselves as persons will think and act differently and will no longer submit to the same patterns of behavior. The results will be grinding and painful and will change the world for men. Several things may happen. Men may become aggressive and attempt to return women to their place. Or they may withdraw to "let women get it out of their system." Optimally, they could recognize the inequities, the oppressiveness of women's position which mirrors their own oppressed state, and thus actively seek to change their own attitudes and
condition. My hope is--indeed my belief is--that the latter will develop. When it does, in fact to help it develop, men, too, will need to have their own consciousness raising support groups. In such groups they can look seriously at the moral responsibility they bear as men because they hold so much of the power and because of the pain which they inflict, albeit unintentionally, on females, black people, and other minority groups. They can assess the extent to which their own lives are meeting their human needs for receiving and giving warmth versus the extent to which they are buried under a mountain of responsibilities and tasks. Perhaps they will then be able to construct a value system for themselves, rather than simply accepting their birthright of power and privilege as their means of relating to the world.

Jonathan Livingston Seagull suggests two very different messages which are relevant separately to men and to women, though I am somewhat reluctant to look at him, since many others claim him for their cause. To men, Jonathan might say, "Once you have become a perfect, unlimited gull, then the next step is to demonstrate love by giving something of the truth that you have seen to someone else who is asking only a chance to see truth for himself." To women, Jonathan's message could be, "The real unlimited you... Whatever stands against that freedom must be set aside, be it ritual or superstition or
limitation in any form."^{9}

With great passion, Robin Morgan speaks to women of the Fourth World:

I want a women's revolution like a lover. I lust for it. I want so much this freedom, this end to struggle and fear and lies . . .
To even glimpse what I might have been and never, never will become, had I not had to "waste my life" fighting for what my lack of freedom keeps me from glimpsing.^{10}

Someday, someday, someday much later, together men and women may work to welcome the human Fifth World.
Footnotes


Exercise #2

Get Acquainted Exercise

EXPERIENCE IN DATA COLLECTING

Individual Goals: to explore myths about categories; to check out, and confirm or discard some of these myths; to get in touch with personal experience, with respect to birth order or sex differences and to articulate them; to check out other people's experiences.

Instructions:

Since it will be quite relevant for discussions of sex roles and stereotypes to be aware of how to collect data, you may want to begin by discussing a topic that you know about; your own experience of place in the family "birth order."

1. Divide into four groups: the oldest children in one corner of the room, middle children in another, youngest children in the third, and only children in the fourth.

2. In the next 15 to 20 minutes find out what you have in common because of your birth order.

3. Reassemble in one large group and share the data which you have discussed. It is helpful to use the fishbowl design for the large group discussion. For example, you might start by placing one small group which is

\[ \text{Fishbowl}^1 \text{ A group in the middle with B group observing.} \]
Reporting on their experiences as only children in the center of the group where they will carry on a portion of their discussion while the larger group observes.

Alternate Instructions

1. If the group seems ready, divide into two groups, one of men and one of women, and answer the question: "What do women or men have in common with each other?"

2. At the end of this the groups reassemble and report what the men said and what the women said. What myths were exploded? What common experiences were there?

Time:

1 hour.
Exercise #3

GET ACQUAINTED EXERCISE

Group Goals:

to help people feel more comfortable and trusting and to experience caring within the framework of the group.

Instructions:

1. Select one person from the group, preferably someone you do not know. Take your partner to an uncrowded part of the room and have a conversation. Each person talk for five minutes about himself/herself.

2. Try to use a means of talking in which you can actually share something important about yourself with the other person. The goal is to feel more related to that other person at the end of the five minutes. If you are like me, the customary sharing of demographic data which usually passes for an introduction does not make you feel more related, i.e., where you live or where you work. I prefer to talk about what I am feeling at this moment: anxious, eager, or turned off. Then I might talk a little about the needs which I hope this group will meet and what I think I have to give to the group; i.e., why I am here and what my hopes and expectations are.

3. At the end of the ten minutes the pairs return, and each member of the pair takes several minutes to introduce his/her partner, sharing what has been learned during the earlier encounter.
4. The entire group may then want to discuss the differences in introductions.

5. What effect has this experience had on the climate in your group—trust, cohesiveness, etc.?

**Spirit of the Exercise**

This experience is very important in setting the norms of the group. How the information is received about each person can set the tone for the future. Whether people are interested or can express caring to each other is relevant to how quickly cohesiveness will develop. If some people share more meaningfully with each other and this discrepancy is not acknowledged, sub-groups are beginning to develop.

**Time**

For 12-15 people—-one hour to one and one-half hours.
Exercise #4

**BRIEF GET ACQUAINTED EXERCISE**

**Instructions:**

Introduction to the group through movement rather than through a verbal description.

1. Each person thinks of a movement which describes himself/herself.
   
2. The group forms a circle.
   
3. In turn, each person introduces himself/herself to the group by name first and then by demonstrating a movement. The rest of the group mimics the movement and repeats the person's name.

   For instance: I say I'm Alice, I then fall down on the floor because I'm feeling the whole weight of the group on my back, which is typically the way I feel at the beginning of a group.
Exercise #5

PICTORIAL HISTORY OF YOUR SEX-ROLES

Individual Goals: to recall some of the experiences which remind you that you had an assumed sex-role identity.

Group Goals: to become better acquainted and to begin to experience how much and what you have in common.

Explanation: This exercise can be a "fun way" for people to become acquainted and to begin to get in touch with what they have in common. How many women and men were told many of the same "myths" about what they should do and should not do? The experience of drawing rather than writing often serves surprisingly well to cue in to many childhood memories. It is helpful if each person can pick something from each stage of his/her life: elementary school, junior high, etc. This is not an art test; the pictures are just to get an experience identified. You can explain them later.

Instructions:

1. Each person in the group selects a crayon which may be swapped.

2. Begin to draw vignettes from your life, starting as early as you can to depict how you developed your sex-role identity. Each scene should convey how you told yourself, or how someone else told you, the appropriate behavior for a boy or girl, or a man or woman. In my
picture, for example, the boy next door might be telling me that his mother said we could no longer wrestle because I was a girl.

**Time:** Approximately half an hour for drawing. Two hours for a group of 12-15 people to share the drawings.

**Spirit of the Exercise:** This tends to be a fun experience in which participants discover many don’ts that they have in common. People tend to be surprised that they have not progressed in their drawing style beyond third grade stick figures.

**Materials:** Large poster paper
Crayons
Masking tape
Exercise #6

WHO AM I?

What are my Sex Role Stereotypes?

Individual Goal: To articulate your self concept and your sex role stereotypes;

Group Goals: to see what sex role stereotypes members of the group share in common;

... to get feedback from other group members about your "who am I?"

Instructions:

1. This experience is designed so that you can "data collect" about yourself. Its value is lost if you do not attempt to confront yourself honestly. Do not let the possibility of sharing later interfere now with self-disclosure during the exercise. It would be better to be honest with yourself and not share with the group at a later time.

2. Divide your paper into three columns. In the first column answer the question, "Who am I?" at least ten times. Some people think of themselves in terms of (a) roles, (b) others use likes and dislikes, i.e., "I like Europe," "I can't stand people who talk all the time," "I'd like to be a really good father," (c) things that would be phony for me to do, (d) values and beliefs that I think are very important, (e) the way I'd like to be--my ego ideal, (f) other people who give my life meaning--people whom I love--who love me; people whom I respect--who
respect me, (g) personality traits—friendly, hostile, shy, (h) kinds of relationships that I build—keeping everyone at a safe distance, intimate relationships.

3. After you have finished enumerating you may want to rank your responses from one to as many as you have written. Number one should be the quality, adjective or role, without which you would feel most unlike yourself. In effect, it is your "emblem," or the word you would include when telling about yourself. Put a plus next to the other ones that are precious to you and a minus next to the ones that you want to give up.

4. After this part of the exercise is completed, at the top of one column write Men Are, and at the top of the next column write Women Are. Fill in each column with adjectives that describe men and women as you see them. Perhaps it would help to picture a situation in your mind: e.g., You are going to a party where you do not know many of the people. You walk into the room: on one side is a group of five men you don't know talking to each other, and on the other side are five women. Which group do you gravitate toward? What are you saying to yourself about the difference, if any, between the climate in the two groups? What makes you choose one group over the other? Rank order your responses so that No. 1 seems to the essence of that sex.

5. You may want to pause to compare your responses
to "Who Am I?" with your "Women Are" or "Men Are," to see how many overlap between your "Who Am I" and your sex-role.

6. In order to "data collect" on the total group, post two sheets of poster paper titled "Men Are" and the other "Women Are." People in the group may simply call out their adjectives while someone writes them on the papers. Is there consensus? Do people like their sex?

Materials: Index cards or paper for participants
- Pencils
- Pieces of poster paper
- Magic Markers
- Masking tape

Time: In a group of twelve to fifteen, this would take three hours.

Spirit of the Exercise: The "Who Am I's" move the group to a more meaningful level of sharing. It can be quite painful to share this exercise if a large part of the group doesn't respond in some manner either verbally or non-verbally. In the event that this happens, it is important to stop and to take a look at the group process in order to determine whether, in fact, the group is doing what the members came to do or the task seems irrelevant or threatening. The force field analysis (explained on page 150) may be useful as an exercise to help the group process its climate.

Follow up Exercises: Frequently the "Who Am I" exercise suggests hopes the person has for himself/herself which can be dealt with further through "sentence completions." Exercise 7 provides a number of examples.
Exercise #7

SENTENCE COMPLETIONS

Frequently people organize their behavior around "shoulds" or "expectations" for themselves. These policies filter behavior along certain lines and require him/her to fit into a mold; e.g., "Good mothers always love their children"; "Good children always love their mothers"; "Mature men are responsible"; "Women shouldn't be too assertive." If some of the sentence completions listed below are relevant to you, try them; otherwise, make up your own to get some clues about your "organizing principles."

Nice girls are........................
(complete 10 times or as many as you can)

Bitches are...........................
(complete 10 times)

Responsible men are..................
(complete 10 times)

Strong men are......................
(complete 10 times)

The worst thing a woman can call a man is.............
(insert word)

....................................men are................
(insert word from above) (answer 10 times)

The worst thing a man can call a woman is...........
(insert word)

....................................women are...........
(answer 10 times)
As a man the worst thing you can call a man is.......  
(insert word)

.....................men are..................
(insert word from above)  (answer 10 times)

As a woman the worst thing you can call another 
woman is.................................
(insert word)

......................women are............... 
(insert word from above)  (answer 10 times)

The child in me is like......................
(answer 10 times)

The human in me is..........................
(answer 10 times)
Exercise #8

**SEX ROLE EXPECTATIONS**

Instructions: There are many expectations people have of others, and/or for themselves, as a man or woman. One way to think about these expectations is the following:

List as many things as you can for each category:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I am required to</th>
<th>I am allowed to</th>
<th>I am forbidden to</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

1. Since I am a (woman (man

2. If I were a (woman (man

I could I would I would not

3. The "human" in me wants to __________________________________

_____________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________

4. The most important thing in life for a man is__________

_____________________________________________________________
5. The most important thing in life for a woman is


6. The most important thing in life for a human being is


7. The most important thing in life for me is


Time:

15 minutes
Exercise #9

SEX ROLE STEREOTYPES

1. My best experience with a woman over the past (week, month, year), was

2. My worst experience with a woman over the past (week, month, year), was

3. My best experience with a man over the past (week, month, year), was

4. My worst experience with a man over the past (week, month, year), was
Exercise #10

OUR SEX ROLE MYTHS

1. Men are superior to women because.................................
   (10 times)

2. Women are superior to men because...............................
   (10 times)
**ALTER-EGO**

**Individual Goal:** To get in touch with more of your feelings.

**Instructions:** An alter-ego can serve to express what a group member appears to feel, as shown through non-verbal cues, but is not expressing.

1. Select someone in the group with whom you feel particularly in tune, and let that person know.

2. Divide into pairs in which at least one person feels in touch with the other.

3. Let the group continue on its track but let the member of the pair who feels in touch with the other person serve as the alter-ego. The alter-ego may sit a little behind the person with whom he/she is working, although it is necessary to see facial expressions and body posture.

4. The group continues on with what it is talking about. As the person expresses himself/herself, the alter-ego may speak up to express what the person is feeling but is not saying openly to the group. The alter-ego may add to something the person has said, or may contribute something completely on his/her own, perhaps from non-verbal cues.

5. The person then agrees or disagrees with his/her alter-ego.

6. To what extent are the alter-egos and their partners mixed along sex lines? Are there some feelings in common about whether it is easier or more difficult to alter-ego a person of the same sex or a different sex, or does it depend more on the person?
Group Goals: To feel more in touch with each other.

1. Milling--move around the room trying to tune in to what you are feeling; anxious, isolated, friendly, etc. If you feel curious or attracted to someone, then approach that person. If you are just standing there hoping someone will notice you and save you from having to take the initiative, then you might want to try to get into your passivity and really feel it. If you feel turned off altogether, move to a corner and wait and see if you begin to feel like moving again.

2. Touch faces--slowly explore each other's face to get to know one another better. Try to discover something in the person's face that you had not seen previously. Notice the quality of the other person's touch. Does he/she try to push your face around? Is he/she gentler than you expected?

3. Dance with someone of the opposite sex or the same sex. Women lead. What happens? You might begin by dancing back to back, trying to maintain contact all the while you are dancing with the other person's back.
4. Breathing  (Contributed by Dee G. Appley)

This experience permits you to experience being responsible for someone else's needs (i.e., breathing) and accepting someone else being responsible for you. It provides the opportunity to be both passive and active.

1) Choose partners, selecting someone with whom you would like to be more in touch.

2) One person sits down—the other person places his/her hands on the first person's shoulders to get in touch with the rhythm of their breathing.

3) The person who is standing identifies and facilitates the rhythm of the person you are helping. Then change places.

4) Were there differences between the men and women in experiencing passivity versus taking the initiative; were the differences in relation to the same sex and the opposite sex?

5. Massage

This experience provides a lovely way to give to one another. Three people massage one person at a time. This particular massage is a gentle experience. Begin at the tips of the fingers, or toes, or the forehead, and gently massage out the tension. Remember some people may be tight and are not going to let go of their tightness in a mere ten minutes of loving massage.
**POWER LINE**

**Individual Goal:** To get in touch with how you see yourself and how others see your position of influence in the group.

**Group Goals:** To see the norms of the group.

**Explanation:** Inclusion is an issue for everyone in the group. Some people have an easier time getting on board than others. This experience allows the group to make explicit those in the group who feel they belong and those who don't, by people actually placing themselves. The line may also serve to point up feelings of power and powerlessness among the women and men. Power in the group may take different forms. Some people will be viewed as powerful because they are experts or know more about a topic than anyone else in the group; other people will be seen as having power because they have charisma or machismo; this may stem from their effectiveness in relating to other people in the group or their personal stance, the way they present themselves as cool or knowing what's going on. Frequently, in such a group the men will go to the head of the line or the middle, and the women will gravitate towards the end. If the group is carrying on the same norm our society holds—that it is inappropriate for women to show too much interest in power or to be too assertive—then that is important for everyone to confront. Otherwise the participants will miss the opportunity to take a fresh look at how they actually want to influence the group.
Instructions:

1. Make a power line. Line up in order of the importance that people feel to the group. Ask the members of the group how accurately they feel the line represents the location of power in the group. If anyone wants to rearrange the line so that it expresses the group as they see it, they should do so and give their reasons.

2. Form a circle linking arms of all the members of the group except for one person. The person at the end of the line—or anyone who wishes, for that matter—can try to break into the circle. The person on the outside may use any means he/she wants in order to get in—over, under, crashing through. The group should try as hard as it can to keep her/him out. The experience is more effective when done in silence, save for grunts, or else tension will be dissipated in the talk. If there are still persons in the group who are on the periphery and not participating actively, perhaps they will try to break into the group. The intention here is to have fun, but not for anyone to get hurt. Individuals knowing the extent of how much they can exert themselves should be careful. A casualty might simply reinforce a person's sense of mistrust.

3. The reverse is true as well. If someone feels too central to the group and would like to have more space she/he may wish to break out of the circle. They stand inside the circle and use any means available to break out.
Exercise #14

JOHARI WINDOW

Group Goals: To open up a group by getting hidden agendas out.

It may be necessary to pause from the focus on sex stereotypes and consciousness raising to work briefly on the group dynamics in order to free up a log jam. This experience is useful if you feel that a number of people are sitting on important feelings which they are not sharing, such as the group experience being different from what people came to do, competition among the women or the men, or among the women and the men; feelings of anger among some people toward others; feelings of mistrust or fear that some other members are not interested in her/him. In fact, it would be most unusual if your group kept growing at an even pace with everyone becoming more trustful and open simultaneously.

Instructions:

The JoHari Window looks as follows: The entire square represents all of your "personal space" of "life awareness."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KNOWN TO OTHERS</th>
<th>FREE</th>
<th>KNOWN TO OTHERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KNOWN TO SELF</td>
<td>UNFREE</td>
<td>UNKNOWN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Each member of the group draws his/her own picture. Your division of the rectangle indicates what your feelings are at this time about this group.

Free = the percentage of yourself known to you and to others.

Known to others = what percentage of yourself you think is known to others in the group but not known to yourself ("the feedback area"—what you think other people would tell you if they told you what they thought of you)!

Unfree = what you are holding back from the group.

Unknown to others = means the extent to which you feel you and others are unaware of your true person. This might be your unconscious depending on your theory of personality.

2. The pictures will indicate to the group how big proportionately everyone's "free space" is. It is a way of taking the temperature or the pulse of this group to see how much trust, openness, caring, and cohesiveness there is, i.e., how able and how comfortable all the members are to say what they feel and what they think. The size of the "unfree area" indicates to what extent members are holding back or feeling out of touch. In question is only material relative to this group and to what has gone on, not all.

---

your family secrets, i.e., how much trust and safety is being experienced in this room with these people.

3. Each person turns his/her piece of paper over, and on the back lists some thoughts and feelings that he/she is holding back that might be relevant to the group. Be as specific as possible. (This is an "anonymous" exercise. No one needs to claim his/her picture). The goal of this experience is to get a reading on the climate of the group. Some examples of what you might list are:

I am feeling lonely in here.
I wish someone would put his/her arm around me.
Because I am attracted to................I'm trying to impress her/him every time I talk.
I'm very angry at..........for ignoring what I said. Since that happened, I haven't opened my mouth in this group.
This group isn't going the way I had hoped it would.
I'm afraid to talk about myself in here because I'm not sure if anyone is interested.

4. Everyone puts his/her paper in the center of the floor in order to maintain anonymity. Each person in the group selects a paper other than his/her own and reads that paper, holding the picture up for everyone to see how large the free and unfree spaces are. The goal of this experience is not to find out which paper belongs to whom but to find out fears and concerns present in the group. This exercise data collects on the group at this point in order to understand and change that group climate, not to pressure individual members to change.
Exercise #15

**FISHBOWL**

**Group Goal:** To improve observation skills of group processes so that members may be more aware of what is taking place in the group.

**Instructions:**

1. Divide into two groups either male and female, or simply two equal groups. The women, or half the group, interact in the center of the group for half an hour while the men, or the other half of the group, observe. Each person selects another person to observe. Observe both verbal and non-verbal participation.

2. The observers share their observations and then those on the outside go into the middle.

**Observe for:**

1) **Listening**—does the person attend to what is being said or is he/she concerned with something else, perhaps what he/she is going to say next?

2) **Eye contact**—where does he/she look?

3) **Empathy**—does he/she hear feelings as well as content?

4) **Open versus closed questions**—does the person invite others to share more, or is he/she quite specific.

   Open: how were you feeling when you said that?
   Closed: I hate people who do that, don't you?
5) Does he listen more to feeling or content?
6) Communication—how clear are the messages he sends?
7) Power—who has the power or influence in the group?
8) Who talks to whom?
9) Does the person expect others to take him seriously, or does he/she just let her comments trail off at the end and not bother to look for a reaction?
10) Does the person talk about himself/herself "I," or does she say "you" or "one" does thus and so?
11) What does the person's posture indicate: Is he/she scrunched up like a pretzel or relaxed? What other non-verbal messages are being sent?"  

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1This observation list was generated by Professor Al Ivey, School of Education, University of Massachusetts.
Exercise #16

**TAKING THE TEMPERATURE OF THE GROUP**

**Group Goal:** Getting a clear reading of where the group is.

**Instructions:**

1. If the group seems to be fragmented, or there are a number of sub groups, or the group seems to be depressed, it is sometimes helpful to go around the circle and have each person try to express in one word what she/he is feeling at that moment (not what he/she is thinking).

2. Keep going around in the circle until everyone has finished sharing all their feelings. Often there is a contagion whereby people catch each other's feelings and the people who are depressed shift to feeling better. Having shared their depression, they feel less alienated. Hopefully, they haven't simply spread their depression around. Participants in the group become aware that they are not alone in how they feel and possibly the good feelings of someone in the group whom they feel close to makes them feel better.

3. The expression of feelings might run as follows: down, truned off, angry, sad, rejected, bored, frustrated, curious, confused, involved, eager, hopeful, turned on, and around again.
Exercise #17

FEEDBACK

**Individual Goal:** To increase receptivity to how others are reacting to you; to expand your ability to communicate to others how you are reacting to them.

To learn to check out whether you are hearing someone correctly by using the group for consensual validation.

**Explanation:** The ultimate goal in the group is for people to hear each other totally, both because they know each other and because they have no filters to block their communication. "Feedback" about how you experience another person is one way to clean up filters so that people can hear each other directly.

1. The best way for feedback to happen is "naturally." People simply ask how they are coming across and others share their reactions to them.

2. When you offer feedback to someone it is important to check out whether or not they want to receive it.

3. If they do, then it is helpful to be as specific as possible in your response. "When you said this to me, I felt . . . ."

4. It is also very important to check out whether other members of the group experienced the person this same way.

5. If it is a personal "vision," rather than a collective experience, then you need to explore your own perception and feelings further to see what is going on inside you.
In the early stages of a group, as people are getting to know each other, it is less likely that feedback is actually taking place. Instead, what is going on is more akin to people getting to know each other and clearing up distortions by the exchange of more information.

If members of the group are having trouble giving and receiving feedback— and many very likely are— then you may want to devise an experience. Set aside several hours, or else an extended session, during which people will share where they are at with each other. This can be done directly or anonymously.

**Instructions:**

1. Each person write anonymously your impression of yourself and your sense of the group's impression of you. Put these papers in the middle.

2. Everyone take someone else's paper and read aloud the person's impression of himself/herself.

3. The group then tries to guess whose paper it is.

4. The person shares that it is her/his paper.

5. Then the description of the person's impression of how the group sees him/her is read and confirmed or negated point by point by the group.
Exercise #18

FORCE FIELD ANALYSIS

Group Goal: To get a reading of the group climate. This exercise is particularly relevant to facilitate the decision-making process.

Instructions: One of the ways we use frequently to assess where a group is at at a given moment is a Force Field Analysis, i.e., a look at the forces that are at work in keeping the group where it is. It can be drawn up individually by each member and/or made as a composite for the group. It is usually done to facilitate change. The theory of change, however, of the force field is to remove the "restraining" forces not to put on more "driving" forces.

A force field for your group might look as follows:

Done by the women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DRIVING FORCES (that help this group meet my needs)</th>
<th>RESTRAINING FORCES (that keep this group from meeting my needs)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I like the people in this group.</td>
<td>I came to talk about political ideas not to talk about myself. This personal sharing isn't meeting my needs, and it's making me anxious.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I'm beginning to feel something in common with the other women in this group.</td>
<td>When I came into this group I was satisfied with my marriage. Now I'm afraid I'm beginning to wonder. It's making me feel uncomfortable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I'm starting to like the women in here better than I ever liked women.</td>
<td>So and so seems to be so much more aware than I am. I'd better not open my mouth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I'm starting to feel it's all right for me to express anger in here.</td>
<td>No one in here seems to care when I say anything. They just move on to another person.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I'm beginning to enjoy touching and being touched by other people.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRIVING FORCES</td>
<td>RESTRAINING FORCES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(that help this group meet my needs)</td>
<td>(that keep this group from meeting my needs)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>If I stop coming, people will think I'm afraid.</th>
<th>It takes me time to get to know people. I just can't start talking about myself this quickly.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>That keep this group from meeting my needs.</td>
<td>My boyfriend is putting pressure on me to stop coming. I certainly can't tell the group that, so I had better keep quiet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Done by men</td>
<td>I really don't have anything to contribute</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I'm beginning to feel much more in common with other men than I ever thought I would.</th>
<th>This movement is the women's thing. Probably I shouldn't participate.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I'm beginning to feel attracted to some of the other men in the group.</td>
<td>I'm really angry at women who sit around and bitch. What are they doing with their lives? And yet I can't say that. It's boring in here.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I'm finding that it's all right to express all kinds of feelings that I've kept locked away.</td>
<td>I'm beginning to feel attracted to some of the other men in the group. I look forward more to informal time before and after the group. I feel like I'm on show in here.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes I hurt a lot or I'm afraid, but I don't let anyone know.</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It feels good to acknowledge that I'm not as sure of myself or as cool as I pretend.</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It feels good to share how lonely I am—that what I really want are some friends—both women and men.

I hope my wife does start to change. She's not nearly as interesting as she used to be when we were first married. I don't mind if she is home less, just so she's happier and more involved.

I'm beginning to feel attracted to some of the women in here. But I can't say that or else they'll say I'm turning them into sex objects. I'd better keep quiet.

I'm feeling anxious that my wife may start to make some demands on me to help more at home. I like things the way they are.

I don't know what I'm going to get out of this. I wish I were a woman. I think they have it so good.

That keeps this group from meeting my needs. That helps this group meet my needs.

Exercise #19

**MY BODY**

**Individual Goals:** To increase awareness as to how you feel about your body and how those feelings affect your image of yourself.

**Group Goals:** To increase awareness of collective feelings.

**Instructions:**

Women's (and perhaps men's to a somewhat lesser extent), expectations of their bodies tend to rest on a Madison Avenue image rather than an appreciation of individual differences. In an artistic sense there are Modigliani, Renoir, and Braque women. In a real sense there are Golda Meir, Jane Fonda, and Twiggy women. For men, there are Steve McQueen, John Wayne, and Humphrey Bogart men. Yet very few women and men are satisfied with their bodies. "The most minute blemish on a total person--a pimple, excess weight, a 'funny nose,' larger than average breasts--can ruin a day, or years of agonies of constant awareness of it." (Levine, *Rebirth of the Women's Movement*), p. 202.

1. Draw an outline sketch of yourself--your whole body. Try to convey how you feel about your body, the parts you like and dislike. Draw the senses in terms of bigness and smallness indicating the ones that you rely on more, or less, such as your eyes, nose, mouth, feet (for balance), ears, hands, and genitals. Please don't worry
about your artistic ability; this is not an art test. Just concentrate on the things that you are trying to communicate.

2. Break into pairs and share the feelings with which you are in touch.

3. Return to the total group and talk about your body and your senses. How did the women feel about their bodies? How did the men feel about theirs?

4. Are the men's feelings different from the women's?

5. Were the senses the women used different from the men's?
Exercise #20

**TODAY'S EMOTIONS**

**Group Goals:** To encourage the expression of emotions as well as thoughts in the group.

**Instructions:**

In two minutes write down as many feelings as you can think of which you experienced in today's session.

1. How many feelings did you include on your list?

2. What is the number of positive emotions versus the number of negative emotions on your list? What does the ratio mean? Are there any you wish to eliminate? Check those.

3. Inventory the emotions in the total group on two sheets of paper. One is for the emotions written on women's lists; the other sheet is for emotions written on men's lists.

4. What are the differences, if any, between the emotions included on the men's list and the emotions on the women's list? Which emotions occur most frequently?

5. Which of the emotions do you like feeling? How does this compare with others in the group of the same sex or the opposite sex?

6. Which of the emotions make you feel uncomfortable? How does this compare with others in the group of the same sex or the opposite sex?

**Time**

45 minutes
Exercise #21

MY EMOTIONS COLLECTION

Individual Goal: To be in touch with those emotions which may not be as readily available to you.

Explanation: Eric Berne talks of "trading stamps" which people collect "as the by-product of legitimate interactions" and save for use later. Some people collect "trading stamps" to confirm a depression; to justify alienation; to reassure themselves that other people are not really trustworthy, hence they need not relate to them; to confirm their right to become angry; or to confirm other guilt or fears. In fact, "People like to show their collections of feelings to others and talk about who had more," or better "angers, hurts, guilt, or fears, etc." Fortunately, some people collect positive emotions and share their joys and good feelings.

Examples:

In reflecting her sense of intimidation or fear of men, a woman might say, "You should see how the man I'm living with treats me. He doesn't help around the house at all. He only does what he wants to do, when he wants to do it."

A man might say, "She's insatiable. I give an inch and... Her demands are endless. As soon as I finish doing one thing she has another on her mind. What does she want from me?"
A woman might say of another woman, "She's just using me, like all women. What am I getting out of the relationship? She calls me every time something bothers her a little bit. She never asks how I am."

Instructions:
1. Reflect on how related you feel to each of the members of the group. Take about ten minutes of silence and look from member to member assessing where you are at with each person.

2. Did you recognize that you have been collecting "trading stamps" with respect to a particular person or emotion?

3. Are there any members of the group with whom you would like to alter your relationship either to make it better or worse?

4. Could you talk directly to that person and share with them what you have collected?

5. Could you check out whether they see themselves as sending these messages?

Time
1½ hours

Exercise #22

ANGER

Group Goals: To break the tension in the group.

This experience might be useful if there seems to be too much tense silence within the group; if the group seems to have reached a plateau and is having trouble going further; or if the group is having difficulty expressing negative feelings such as anger or fear.

Instructions:

1. Silently again for about ten minutes, fantasize how each person in the group might express anger. What sorts of behavior would various people exhibit if they became angry?

2. If anyone is willing to share his/her fantasies, begin with them. It is more helpful to wait to discuss the fantasies until after a number of people have shared them.

3. Check out with the person whom the fantasy is about how accurate it actually is. Of course, the fantasies may say more about the person who is sharing them than they do about the person who is the subject of the fantasy.

4. Are the fantasies of how the women express anger different from the men?

Time

1 hour
Exercise #23

**THE GROUP**

**Individual Goals:** To become more in touch with how much you are willing to receive or relate to others.

**Group Goals:** To see how related members of the group feel towards each other.

**Instructions:**

1. Draw a circle. Locate the other people in the group in your life space in terms of how intimately related you feel towards them.

2. Do you have many different distances? Are many people equidistant?

3. Are people of different sexes scattered equally or do you tend to place people of the same sex closer or further away from you?

4. Are the other people in the group in agreement with where you placed them? Or do they feel they belong closer or further away?
5. Do you want to change your picture at all? Is there someone you would like to bring further in or someone you would like to put further out? If so, why not change your picture? Would you like to share that change aloud in the group?
Exercise #24

BEHAVIOR CHANGE CONTRACT

Group Goals: To make change goals as overt and specific as possible in order to increase the likelihood that it will happen.

Instructions: Make a contract to express emotions this week that were excluded on your list in Exercise #20.

BEHAVIORAL CHANGE CHARACTERISTICS

The behavior must:
1) represent overt behavior
2) be individualized
3) be extremely specific

__________________________

CONTRACT

Name

Specific, Individualized Behavior-Change Goal

__________________________

__________________________

(-) Change x (+) change

you are here now

Date

Characteristics of failure

__________________________

__________________________

Witnesses:

__________________________

Characteristics of success

__________________________

Signatures:

__________________________
CONCLUSION TO A SESSION

I LEARNED

Group Goal: To data collect out loud rather than taking for granted or speculating about what each person learned from the session.

Instructions:

At the end of each group session try going around the circle and asking each person to make several "I learned" statements regarding today's session. Take 5 to 10 minutes to think about this first, or else it will be superficial and a foregone conclusion.

I learned that

EXAMPLES

I learned that I have difficulty talking in a group.
I learned that I am more liberated than I thought.
I learned that a lot of things I thought were "only my feelings" are actually shared by other people in the group.

Active participation is important here as always. Silence cannot be interpreted as agreement. Time and again you will be surprised when you actually hear from someone what is going on inside him/her. Making assumptions that we know where people "are coming from" without checking with them is the "role related" way of putting people into stereotyped boxes and keeping them there. It may be
necessary to listen particularly sharply to hear what each person is actually saying, rather than what you expect to hear them say. You may also need to remember to take yourself seriously enough to believe that the members of the group want to hear what you have learned.

Time
20-25 minutes
POST MEETING REACTION SHEET

Group Goals: To data collect anonymously about the climate in the group.

Instructions: Fill out at the end of the session and have someone tabulate the results. Present the results at the beginning of the next session.

1. How involved were you in what went on in the session?

   very involved

   not at all involved

2. How involved were most other people?

   very involved

   not at all involved

3. How much do you feel you gave of yourself to the group?

   a great deal

   very little

4. How much do you feel you received from others?

   a great deal

   very little

5. How free did you feel to say or do as you wanted in the group?

   completely free

   not at all free
6. How important do you feel your contribution was for the group?

very important
not at all important

7. How useful was the session for you as a woman/man?

very useful
not at all useful

8. The group increased my awareness about the kinds of problems women/men face:

a great deal moderately not at all

9. The group increased my trust in people:

a great deal moderately not at all

10. The most important contribution I made to the group was:

11. The least important contribution I made to the group was:

12. The behavior by someone else in the group that frustrated me most was:

13. The behavior by someone else in the group that I liked best was:
WEEKLY FOLLOW-UP SESSIONS

1. **How We Learned our Roles**
   - Exercise 27 Role Models
   - 28 Roles
   - 29 Mothers and Fathers

   Reading II Fathers

2. **Men and Women's Emotions**
   - Exercise 30 Love - Joy - Fear - Anger - Pain

   Reading III Socialization

3. **Sexuality**
   - Exercise 31 Sex Role Reversal

4. **Couples**
   - Exercise 32 The New Equality

   Reading IV Marriage

   Exercise 33 Power Structure Between Partners

   Reading V Couples are peers I
   Couples are peers II

5. **Racism and Sexism**
   - Exercise 34 Racism and Sexism

   Exercise 35 Eliminate Jane Crow along with Jim Crow

   Reading VI Attitudes of Some Black Women Towards the Women's Movement

6. **Life Styles and Life Experiences for Men and Women**
   - Reading VII Race and Work

   Reading VIII Women and Work

   Reading IX Women as Authorities
Reading X  Women as a Minority Group
Reading XI  Yes, There is a Cinderella
Reading XII  The Working Mother
Reading XIII  The Economics of Housework
Reading XIV  Motives:  Achievement - Power - Affiliation - Fear of Success

Life-Planning Series
Exercise 35  Who Am I?
36  Fantasy
37  Career
38  Best and Worst Day
39  What I do for Fun
40  Decisions
41  Freedom and Responsibility
42  Life Inventory
43  A Fantasy Future
44  A Two-Year Plan
45  The Future

Exercise #27

ROLE MODELS

Individual Goals: To increase awareness about the influence in your life on your sex role identity.

Explanation: The concept of role is used here to mean a set of expectations that has an objective concrete reality and does not impinge upon individuals because they hold a given social position. Position is defined as the location of a person, or set of persons, in a network of social relationships.

Instructions:

Describe five "role models" whom you have used in elaborating your identity, i.e., mother, father, a teacher, etc. Enumerate ten characteristics of each model and put a rank order on each characteristic to indicate how important you feel it is. Contrast these characteristics with your "Who Am I?"

ROLE MODELS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name #1</th>
<th>#2</th>
<th>#3</th>
<th>#4</th>
<th>#5</th>
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<tbody>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. Did you choose them consciously, or did you realize it in retrospect?

2. Who are some future role models in whose direction you are considering moving?
Exercise #28

ROLES

Individual Goal: To increase awareness about your role relationships and how you might change them to be more satisfying.

Instructions:

Enumerate role expectations of yourself in terms of the following roles. Think of how much power, intimacy, achievement, competence, and influence are related to that role.

spouse -
child -
parent -
friend -
lover -

Cite one way in which you could change each of these relationships to be more personal and less role related, and by doing so you would feel you were expressing more of yourself. What behaviors increase intimacy in each of these relationships? What behaviors make you more powerful in each of these relationships?
List the change you wish to make:

spouse -

child -

parent -

friend -

lover -

Would you like to consult with the group or anyone in the group who might be helpful to you about how to change any of these roles?

Time
1 hour or more.
Exercise #29

MOTHERS AND FATHERS

Instructions:

1. Use the "Who Am I" you did before, or answer "Who Am I" 10 times again. (Although you have done the "Who Am I" before, many people report it is helpful to do it any number of times). Put a plus next to those qualities you like in yourself and a minus next to those qualities you dislike.

2. Next list for the same sex parent, Mother or Father, the 10 qualities you like most and the 10 qualities you like the least in that person.

3. Compare your lists and share whatever you want to with the group.

4. Make a list of ten sentences that your parents used to tell you about your sex-role. Share these in the group.
Reading II

Fathers

1. The timing of fathering and father absence is quite important. A boy's sex role orientation is affected more by father absence if it occurs before the fifth year. If the father is absent before the child is five, the child is more likely to be dependent, less aggressive, less competent in peer relationships. Father-present boys with ineffectual fathers are not more masculine than father-absent boys.

2. The father-present but maternally dominated child is prone to view men as ineffectual. In contrast to the father-absent child, he is also much less likely to seek and be affected by attention from adult males.

3. The mother's view of the father can strongly affect the father's involvement in the family. The complexity of family functioning means that the husband and wife relationship has a significant influence on the quality of mothering and fathering. Without support from the husband/father many women are "unable" to nurse their children. Of course, the father's capacity for nurturance is improved with support from the mother.

4. Social class differences are also a factor in parent-child relationships. "Paternal deprivation seems to handicap the lower-class child more than it does the
middle-class child." That may be because paternal absence or inadequacy adds to the general debilitating effects in the lower-class child's life.

5. Girls are as much influenced by father-absence as boys. Boys and girls who have interested fathers who play a positive and significant role in family interaction generally develop more adequate self-concepts and are more effective in their intellectual and interpersonal functioning than are children who have absent fathers or have been inadequately fathered.

6. Until recently many fathers seem to be much more concerned with their long term occupational status than with their families' psychological well being.

---

1 Henry Biller, Father Child and Sex Role (Heath and Co., 1971).

Questions

1. Do you think fathering and mothering are different in quality?

2. To what extent do you believe there ia a "Maternal Instinct?" What are you using as proof either way?
LOVE - JOY - FEAR - ANGER - PAIN

Individual Goal: To be in touch with your range of emotional experiences.

Instructions: Below are four emotions. In the past week have you experienced all of them?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Not at all</th>
<th>Hardly</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Almost all the time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LOVE</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>JOY</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>FEAR</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANGER</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>PAIN</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Fill out: Last time you experienced these emotions, what were the conditions? How would you change that scene if you could replay it?

<p>| | | | | |</p>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LOVE</td>
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<tr>
<td>JOY</td>
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<td>FEAR</td>
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<td>ANGER</td>
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<tr>
<td>PAIN</td>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1. Data collect on how men are different from women in your group in their responses. How are they the same?
Reading III

SOCIALIZATION

1. Barry, Bacon, and Child, (1957)\(^1\) did a study on the percentage of cultures with evidence of sex differences in childhood socialization pressures.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIRECTION OF PRESSURE</th>
<th>GIRLS</th>
<th>BOYS</th>
<th>NEITHER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nurturance</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obedience</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsibility</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-reliance</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. McClelland (1961)\(^2\) found that females were more concerned with social acceptability than intellectual acceptability. Therefore, to the extent that females are, indeed, more dependent than males, approval and social reinforcements should lead to more rapid learning for them.

3. Droppelman and Schaefer (1961)\(^3\) report girls more often than boys reported that both parents were affectionate. Girls less often than boys reported that parents rejected, ignored, and were hostile toward them. Girls also reported more often than boys that they had received affection as children. Both sexes said that mother gave more affection than the father.

4. Sears (1970)\(^4\) found there is greater permissiveness toward female dependency; dependent behaviors are less rewarded for males.
5. Sears (1965)\(^5\) found boys show greater physical aggression and more negative attention-getting, antisocial aggression, and physical aggression. Girls tend to show greater "prosocial aggression," e.g., stating of rules with threats of punishment for breaking them; strong verbalizations about the goodness or badness of behavior; punishment and threats for bad behavior; approval for verbal righteousness.

6. Sears (1957)\(^6\) found a larger proportion of boys were permitted to express aggression toward their parents. Boys were allowed to show more aggression toward other children. Boys more frequently received physical punishment from their parents than did girls.

7. Goldberg and Lewis, (1971)\(^7\) reported that mothers smile more at girls. Mothers touch girl babies more than boys, after three weeks old. Mothers are more likely to breastfeed girls.

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5 Ibid.


Exercise #31

SEX

In Notes from the First Year, an article, "Women Rap About Sex," describes the following dialogue among women:

"You know, just asking your partner when it's over, 'Did you come?' isn't the same as being concerned all along."

"Yeah, it's that old 'did you come, did you come, did you come,' until you could scream!"

"Or until you lie."

"Oh, so you lie, too?"

"I really think we ought to examine what's going on. He asks you when it's all over if you came. Well, what good will that do you by then? If you did come, the question is crude; if you didn't, it makes you feel guilty. What's really happening is that responsibility for the failure is being subtly shifted to you so that you'll blame yourself for being frigid instead of blaming him for a bad trip."

Simone de Beauvoir says the man: "Likes to have the woman feel humiliated, possessed, in spite of herself; he always wants to take a little more than she gives herself."  

ROLE REVERSAL

Instructions:

1. The next time during a sexual encounter you might role play being a member of the opposite sex, or if
that doesn't feel different, try reversing your rituals whatever they are. Does it make any difference if you think of yourself as a woman or a man during sex? What effect does it have? How do you feel about the difference?

---

1 Notes from the first year: Women's Liberation, Major Writings of the Radical Feminists, Box AA, Old Chelsea Station, New York City, 10011.

Exercise #32

THE NEW EQUALITY

Individual Goal: To increase awareness about how you see yourself within your family.

Instructions:
1. Enumerate tasks or define the responsibilities that maintain the social system between you and your spouse, lover, or roommate.
2. Are the tasks equally allocated?
3. Are you satisfied with the allocation?
4. Does one person do more to hold the system together?
5. Does one person take more initiative than the other to "trouble-shoot" or worry about the "kinks" in the system?
6. Is the relationship of equal importance to both partners, or is it higher on the priority list of one of the partners?
7. Make a plan to change one aspect of the arrangement that creates discomfort.
8. Share your plan with someone in the group with whom you feel comfortable. Check back with each other before the beginning of the next session, and let each other know what happened.
Reading IV

MARRIAGE

In *Private Faces/Public Places*, Abigail McCarthy looks back at her life with Senator Eugene McCarthy and utters such an elegant, delicate testimonial to marriage:

"I do not regret that for thirty years, in the words of Simone de Beauvoir, 'I spontaneously preferred another existence to my own.' I think I am a much richer person for having shared that existence and because of the sharing that my own existence developed dimensions otherwise outside its scope."

Abigail McCarthy wondered to herself as the marriage progressed, and Gene's career changed:

"If his vocation was to politics and marriage was not a vocation, what was my vocation? The whole question of woman was then latent in our lives."

"If, when we first fell in love, I had meant new life to Gene, he had meant love and perfect friendship in one person. Loyalty and dedication had been prized ideals to me . . . I had believed Gene the epitome of these ideals . . . I had assumed perfect openness and trust. His attitude now, typically masculine though it was, was shattering to me."

"I have found life unfailingly interesting; I believe it has meaning."

And in the epilogue:

"Gene left our home in August, 1969."

1. How does this coincide with your ideas about marriage?

---

Exercise #33

POWER STRUCTURE BETWEEN PARTNERS

Explanation:

Partners make decisions in a variety of patterns:

a) Autonomic pattern - the wife's and husband's approach to life is quite separate. They have very little to do with each other psychologically, so that decision making, whether it is husband-dominated, wife-dominated, or jointly determined is not an issue.

b) Husband dominated marriage - where most decisions are in the hands of the husband.

c) Wife-dominated marriage - where most decisions are in the hands of the wife.

d) Syncratic marriage - where there is a mutuality of decisions.¹

Instructions: Think of the kinds of decisions you make, for example with respect to your personal life:

1. Who to see and when;
2. The play and entertainment part of your life together;
3. How to spend your money;
4. When to make love;
5. Child rearing.

Do you use different kinds of patterns to make these, or is one pattern in particular more prevalent?

Reading V

Couples Are Peers

Open Marriage

Dynamic framework
Open to the world
Open to each other
Spontaneous
Additive
Creative, expanding
Infinite potential
Honesty and truth
Living in the now
Privacy for self-growth
Flexibility in roles
Adaptable to change
Individual identity
Incorporates others—grows
through companionship
with others
Equality of stature
Open trust
Open love
An open, expanding
energy system
Freedom

Closed Marriage

Static framework
Shuts out the world
Locked together, closed
in one another
Calculating
Subtractive
Inhibiting, degenerative
Limited potential
Deception and game-playing
Living in the future, or
with hangups from the past
Smothering togetherness
Rigid role prescriptions
Threatened by change
Possession of the other
Selfhood subjugated to
couplehood
Shuts others out—
exclusivity limits growth
Unequal status
Conditional and static
trust
Limited love
A closed, self-limiting
energy system
Bondage

Question:

Describe your image of marriage at ages 14, 20, 30, and now.

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II

Why is it that many women know from birth what they will be doing twenty-five years hence and boys have no idea?

How do you feel about these two statements?

Both my wife and I earned Ph.D. degrees in our respective disciplines. I turned down a superior academic post in Oregon and accepted a slightly less desirable position in New York where my wife could obtain a part-time teaching job and do research at one of the several colleges in the area. Although I would have preferred to live in a suburb, we purchased a home near my wife's college so that she could have an office at home where she would be when the children returned from school. Because my wife earns a good salary, she can easily afford to pay a maid to do her major household chores. My wife and I share other tasks around the house equally. For example, she cooks the meals, but I do all the laundry for her, and help her with many of her other household tasks.

or

Both my husband and I earned Ph.D. degrees in our respective disciplines. I turned down a superior academic post in Oregon and accepted a slightly less desirable position in New York where my husband could obtain a part-time teaching job and do research at one of the several colleges in the area. Although I would have preferred to live in a suburb, we purchased a home near my husband's college so that he could have an office at home where he would be when the children returned from school. Because my husband earns a good salary, he can easily afford to pay a maid to do his major household chores. My husband and I share all other tasks around the house equally. For example, he cooks the meals, but I do the laundry for him and help him with many of his other household tasks.

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Exercise #34

RACISM AND SEXISM

Questions:

1. In what ways do you see racism and sexism as similar?

2. To what extent currently do you see white women and black women joined in sisterhood in your community? If this is not the case, why don't you think black women and white women have become sisters together? *

Instructions:

1. To explore further your notions about racism and sexism. Why not try to elaborate on these fuzzy concepts? At the tip of each spoke write a word which the concept evokes in you.
Exercise #35

**ELIMINATE JANE CROW ALONG WITH JIM CROW**

Goal: To get in touch with the universality of people's feelings.

Instructions:

1. Think of yourself as having four sides for a moment. On a piece of paper write the following:
   - The man in me is _____________.
   - The woman in me is _____________.
   - The black in me is _____________.
   - The white in me is _____________.

2. Share these with the rest of the group.

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1Pauli Murray. Address delivered to the Leadership Conference of the National Council of Negro Women, November 14, 1963, in Washington, D.C.
ATTITUDES OF SOME BLACK WOMEN TOWARDS WOMEN'S LIBERATION

"I can't get up enough emotion to participate in it. The reason is there is a very big distinction between White women and Black women. White women are definitely cast in the role of homemaker, housewife, and mother. Black women have been favored economically and been forced to get out and earn a living because society discriminated against their men so that they have a long history of careers, jobs, getting degrees and being professionals. It's much easier for a Black woman to get a job than a White woman."

"Black women have achieved emancipation already. The only problem that they are facing now is that their Black men are coming into their own. Black men want their women to stay back and assume the position that the White woman has traditionally assumed, and Black women ain't going to do it because once you got freedom you do not give it up without a fight."

"Black women will be liberated when all Black people are liberated. I don't think we can afford to dissipate our energies in the direction of the Women's Movement"

"We are strong women. I personally feel that we are the only true model of what a women is within this entire society because we've always been liberated. In terms of our relationship to the White world, it was Black women who had to negotiate the White world and the Black world. She was the buffer because the White community refused to deal with her man."

"A Black brother walking down the street arm in arm with a White woman--most of all a White hippie--can make a Black woman ready to spit fire!"\(^1\)

\(^1\)Inez Reid, "Together" Black Women (New York: Emerson Hall, 1972).
RACE AND WORK

The three major groups which currently comprise the women's movement are: working women, middle-class married women, and students. There are primarily white women only in each of these categories. Black women are, in fact, the most oppressed people in our society economically. In 1970, the median wage or salary income of year-round full-time workers by sex and race was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White men</td>
<td>$9,373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black men</td>
<td>$6,598</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White women</td>
<td>$5,490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black women</td>
<td>$4,674 *</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A large proportion of black working women are service workers. In June, 1969, 44 percent of working non-white women (93 percent of whom are black) were private household workers or service workers outside the home. In 1967, the median wage for private household workers was $1,298. While 57 percent of woman workers, in the population as a whole, hold white-collar jobs, only 28 percent of black women hold such jobs.¹


Reading VIII

WOMEN AND WORK

With men there is no break between public and private life: the more he confirms his grasp on the world in action and in work, the more virile he seems to be; human and vital values are combined in him. Whereas woman's independent successes are in contradiction with her femininity; since the "true woman" is required to make herself object, to be the other.

Simone de Beauvoir

Feminine ego strength is no different from masculine ego strength. Today, in the middle-class home filled with appliances there is no fixed seasonal routine nor sense of absolute necessity. At the same time, standards of cleanliness and cuisine are phenomenally high. . . . There is no "nine-to-five" structure and the unceasing nature of the work does not demand major effort or give major satisfaction from completion of tasks.

Participating in a job may give some welcome structure. . . . Having time off from work defines seasons and the passing of time. Something as minor as having to dress to go to work may aid in a women's self-verification. The extra challenge of organizing her domestic tasks in a more limited time makes them more interesting. Many of these satisfied "stay-at-homes" who do not "work" are, in reality, working at a very high level in volunteer work which they

---

"don't count." Work provides an outlet for energy and participation in the adult life of society. Bringing home a salary makes the woman feel a more equal member of the household in a culture which measures power through money-making ability. Friends at work can also enrich the limited social contacts of many people who do not live near their families or childhood friends. When, in addition to these extrinsic considerations, the work itself is challenging and intrinsically rewarding, then the ego development and exercise of competence makes work a pleasure in every way.

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I. WOMEN AS AUTHORITIES

Philip Goldberg (1968) asked female college students to rate a number of professional articles from each of six fields. The names of the authors were changed so that in one set of articles the four articles were authored by John T. McKay, and the same article in the other set was authored by Joan T. McKay. Each student was asked to read the articles and to rate them for profundity, persuasiveness, and writing style. Goldberg found that the identical article received significantly lower ratings when it was attributed to a female author than when it was attributed to a male author. This was true regardless of subject matter, although some of the articles were about fields in which women have been known to have expertise, such as dietetics and elementary school education. Goldberg concluded that "women are prejudiced against female professionals and will refuse to recognize them as equals to their male colleagues."

Sandra Bem and Daryl Bem repeated the experience in their classroom with male students and found that they

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showed the same implicit prejudice.

1. Are you surprised by these results?
2. Could you predict your own reaction to these articles?
3. Do you demonstrate these prejudices in your life at all?
4. Do you go to a female doctor?
5. Do you hire males to baby sit?
6. Do you or would you hire a male to do housekeeping?
7. Would you hire a male secretary?
8. Do you prefer male or female teachers for different age levels?
9. Do you prefer going to the movies in mixed company most of the time?
10. What are your feelings towards:
    a) a woman university president?
    b) a woman President of the United States?
    c) male elementary school teachers?
    d) a woman police person?
    e) women as bosses to men in business?
    f) men doing housework?
    g) men doing child care?
II. WOMEN AS A MINORITY GROUP

1. One fourth of all working women are in four occupations: secretaries, retail saleswomen, household workers, and teachers in elementary schools. The next three occupations are bookkeeper, waitress, and nurse.

2. Four out of five professional women are in seven fields: teaching, nursing, music, social work, accounting, auditing, and library work.

3. Incomes of women working full time average about three-fifths of those of men working full time. Women clerical workers earn less than three-fifths of what men clerical workers earn. Women sales workers earn about two-fifths of what men in similar positions earn. Women managers, officials, and proprietors earn slightly more than half of what men in equivalent situations earn. (Some of the gap is due to the fact that women tend to drop out of work when their children are young, and so they have fewer years of work experience than their male counterparts).

A higher proportion of black women than white women are dependent upon jobs, and the black women hold a larger percentage of low-paying unskilled jobs than do the white women.

4. Seven percent of the total number of physicians in the United States are women. In the Soviet Union, 70 percent of the physicians are women.
5. 2½ percent of the lawyers in the United States are women. In Denmark, 50 percent of the law students are women.

6. 1 percent of the engineers are women in the United States. 33 1/3 percent of the engineers in the Soviet Union are men.

7. In the 1930's, two out of every five of the BA's and MA's went to women. In 1963, the number had declined to one in every three. In 1930, one out of every three Ph.D.'s went to a woman. In 1963, the figure had declined to one in ten.*

1) Discuss your responses to these fact. Were you surprised? How do you explain them?

*1963 President's Report on Status of Women

III. YES, THERE IS A CINDERELLA

WHEN I GROW UP I GET TO:

1. The average American woman lives to age 74.

2. The average woman has her last child by the time she is 26. Therefore, by the time she is 33 her children are in school during the day.

3. The average American homemaker spends 7.1 hours per day in preparing meals, cleaning, laundering, mending, shopping, and doing other household tasks. Forty-three percent of her waking time is spent in activities that would receive a wage well below the federally set minimum for basic industrial work. The Chase Manhattan Bank estimates a woman's overall work week at 99.6 hours. The homemaker has an average of 5.1 hours of leisure time per day.

4. Job Description for women between the ages of 21-45:

- Homemaker
- Worker
- Participant in church, club, and community activities
- Companion to husband
- Helper to her parents and husband's parents
- Sexual partner
- Helper to children
- Volunteer worker

5. Job Description for man between the age of 21-45:

- Ambitious young man
- Provider
- Helper to children
- Emotional companion
- Ardent lover
- Sportsman
- Bon vivant
- Public-spirited citizen
1. Why do you work? Do your reasons (necessity, other rewards, etc.) affect your attitude to work?

2. Did you have a life-plan at the beginning of your marriage which included work in addition to child-rearing?

3. Did you, or do you expect to, plan your family size with work or further education in mind?

4. How many children do you have and how old are they? What different problems with your children at different age levels have you experienced so far as your work is concerned? How have your children responded to your work?

5. What aspects of your child rearing have given you the greatest concern in pursuing your work?

6. Have you felt conflict between mothering and working? How have you tried to resolve these conflicts?

7. What experience have you had with mother-substitutes and nursery schools, so far as small children are concerned? If your children spent a considerable amount of time in the care of others while you worked, have you worried about the kind of influence these people would have on your children? Have you been especially influenced in your child rearing decisions by any of the literature on women, work, and child rearing?

8. Were you raised in a family where it was expected that a woman would combine work and child rearing, or in a family which expected that a woman would always remain solely wife and mother? How did these expectations influence you? Do you have any conflict over your lack of leisure, compared to women who do not work?

9. How do you think society could be changed or improved to make it easier for women to combine work and mothering?

10. What kind of work do you do? Do you think that your particular line of work makes it easier or harder to combine family life and work?
11. From your own experience how would you suggest that young women plan to combine family and work?

12. What mistakes, if any, do you feel you made in trying to combine family and work? Has your experience taught you things you wish you had known earlier? Do you wish to continue working or would you rather stay home? Is there any conflict over where "home" should be in regard to work (city, suburbs, country, travel?)

13. What conflicts, if any, have you had with your husband concerning your effort to combine mothering and work, or general family life and work? Were you able to resolve these conflicts?¹

Reading XIII

THE ECONOMICS OF HOUSEWORK

Margaret Benston

1. In a society in which money determines value, many women are a group who work outside the money economy. Their work is not worth money and is, therefore, valueless. The marginality of women's work is a recognition that the work women do is different from the work men do.

2. As an economic unit, the nuclear family is a valuable stabilizing force in a capitalist society. The family is a production unit for housework and child-rearing. Everyone in capitalist society is a consumer; the structure of the family simply means that it is particularly well suited to encourage consumption, and women are good consumers.

3. Women function as a massive "reserve army" of labor. When labor is scarce (early industrialization, the two world wars, etc.), then women form an important part of the labor force. When there is less demand for labor, women become a surplus labor force. Post World War II, many women remained in the labor force but in lesser positions than they had held during the war.

4. The need to keep women in the home arises because:

   (a) the amount of unpaid labor performed by women is very large and very profitable to those who own the means of production. To pay women for their work, even at
minimum wage scales, would involve a massive redistribution of wealth. At present, the support of a family is a hidden tax on the wage earner—his wage buys the labor power of two people.

(b) There is the problem of whether the economy can expand enough to put all women to work as part of the normally employed labor force.

5. The present trends in the service industries simply create "underemployment" in the home; they do not create new jobs for women.

6. A change would be the conversion of the work now done in the home as private production into work to be done in the public economy. Child-rearing would no longer be the responsibility solely of the parents. Society could begin to take responsibility for children; thereby ending the economic dependence of women and children on the husband-father. The other work that goes on in the home might also be changed through communal eating places and laundries, for example. When such work is moved into the public sector, then the material basis for discrimination against women is invalid.

7. In our current capitalistic system, household labor, including child care, constitutes a huge amount of socially necessary production. Nevertheless, in a society based on commodity production, it is not usually considered "real work" since it is outside of trade and the market place.
It is precapitalist in a very real sense. This assignment of household work as the function of a special category, "women," means that this group does stand in a different relation to production than the group "men," whereas men are responsible for commodity production.¹

¹Margaret Benston, The Political Economy of Women's Liberation in Roles Women Play: Readings.
1. Do a force field analysis of the costs and advantages of the present economic system to:
   a) women
   b) men
   c) the family

   **Driving**
   alienation from self
   rewards by society
   Goal: to maintain household roles

   **Restraining**
   alienation from home
   individual needs and aspirations neglected
   to relinquish household roles

1. What other alternatives are there to the woman's assuming the prime responsibility for the tasks of the home and childrearing? What are the advantages and disadvantages of these schemes?
2. Is commodity production valued more than housework? What is the impact of doing housework on a person in terms of self-concept? How could this be changed?
3. Do we want an economy in which everyone is working half time/full time?
McClelland (1961, 1969) defines three human motives:

(a) The affiliation motive is the predisposition to strive to establish, maintain, and restore positive affective relationships with other people.

(b) The achievement motive is the predisposition to strive for a sense of pride in accomplishment that accompanies favorable evaluation of performance on a difficult task. This disposition promotes interest in activities that demand successful exercise of ability and a preference for setting intermediate or realistic goals, rather than aspirations that are too high to attain or aspirations that are so easy that they guarantee success.

(c) The power motive is the predisposition to strive for control of the means of influencing another person or a group of persons. A person with a high power motive is able to wait for long term success and does not need the short run reinforcement that a person high in achievement motive needs.

With respect to sex differences, the issue becomes more complicated. Women score on the Thematic Apperception Test as being ambivalent about achievement. They have what Matina Horner (1970) characterized as (a) fear of success motive. Most women expect "especially in competitive
achievement situations, that success will be followed by negative consequences for them. Among these are social rejection and feelings of being unfeminine or inadequate as a woman." Women pay a high price for this inhibition of their abilities, interests, and intellectual potential. They express their lack of fulfillment through feelings of frustration, hostility, aggression, bitterness, and confusion.

Fear of success is measured by (a) the anticipation of negative consequences because of success, including fear of rejection, isolation, loss of friends, ineligibility as a dating or marriage partner, and (b) denial of effort or responsibility for attaining success.¹

The idea of Life Planning and some of the experiences included were developed by Dr. Herbert Shepard, Stamford, Connecticut.

Explanation:

The following series of experiences may comprise a workshop, taking twelve to sixteen hours. They are relevant to a variety of populations:

- College freshmen who are planning their course of study;
- College junior and seniors who are planning the next step in their career;
- People contemplating their first job;
- People considering a change in jobs;
- Housewives who are feeling trapped at home;
- Couples who are concerned with growing as individuals or as a couple.

These experiences offer the opportunity to take into consideration in the planning process a person's entire life space: work time, leisure time, fun time, family time, friendship time, and alone time.

More important than emerging from the life planning experience with a definite plan, is the goal that the person feels more in charge, has more options open, feels more capable of making decisions about his/her life. Many women, in particular, begin this experience feeling little control over their destinies. In contrast, many men are quite adept at planning their careers but become trapped in a life style that is simply fall-out from a career decision. Wife, family, friendships, leisure time, geographical
location, personal growth may all be relegated to a lesser importance in planning because of an early focus on career.

Members of the group will serve as consultants to each other, helping one another ferret out dreams, joys, secret hopes. In particular, in doing the Life Inventory Exercise #42, it is helpful if one member of the group interviews another so that the person can respond as spontaneously as possible.

These exercises are most effective when done in a group where the members are concerned about helping each other. This suggests that a group of friends may be very helpful in this process. If the group is a stranger group, then some time may need to be devoted to being certain that everyone is involved and willing to help each other. Several exercises mentioned earlier may be particularly helpful:

(14) (18) (13)

Johari Window, Force Field Analysis, and The Power Line.

The order in which the exercises are presented is important. In a sense, it first asks the questions:

1) where have you been?
2) where are you now?
3) where are you going?
LIFE PLANNING

WHO AM I?

1. Answer the question, "Who Am I," 10 times.

2. Complete the sentence a number of times:
   The little boy in me is ......................
   The man in me is ............................
   or
   The little girl in me is ......................
   The woman in me is ...........................

(For a more detailed set of instructions on "Who Am I," see Exercise #5).
Exercise #36

**FANTASY**

**Individual Goal:** To increase your awareness about the conflict in you between both sex roles.

**Instructions:**

Take a few moments to conjure up fantasy people who will tell you what they want you to be and do. Try to really hear them, and write down what they are saying.

Fantasize a man and a woman in your head or on a television screen who each tell you what you should be like.

The woman is saying, "Be__________________________

"Don't be__________________________

The man is saying, "Be__________________________

"Don't be__________________________

Now the woman is arguing with the man over how you should/shouldn't be__________________________

What are they arguing about?__________________________

Now they are in agreement about__________________________
Exercise #37

LIFE PLANNING CAREER

Instructions:

We have been using words a great deal; let's try to find some other medium. Why not try drawing a picture telling how you got to the present point in your career? Include about ten vignettes which show who influenced you along the way and what dreams you have held onto or discarded as you went along.
Exercise #38

LIFE PLANNING

BEST AND WORST DAY

Instructions: Draw a composite picture of the best and worst day in the past month or so. Include about ten vignettes in each picture.

BEST

1. What kinds of experiences make a "good" day?

WORST

1. What are the common ingredients of a "bad" day?
Exercise #39

LIFE PLANNING

What I Do For Fun

List 20 things that make you happy to do:

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<th>LIST</th>
<th>When was the last time you did them?</th>
<th>Alone or with someone else?</th>
<th>The cost?</th>
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Exercise #40

LIFE PLANNING

DECISIONS

Instructions:

Write a letter to yourself about your life or about taking care of yourself, or about a choice you are facing in the near future.

1. Who else might have written this letter to you?
2. Does it include criticism or permission in it?

Fantasize a discussion with yourself about a decision you need to make. Begin to discuss the decision with yourself. For example, whether to go back to school, to go to graduate school, a new job opportunity, or whether to have a baby. Imagine you have a Board of Directors that is helping to make this decision. Who are the members of the Board? Who is taking your position on the Board? Who is the treasurer of the Board? Who has the most votes on the Board?
Exercise #41

LIFE PLANNING

FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY

Instructions:

1. Select a decision you need to make about your career.

2. Choose two people in the room whom you know to feel differently about the degree of freedom and the degree of responsibility individuals should exercise with respect to their lives.

3. Sit in the middle between these two people; freedom on one side—responsibility on the other. Have the discussion about your decision with each of them arguing with you and each other about the direction you should take.

4. The rest of the group may eventually join in, according to their preference.

5. Ultimately the members of the group may want to vote by positioning themselves in terms of their own preference as to the importance of freedom or responsibility.
Exercise #42

**LIFE PLANNING**

**LIFE INVENTORY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Peak Experiences I have had</th>
<th>What I Do Well</th>
<th>What I Dislike Doing</th>
<th>What I Do Not Do Well</th>
<th>What I Would Like To Learn To Do Well</th>
<th>What I Would Like To Have</th>
<th>Peak Experiences I Would Like To Stop Doing</th>
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The one thing I most want to accomplish is:
Exercise #43

LIFE PLANNING

A FANTASY FUTURE

Instructions:

1. Fantasy a day in your life for tomorrow. Unless you make some changes it will be the same as today. Be aware of how much you feel you manage your own life. Be aware of what your real preferences are--what is meaningful to you. What do you treasure? If you stop yourself from dreaming by censuring yourself, be aware of that. Are you frightened? Why? Try to be happy rather than just brave.

2. Relax and let's begin the fantasy. Think about it quietly to yourself for about ten minutes. Don't be concerned about sharing it with the group; that is not the most important part of this experience. This experience emphasizes being in touch with your own dreams.

Let's set the stage.

3. You wake up in the morning...What time is it?... who, if anyone, is next to you in bed...where are you living, what town, what kind of building...you go to the closet to get dressed...what kind of clothes are hanging there...are you going to work...what kind of work do you do...what does the person(s) living with you do...how do you spend your evening...what kind of friends do you have...
how do you feel about your day?

4. If you feel like sharing with the group, then please do. We might all lie down on the floor with our heads together like teenagers around a campfire sharing great dreams for the future. If your fantasy seems too unreal, try one that is more realistic.

On the other hand, if you feel you confined yourself too much, try to dream some more.
Exercise #44

LIFE PLANNING

A TWO YEAR PLAN

Instructions: Answer the following questions:

1. What, specifically, do you want to accomplish in the next two years? (Not just what you should do).

2. What specific steps do you plan to take to achieve this goal? a) __________  b) __________  c) __________

3. What blocks in yourself will you have to overcome to achieve this goal?

4. What blocks in the world will you have to overcome to achieve this goal?

5. How do you feel about the possibility of achieving this goal?

6. How do you feel about the possibility of failing to achieve it?

7. Where will you go specifically for help in accomplishing your goals?

8. How strongly do you want to achieve this goal?

| Hardly at all | A great deal |

9. How honest do you feel you have been in answering these questions?

| Hardly at all | Extremely |

10. In a conversation with someone else with whom you feel very comfortable, discuss your responses.

Exercise #45

LIFE PLANNING

THE FUTURE

A. Instructions: Write a newspaper article to your college alumni magazine or local newspaper ten years after you have graduated.

Consider a variety of areas in your life such as your career, where you have been, where you want to go.

Consider how you obtain status and respect. Whom do you want to respect you? Who does?

Consider your personal relationships. How do you feel about your friends? How inclusive or exclusive are you?

Consider your leisure and pleasure activities.

How are you continuing to educate yourself?

Where do you get your energy? How do you renew yourself spiritually?

Consider whether your life style has been growth-oriented or survival-oriented. If it is growth-oriented, how are you trying to grow?

or

B. Instructions: Fantasize that it is the night of your retirement dinner. What is the year? Where is it being held? Whom did you invite?
There are several speeches to be made about your life. Would you select who is to give them and write out what they are to say.

In a small group now you may play out this drama, giving the speeches to people whom you would like to read them.
ACTION PLANS FOR DEALING WITH
INSTITUTIONAL SEXISM

An entire set of exercises could be developed to facilitate institutional change. Since the goal of these exercises is primarily to increase awareness of sexism, some action steps will simply be enumerated at this point rather than developed into exercises.

1. Keep a journal for several weeks of instances of sexist experiences. Confront two of those experiences. This might include: (1) talking to a professor whom you felt treated you in a sexist manner, perhaps if you are a woman by taking you less seriously than a man; (2) writing to a TV station about a sexist program or sexist advertisement; (3) responding to some sexist mail. For example, the ballots from many organizations tell how many children the women candidates have, but do not mention children with respect to the men candidates.

2. Greater clarity about the effectiveness of power within organizations can be achieved through simulation games. The Peabody Power Game, Starpower, or the Seven Minute Day are very good. These can be obtained from Pat Bidol, Center for Race Awareness, Detroit, Michigan.

3. Organize your local hospital to allow fathers to be present at the delivery of their children, if they are not allowed to do so.
4. Hold a "Speak-out" on abortion or rape in your community.

5. Look into the day-care opportunities in your community.

6. Look into the opportunities for part-time work for people in your community. If full-time status, for example, including medical benefits isn't included in the part-time work package, then look into the reason why it is not so included.

7. Help start a Woman's Drop-in Center, or Men's Drop-in Center.

8. Organize Life Planning Workshops for women and men in the community.

9. Organize a women's art exhibit.

10. Develop a Women's Studies or Men's Studies curriculum in elementary, high school, or university; an adult education program to include:

   a) How does sex typing take place?

      The Psychology of Women
      The Psychology of Men

   b) Man and Woman in Literature

   c) Women's Role in History

      The Women's Movement in America

   d) Women and The American Economy

   e) Women and the Arts

   f) Women and the Law
g) Women in Business

11. See that a Human Sexuality course is taught.

12. Develop a questionnaire to assess how sexist your school environment or work environment is.

13. Observe children at a local playground to note how sex stereotypes affect their behavior. Are the boys more aggressive than the girls?

14. Go to the public library. Pick out twenty children's picture books. Examine the different roles allocated to the men and women, boys and girls, in the pictures. Count the number of aprons pictured in the book. Who are wearing them? List the different occupations depicted in the stories. Are they shared equally by men and women? Or who gets to do what?

15. Watch television for several hours. List the ways in which you see women and men put into a specific role.

16. For many other suggestions obtain a copy of *Consciousness Razors*, Verne Moberg, National Education Association, Washington, D.C. 20036.
CHAPTER VI
EVALUATION AND DISCUSSION

In the previous chapter forty-five exercises for consciousness raising were developed. Two vehicles are employed in this chapter to gauge the impact of these exercises: the first is a subjective description of my observations as to what transpired in the consciousness raising groups; and the second is the use of the Thematic Apperception Test in a pilot evaluation of these groups. Transcriptions from six class sessions and copies of two journals provide further assessment and may be found in the Appendix to this thesis.

There are numerous other dimensions along which to evaluate the effectiveness of consciousness raising groups as evidenced in the review of research on T-groups. Some of these might include whether people show up for their consciousness raising experience; whether they participate actively in the group; and whether they like the experience. Alschuler and Ivey (1973) describe these and other questions to evaluate internalized education. In addition, consciousness raising groups could be evaluated as to whether the women learn to like other women better; whether the men learn to feel closer to other men; whether women and men experience more static in their relationships with each
other; whether men increase their ability to build relationships; whether women become more assertive and freer to express their competence; and whether women and men stop punishing assertiveness in women and nurturant behavior and dependency in men.

These behavior changes may come about because men and women encounter other men and women who treat them differently, or because people grow more concerned with developing themselves and approving of themselves, than they are with the reactions of others. Such evaluations to be meaningful would require observations by others over an extended period of time in addition to a self-report. For purposes of this dissertation the evaluation is primarily related to the use of the exercises and then a pilot evaluation of three consciousness raising groups.

A. Programmatic Critique

These forty-five exercises were developed over a period of two and a half years during which time they were tried out in a course Sex Roles and Sterotypes, at the University of Massachusetts School of Education. The course was taught five times during this period of time. Enrollment each time was limited to a group of eighteen people. Two out of five semesters this writer taught the course alone; the other three semesters there was a male co-leader. In addition, these exercises have been used as part of various workshop designs in large groups of two hundred and fifty people at
Smith College and Oberlin College; as an all day workshop at Rensaleer Polytechnic Institute's Management Seminar Program on "Organization Man and Woman," in Project Self, a six-session Continuing Education course for women; a Teacher Institute at Eastern Connecticut State College, for three semesters as a Life Planning Workshop for students in the University of Massachusetts School of Business, for faculty in the University of Massachusetts School of Nursing who will be leading groups of incoming students around such topics as sexism; for resident hall counselors and Heads of Residence; and as a two and a half day Institute on Sexism and Racism as part of the Training, Theory and Practice Laboratory at the National Training Laboratory in Bethel, Maine.

One of the major issues in utilizing the exercises is to be able to diagnose the level of sophistication of the laboratory population. An exercise such as "Women Are, Men Are," may be dull to an aware group, whereas to a group of people who have not thought about sex role differences, answering "Since I am a man (women) I must, If I were a woman (man) I could," may be something beyond their consciousness. For example, the group may counter: "But I see everyone the same." "I do whatever I want because I am a person." At this time in history such responses seem to stem more from naivete than sophistication. When this sense that there are no sex differences is encountered, it is useful to switch to an awareness exercise like "Men Are,
Women Are," or to ask participants to describe the best and worst experience with a man and a woman in order to get in touch with their stereotypes.

The exercises were utilized in the course by distributing them to all the members of the class at the beginning and asking them to take responsibility for leading the class in whichever exercise seemed particularly relevant to them. This design has the advantage of providing that people who lead particular exercises will be able to give meaning and relevance to their specific exercise, rather than the same person initiating exercise after exercise. This design has worked extremely well to foster involvement, shared leadership, and active participation in the group.

For this writer, both from an ideological viewpoint in terms of cultural change, and an empirical one because the content will be dealt with more effectively, male-female groups are preferred. Originally the course contained women only. What happened was the women in the course learned to like each other better, but they experienced more static and became angry in their relationships with men and had no place to resolve these tensions. They would go outside the course to deal with men they knew and then share with the class. In class, role-playing was tried to deal with some of the conflicts, but was not satisfying over the entire semester. Certainly, role-playing is valuable, but so, too, is the opportunity to test out new behavior in relating to the other sex in front
of the class. A number of women were becoming concerned about the degree of distance they were experiencing in their relationships with men. It became essential to have men participate in the experience so that contact could be maintained and so that both sexes would have the opportunity to learn ways of discussing the issues with each other.

It seemed important from the beginning of the course that a personal consciousness raising experience take place prior to dealing with the field of sex stereotyping intellectually. In each instance, it has been difficult to make the transition in the group from personal sharing to topics and readings. Some participants have been so reluctant to move out of the consciousness raising experience that they have come to the course for another semester in order to have more of it. Were the order to be reversed and the readings to come first, members of the group would not have the rich opportunity to apply the ideas to their own life experience.

The design of the course has been an extended session at the beginning so that people become acquainted and open with each other; eight sessions once a week led by various members of the course using the exercises for personal consciousness raising, then six sessions dealing with the readings. There has frequently been an extended final session during which people have shared consciousness raising projects and also have assessed their learnings over the semester.
It is very important to explain that at least half of the early sessions are spent with a fair degree of separate time for the men and women. If the women do not meet separately, they tend to compete with each other for the approval of the men; they tend not to support each other; and they tend not to assume positions of leadership in the group. Whereas if they develop a support system with each other, they are likely to be more assertive. If the men do not feel support from each other, they tend also to compete more with one another, to look to the women exclusively to meet their emotional needs, and to be more anxious about the new assertive behavior of the women.

It is essential that the group have co-leaders, a man and a woman. In addition to not having a significant role model available, if either sex is missing as the leader of the group, the dynamics of the group are confused. If there is a female leader, but no male leader, the men may feel that they are vulnerable or won't be heard fairly. If there is a male leader without a female leader, the women in the group may become preoccupied with working for his approval, rather than expressing themselves.

It is quite likely that unless specific efforts are made a consciousness raising group will be an all white group. This would reflect what is a national problem that consciousness raising with respect to sexism has by and large been a white movement. One of the major deficits of these exercises, particularly for an all white population,
is that they do not like racism and sexism, thereby leaving the door open to the two being competing strategies, just as they are nationally. Since the overriding issue of sexism is oppression in all its forms and how it affects black people, black and white women, white men, it is important for white men and women to look at what they are doing collectively and separately to maintain this oppression. As a minimal approach, in addition to the white members looking at their own racist attitudes, several black men and women can be invited to class to share perceptions. The moral and psychological issues are the same; however, currently the two movements are competing politically.

For a more specific description of the nature of the class experience, excerpts from the journals of some of the students are relevant. Most of the statements in the journals describe the development of male and female consciousness. There were no negative comments relating to the course. That is not to say there weren't negative feelings about the group, but these tended to be shared in the class. Sometimes, negative feelings were expressed in the journals about one of the participants, particularly towards one quite aggressive male. The nature of journal entries tended to parallel the themes in the course. At first, they related to the newness of the group experiences and the difficulty the writer may have in sharing feelings openly in the group. They then reflected a curiosity over what being a man or a woman means; how people learned to
behave as men and women. As awareness of what the implications in a person's life of his/her sex-role expectations became clearer, then interest in changing that behavior and one's self-concept was manifest.

Women's Journals

A typical early concern expressed by the women in the consciousness raising group is to what extent their participation in this experience identified them with the Women's Liberation Movement. Their feelings are usually ambivalent: glad that they are beginning to like women better and to consider the possibility of sisterhood; anxious that they will be ostracized by men as being Women's Libbers." For example, two journal entries are:

Nothing is more provoking than having someone indulgently ask, 'Are you into women's lib?' They wouldn't say Black Lib. Why can't they dignify the movement by saying Women's Liberation?

I went to the Women's Center. I really like the atmosphere. It's so relaxing to be with Sisters. What a welcome change from the rat race of dating.

As the women begin to explore the impact of sex-role upon their identity, two frequently expressed categories are attitudes toward career, and attitudes towards my body.

When I was young I wanted to be a psychiatrist. My guidance counselor said it would take too long for me to get through medical school and become qualified if I also wanted to take time out to have children. So, now I'm going to be a nurse instead.

I have a scholarship to graduate school in California, but my boy friend is going to stay in Amherst to get his degree. I guess I have no other choice but to give up going to Stanford and get a job here.
How do I feel about my body? It doesn't look like the ads in the paper. I don't love it. I wish I did. Actually, I'm ashamed of it and I keep it covered with baggy clothes. I guess maybe it has to do with how I feel about myself as a person, too. I haven't worked it out yet.

After getting in touch with the burden of sex-role expectations, it is not unusual for the person to be angry and frustrated at lost opportunities, at the pain over the years of deadening oneself to dissatisfaction rather than trying to improve one's life. At times, it seems this anger is a necessary stage prior to change. If the process stops with the anger, it is a failure. From there, the person can be assisted in this support group or elsewhere to think creatively about her life and to consider new options.

As a result of this semester, I'm beginning to think I really don't have a lot of things worked out very well. I guess I could use help in figuring them out. I'm holding on so hard to what I think my values should be. Whoever thought I would go to a class to find out I was afraid.

I have been buried underneath my roles for so many years: wife, mother, graduate student--that was me. It was like no one told me it could be otherwise and I never thought to ask. I can't believe it myself. I just kept doing things the same way my mother did. Certainly, my husband wasn't going to tell me the secret that I was giving more than I was getting. I used to hurt a lot; I still hurt a lot now, but I'm also angry and I'm curious. I feel like I've opened the windows and doors of my life and I can't wait to find out what's ahead.

To reiterate, the model for the exercises, the primary goal of consciousness raising is to generate awareness; to go beyond that may take a great deal longer: witness this journal entry at the end of the semester:
I really do feel special about the class. We have certainly transcended the definition of class. The course jogged me from what I thought had been a very 'in-touch' feminine awareness, and let me see that I still have a long way to go before I am truly sensitive to the female consciousness. The doors are open. . . . Emotionally, I have discovered that I really need to show and say a little more of what I feel instead of scribbling everything furiously in this notebook. It really has been quite an experience--at times painful--creating static for me in my other relationships--but good in helping me to want to find out more about me and to share more of it with others.

Men's Journals

My observation is that the pattern of awareness for most men occurs in a somewhat different order from the women. Since many men take the course due to encouragement from the women in their lives, their primary focus is on heterosexual relationships and why they are now experiencing static in their relationships with women. It is usually not until the men are, in effect, forced to meet alone with each other that they deal with the issue of what men have in common; for example, being competitive, achievement oriented, and the discomfort that they, as men, feel at being with each other without women present.

When Joan told me she wanted to sleep with other men, she said that sex would become a part of her other relationships only if it felt natural. She said it wouldn't be something for which she would be out looking to have happen. Well, here she's known this guy for a couple of weeks, and she's 'into it.' I can't help but think it's just the idea of her sleeping with a doctor. She doesn't seem to me to be 'into it' because of its 'natural place' for growth. I guess its kind of ego building to sleep with a doctor. He's older. She must be curious or looking for variety. I don't know. Its affecting me greatly. Christ, I wish this had never happened.
For awhile now, I've had no trouble treating Cecilia as an equal as far as male-female roles go. To behave in any other way would be such a blatant lie; I couldn't imagine it.

Lately, I've found that I am enjoying doing my own washing, cleaning, and cooking. There are some things that I'm not very good at yet, but the feeling of independence is well worth it.

After awhile, the men become more introspective and get in touch with their negative feelings toward themselves, relating frequently to their dependence on women to take care of them or meet their emotional needs. Again, if the process for the men stops simply with getting in touch with dependency and pain, it is a failure. What frees up energy is the successes some of the men have as they begin to take more care of themselves and become more skillful at meeting their own emotional needs.

I got angry at you, Alice, when you suggested the men should meet separately. I came to hear what the women have to say, too. Actually, I was also very uncomfortable sitting down in the room with the men alone.

I find as a result of this group and having to keep this journal, that I've been thinking about myself much more. I'm really not as bad inside as I thought. I do feel I have some strength. I'm sensitive, I don't want to hurt others. I want to be able to go on learning. I even feel that I really do have something inside worth giving. My thoughts and ideas are good. Others value them and need them, and I grow from them. Everyone in class said they were so impressed by my openness when I spoke. Several of the women said they couldn't believe a man could be so sensitive. They said I gave them hope that it was worth relating to men.

I'm starting to give more of myself, but I have found myself to be a person with walls. I'm not very good at being able to find someone else on the outside of my walls. They are starting to break now. I'm opening my eyes to other people. I know I have
something to give; but I'm having trouble giving it. It will come if I remain open to it.

Most of my identity has been built around working hard, being a good student, being seen as responsible, being strong, avoiding pain. It's awfully lonely. I haven't had many men as friends at all. Most of my friends are women. I don't feel like I've been a very good friend to myself with all these awful expectations. It's terrible to say, but it feels so good to be with other people who feel the same way.

In a general sense, it seems the exercises help to generate a process that is effective in enabling men and women to build a support group in which they can gather data about what their femininity and masculinity means to them personally and to explore whether they feel satisfied or limited by the available options. There are a number of fine points which have not been clarified; such as, is the amount of focus on building group cohesiveness necessary? Could people share openly on sex-role identity issues without that much emphasis on the group dynamics? Does the order of the exercises make a difference? Is there a systematic presentation which would be more efficient and effective? Are some exercises more helpful to men and some to women? To what extent are these exercises relevant across age groups and socio-economic groups? The next step is to develop exercises related to trying out and maintaining new behaviors.
B. Experimental Evaluation

In order to measure shifts as a result of a consciousness raising group experience, it seems what is needed is an instrument which is sensitive to change over a short period of time. A self-report instrument such as an adjective check list is likely to be too sensitive to current trends in the culture. As it becomes more acceptable, even desirable, for women to report themselves as assertive or men to describe themselves as sensitive, the check list would reflect these changes in cultural norms. The same issue obtains to a questionnaire. A more sophisticated instrument, probably a projective tool, seems to be necessary.

1. Instruments

The issue of a culture fair test in terms of sex-roles also led to the possibility of other projective techniques. The Picture Inventory Test (PIT) also based on Murray's needs, was considered and administered once to some of the population. FIRO B and the Thematic Apperception Test were considered.

The Thematic Apperception Test was developed by Henry Murray (1938) based on his need scale. The test provides samples of a person's thinking or dreaming when he/she is not under pressure to think about anything in particular. When a group of people with similar backgrounds and experiences and presumably perceptions have different motivation scores, these scores can be assumed to indicate differences
in the strength of basic motives or predispositions.

Motivation, in McClelland's (1969) terms, suggests energetic behavior directed toward some goal. Underlying this behavior is some kind of a need or desire. The three motives measured by the Thematic Apperception Test are: achievement, affiliation, and power. The differences among people show that some spend a great deal of time engaged in friendly companionship, while others prefer to be alone. Some people construe relationships in terms of win-lose, others see the experience as collaborative. Still others see the relationship as irrelevant to getting the job done.

Atkinson (1964) described a model in which aroused motivation, to strive for a particular kind of satisfaction or goal, is a joint multiplicative function of (a) the strength of the basic motive (M); (b) the expectancy of attaining the goal (E); and (c) the perceived incentive value of the particular goal (I). A person's aroused motivation to behave in a particular way is said to depend on the strength or readiness of his motives, and on two kinds of perceptions of the situation: goal attainment and the incentive value attached to the goal. Aroused Motivation = MxEI. For example, fear of success for a woman might look like: Need achievement = achievement x expectancy of punishment by men and women x high incentive to perform as a competent person.

The goal of the exercises is to affect E and M
primarily. One learning that the women may have is that they will not be rejected by men or ostracized by women if they are more achievement oriented. Therefore, the expectancy of success may be increased by reducing the women's fear of punishment. The same holds for the men: that they will learn that they will not be rejected by women or ostracized by men if they show that they feel dependent, or are vulnerable. The strength of M may be altered as women value themselves more and become more interested in independent accomplishments (N ach). For men, M will be altered as men feel more skillful in meeting their needs in interpersonal relationships with both men and women and so increase their desire for friendships (N aff).

After a number of conversations with various people and the opportunity to select from a variety of pictures to assemble a more contemporary TAT, the TAT was adopted.

2. Thematic Apperception Test

The needs which can be scored using the Thematic Apperception Test are achievement, affiliation, and power. Litwin and Stringer (1968) describe these needs in depth.

Need for achievement. 1. This person likes situations in which he/she takes personal responsibility for finding solutions to problems. Not a gambler, she/he does not prefer situations in which the outcome depends on chance or other factors out of control. Rather, this
person prefers to utilize his/her own abilities and efforts. Often this person is highly successful because he/she has spent so much time thinking about how to do it.

2. This person is likely to set moderate achievement goals and to take calculated risks. Overcoming difficulties provides achievement satisfaction, but too great a task frustrates his/her needs for frequent feedback.

3. Concrete feedback is an essential part of the reward. Business provides much more feedback than, for example, teaching, in which the rewards are much more long term.

Need for affiliation. 1. This person spends time thinking about relationships: how to restore a close relationship that has been disrupted, or how to console or help someone. He/she engages in many activities involving other people. Most frequently relationships are built around giving or receiving emotional support.

2. This person does not think about ideas separate from people. He/she sees other people as individuals as well as sources of ideas.

Need for power. 1. This person spends time thinking about how to influence other people, win an argument, change other people's behavior. He/she derives satisfaction from controlling the means of influence over others.

2. This person will usually attempt to influence others directly by making suggestions, by giving opinions and evaluations, and by trying to talk others into things.
It is likely that this person is highly verbal and perhaps argumentative. He/she is probably viewed as forceful, outspoken, maybe even hard-headed and demanding.

3. Issues and Design

When the TAT is used to produce motive change, McClelland and his associates train for that change. After the pre-test, the three motives are explained in detail, participants receive their scores, and then are invited to discuss the motive change that they would like to have take place. They make specific plans for self-selected behavior changes and begin in the course of the fifty hour training program to try out new behaviors along the lines of achievement, affiliation, or power. McClelland (1969) has designed specific training programs to heighten the achievement motive which has been used with black business people and with Indian business people. Aronoff and Litwin (1971) outline the use of the program for executives. It is likely that in the near future the program will be used with women.

The goal of this dissertation was not to train for specific motive changes--although it seems possible that one of the results of a consciousness raising experience might be to heighten affiliation motivation in men and achievement motivation in women. Rather than fix the kind of changes that would take place in the consciousness raising group, it seemed preferable this early in the liberation
movement to remain open. Therefore, the groups in this study are primarily awareness groups that could produce behavior changes in a whole variety of behaviors which are likely to fall somewhere in the power, affiliation, achievement spectrum.

McClelland has not developed norms on the TAT for women. The norms which have been tested many times for men are primarily for businessmen. Furthermore, not only are norms not available for women with regard to the achievement motive, but there isn't an adequate scoring system available. Matina Horner (1970) has described in great detail the ambivalence of women towards achievement. As currently scored, the TAT registers approach and avoidance towards a particular motive as presence of that motive in a person. Hence, a woman may be expressing conflict over achievement, wanting to be competent but afraid she will be ostracized by the other women at work and rejected by the men, but the scoring of the motive is not adequate at this time to reflect accurately this ambivalence.

Another methodological problem with the TAT as Atkinson (1958, p. 679) points out is that the achievement motive score has a relatively low test-retest reliability. McClelland concludes that there is "a set for response variability," or 'in Atkinson's terms, the changes in responses are definitely "systematic and cyclical in nature." No systematic data are available, however, on the relative validity of motive scores on a retest.
Matina Horner's research group has been using sentence stems for some time rather than the TAT pictures because the pictures are not sufficiently contemporary. In order to cope with this concern, I selected pictures from four different tests at McBer and Company: the male version of the TAT; the female version of the TAT; the TAT used in the Peace Corps; and the most recent TAT developed for the Alcoholism project. A further problem was the sex bias prevalent in the pictures used in the TAT. Women were not depicted in the same situations as men. There were no Power pictures involving women and only one clear achievement picture. For further work in this area, new pictures must be used.

For these reasons, the lack of specificity in the consciousness raising groups about behavior, and because of the unavailability of norms and a scoring system for women, and because of the question of the reliability of test-retest scores, the TAT was administered only as a pilot test to see what the fall-out results might be.

Nonetheless, the TAT seemed a rich and interesting instrument for looking at whether change occurred in basic life issues for men and women, i.e., possibly the affiliation motive for men and the achievement motive for women. The consciousness raising group is the independent variable, and personal learning is the dependent variable. An intervening variable may be the degree of identification between the participant and other models in the group, particularly
the leader of the group.

The test was administered as a pre- and post-test to nine men and twelve women. The subjects all had forty-five and a half hours of participation in the consciousness raising process, including two nine-hour extended sessions and eleven weekly sessions of two and a half hours each.

4. Subjects

The TAT was administered to two populations:

(a) Students (age 19-45) in a course in Sex Stereotypes. Eleven women and seven men.

(b) Two men and one woman (age 23-35) in a 12-16 hour Life Planning workshop in the Graduate School of Business Administration.

There is no control group, as this is a pilot study to see if the TAT indicates changes.

5. Limitations

There are several issues related to using McClelland's motives. Matina Horner's work on the fear of success motive has demonstrated the inadequacy of McClelland's scoring system for recording achievement in women. Because women so frequently express ambivalence in their achievement fantasies, a more sophisticated scoring system is needed. Don Watson is currently working on this at Harvard, but the results will not be available for over a year.

To date, the achievement scale has been inadequate for describing the motives of such people as artists,
scientists, writers, and cooks. It may also not adequately describe the mastery, creativity that women need and enjoy. Rather than focus on achievement, a need such as need for accomplishment may be more relevant. J. Lorsch at Harvard Business School has been working on this, but his work is not complete to date.

McClelland's motives tend to be more individually based than social psychological motives. If they were construed along interpersonal lines, they might pick up interesting sex differences. Some measure that reflected affiliation as need for collaboration; power as need for competition; and achievement as need for meaningful work, would be important.

The motives are a way to view behavior that is expressed to a greater and lesser extent in men and women. Affiliation seems to be expressed less by men and achievement less by women. Arnold Lazarus' assertiveness training may be a more appropriate mechanism for teaching both women and men about role liberation rather than using the motives of achievement and affiliation. Men might learn to be more assertive about their dependency and vulnerability, their tender feelings, and women might learn to be assertive about their strengths and angers, their tough feelings.

A specific problem with the test is that there has been one TAT composed of all male pictures and one composed of all female pictures. In actuality what is
needed is a TAT with identical content but with sex changes for the pictures. To date such a TAT has not been available.

6. Results

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1 The research effort was greatly facilitated by Ann Litwin at McBer and Company, who discussed the design and then did the scoring. Carl Hosticka, a graduate student at M.I.T., helped immeasurably with the statistics.
<table>
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<th>diff</th>
<th>pre</th>
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<th>pre</th>
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The first step in the analysis was to see if there were significant differences between males and females on the pre- and post-tests on each motive. That is: are the sexes different on the pre-test in nAch, the post-test in nAch, the pre-test in nAff, etc. Formally stated, the following hypothesis was tested.

H₁ There will be significant differences between male and female scores on (a) the pre-test for nAch, (b) the post-test for nAch, (c) the pre-test for nAff, (d) the post-test for nAff, (e) the pre-test for nPow, and (f) the post-test for nPow.

The standard t-test was used for the differences between means. The results are as follows. Note that in this and all tests the standard deviation is calculated on the basis on N-1 to minimize possible bias in the sample.

Hypothesis 1

Motive: nAch

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>S.D.</th>
<th>diff</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>diff</th>
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<td>2.92</td>
<td>1.81</td>
<td>986</td>
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<td>3.78</td>
<td>3.90</td>
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Motive: nAff

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<tr>
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<th>diff</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
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<th>S.D.</th>
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<tr>
<td>Males</td>
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<td>1.78</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>1.78</td>
<td>n.s.</td>
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Motive: nPow

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<th>p</th>
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<th>S.D.</th>
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In summary, there is a significant difference in the post-test for nAch with females being higher than males; males were significantly higher than females in nAff on both the pre- and post-test. There is no significant difference between the sexes on nPow in either the pre- or post-test.

The second step was to see if the difference between the pre- and post-tests were significant for each sex and each motive. Formally stated, the following hypothesis was tested.

H$_2$ There will be significant differences for both males and females between the pre- and post-test on (a) nAch, (b) nAff, and (c) nPow.

The results are as follows. Again, a standard t-test was used with the means and standard deviations for each sex on each test shown above.

**Hypothesis 2**

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<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>.59</td>
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</table>
The third step was to test whether the difference between males and females on the post-tests for nAch and nAff would be significantly less than on the pre-tests. However, the differences between males and females increased from 1.81 to 2.52 in the case of nAch and from 2.97 to 3.97 in the case of nAff. The differences between these differences are not statistically significant. The following hypothesis was tested.

$H_3$ The differences between male and female scores will be significantly less on post-test than on pre-test for (a) nAch, (b) nAff, and (c) nPow.

The hypothesis is not supported by the data.

The fourth step was to see if males changed more than females from pre- to post-tests. The formal hypothesis is:

$H_4$ The differences between pre- and post-tests for males will be significantly different from those for females on (a) nAch (females change more than males, (b) nAff (males change more than females), and (c) nPow (direction of difference not predicted).

To test this, the mean change for each sex on each motive was calculated, with its accompanying standard deviation, a t-test was used for differences between means (the means in this case being mean changes).
### Hypothesis 4

<table>
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<tr>
<td><strong>nPow</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>5.92</td>
<td>-0.13</td>
<td>.058</td>
<td>n.s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>0.58</td>
<td>3.50</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

Thus, there is no significance between the sexes as regards change on pre- and post-test.

Since means are affected by a few extreme cases at either end, the hypotheses were also tested using tables and chi-square.

The first of these was to test whether there is any difference between the sexes in the number of persons whose scores increased or decreased between the pre- and post-test. Formally, what is being tested here is whether there is a relation between sex and changing one's score on a given motive.
The tables are as follows:

**Motive: nAch**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td># increase</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no change</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#decrease</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>9</td>
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</table>

Chi$^2 = 3.636$ p = n.s.

**Motive: nAff**

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>inc.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.c.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dec.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
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</table>

Chi$^2 = 8.176$ p < .05

**Motive: nPow**

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<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>inc.</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.c.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>dec.</td>
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</table>

Chi$^2 = 4.35$ p = n.s.

Note that here we are using an uncorrected chi-square. In such a small sample, one might use another formula to give a more conservative estimate or significance. However, since there was significance only in one case and this was due mostly to the fact that there were no males and seven females among the people who showed no change on nAff, if did not seem necessary to correct chi-square. If done, it might make it a little less significant in the case of nAff and really insignificant in the case of the other two motives.

One last test was tried. A median score for each test was found and all subjects were classified as high or
low depending on whether their score was above or below the median. In cases where the subject's score equalled the median, it was not entered. The following medians were used to divide the group; nAch, pre = 6, post = 6; nAff, pre = 1, post = 1; nPow, pre = 5, post = 5.

Two by two tables of the following sort were compiled. The totals are different because cases falling on the median were left out.

**Pre-test/nAch**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
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<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>8</td>
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\[ \text{Chi}^2 = .534 \quad p = \text{n.s.} \]

**Post test/nAch**

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
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\[ \text{Chi}^2 = 3.0997 \quad p < .10 \]

**Pre-test/nAff**

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<th>Female</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
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\[ p = .02 \text{(Fischer's exact} \quad \text{p} = .019) \]

**Post-test/nAff**

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<th></th>
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<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>Low</td>
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\[ p = .02 \text{(Fischer's exact} \quad \text{p} = .019) \]

**Pre-test/nPow**

<table>
<thead>
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<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
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<td>5</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
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\[ p = \text{n.s.} \]

**Post-test/nPow**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
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<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
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</table>

\[ 0 = \text{n.s.} \]
Raw Chi squares were computed. In the case of N affiliation, where raw Chi$^2$ yielded significant results, the Fischer's exact test was used to give a more accurate calculation of the probabilities. If it had been used throughout, those relations that look significant here may be found to be non-significant. Note that here males are significantly more likely to be above the median in nAff both before and after the consciousness raising experience and to be more likely to be below the median on nAch than females.

7. Conclusions

The goal of this research is to measure the effect of the consciousness raising experience on achievement, affiliation, and power motives. The consciousness raising groups described in the dissertation do not directly seek to change the sex-related motivation factor in the same manner as McClelland. He intentionally seeks to effect certain motives when he does motivation training for fifty hours and then retests with the TAT. Therefore, these findings are not as strong as they might be if the training had been more specific.

The greatest limitation of the study is the selectivity of the sample. Those individuals who pre-selected themselves to participate in the experience are not representative of society.

The original assumption that the male and female
scores would move closer to each other as a result of the consciousness raising group experience was not substantiated. It was assumed in the pre-test that the males would score higher on achievement and lower on affiliation than the females; that the females would score high on affiliation and low on achievement; in the post-test that the males would score higher on affiliation than they previously had, and that the females would score higher on achievement.

The men and women were not in the right configuration to begin with. Not unpredictably, the achievement scores for the women in the course were extremely high and the affiliation scores were low. By the conclusion of the course the men and women had moved further apart.

The most significant result is that the groups had a salient effect on the men's changing their affiliation motive and they did not have the same effect on the women. While the men's affiliation scores increased between the pre- and post-test by 80 per cent, the female scores increased by only 16 per cent. Furthermore, the affiliation scores for seven females were not affected at all. If regression toward the mean were used to explain the changes in the male scores, then that same effect would obtain to the females, which is not the case.

It is likely that the climate of a consciousness raising group values affiliation for men and devalues it for women, since it is a skill women are considered to
have overlearned already, to wit; "the compassion trap."
Because the women's scores were so low to begin with in affiliation in this group, they couldn't move down, but also they didn't move up. It would seem that one of the norms of the group was that it was not salient for women to make changes around affiliation.

Something in the process of the consciousness raising experience triggered feelings in the men regarding affiliation. It is entirely possible that that process is inherent in the small group experience and so T-groups in general influence affiliation scores. Certainly a next step is to administer the TAT to control groups including a T-group. The absence of norms for the women as well as the small size of the population makes it almost impossible to interpret the results further.

If any of the motives were relevant to the women's norms, achievement was. Since the women's scores were so high on achievement to begin with, it is not surprising that there wasn't movement there. The lack of movement in achievement may also be a result of the fact that there was no clear focus on that motive. Assertiveness for women was valued in the group. Regrettably, the TAT does not measure that, except for those for whom achievement is a concomitant of assertiveness.

One next step has already been mentioned; i.e., to administer the TAT to control groups including a T-group. Other steps include administering the TAT to a larger
sample. However, the same problem of reliability in replication of results cited in Atkinson earlier still exists. Other instruments similar to the TAT—particularly sentence stems—could be used.

If the TAT were to be used as an instrument again, some sort of training for motive change seems relevant, if only to emphasize certain exercises over others. Since the Life Planning Exercises prize achievement, it would be interesting to evaluate motive change specifically in groups that had focused on them.

It is clear the TAT as an instrument to measure fall-out changes from a consciousness raising group experience has limited effectiveness in indicating outcomes. This writer would like to pursue the question of assessment of learning and change as a result of consciousness raising groups from a broader perspective. Sandra Bem's Sex Role Inventory is now available to measure movement towards androgyny. Other self-view questionnaires, not specifically related to sex roles, could be used, such as the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Measure, Shostrom's Personal Orientation Inventory, or Bebont's Problem Check List.

In addition to self-report information, peer ratings about changes they observed need to be solicited from the other members of the consciousness raising group. Perhaps two or three significant people with whom consciousness raising group participants are living, need to be invited to provide critical data about changes as a result of the
group experience. In-depth interviews—albeit time consuming—seem the most effective means for data collection in this area. In addition, there needs to be a follow-up six months after the group disbands to determine how well changes have been maintained.

The questions invited in this pilot study seem all the more meaningful. New instruments are being developed which will provide more sophisticated data. Therefore, the next step would appear to be developing a comprehensive assessment process to measure the impact of consciousness raising groups.
CHAPTER VII

IMPLICATIONS

This dissertation offers a process for developing awareness of sex role stereotypes through participation in a support/learning group. The forty-five exercises developed here offer structured experiences to facilitate consciousness raising about cultural, family, and individual expectations with regard to being a woman or a man.

Consciousness raising groups differ from therapy groups or human relations groups insofar as they attempt to help women and men become aware of the implications of their sex role in a society which oppresses women and elevates men. Consequently, persons going through such an experience then are able to construe what they thought were personal problems as societal issues. By contrast, the goal in therapy or sensitivity training is to become aware of oneself as a human being and to feel more able to deal with one's own individual patterns of behavior.

One major concern about the drawbacks of consciousness raising is that if the groups engage in too much psychologizing, the members will turn inward and focus too much on self actualization rather than on changing the culture. Yalom, Lieberman, and Miles (1973) point out in their encounter group study that the more psychologizing
there is, the more the focus is on self rather than social changes. The group needs frequently to assess to what extent it is politicizing people. If a consciousness raising group begins to respond exclusively to a few individuals' deep needs rather than to concerns common to all the members of the group, it is probably becoming a therapy group. Persons with sufficiently unique problems may be encouraged to deal with them privately.

What this thesis is about is helping women and men take a look at their role boxes and contemplate if they decide to move out of them, what some of their options might be. For women to move out of their sex role stereotypes might mean a greater sense of autonomy; a freer expression of anger; less anxiety over success; less concern about being rejected and ostracized for assertiveness and competence; greater awareness of the guilt women feel if things are not going well for others close to them; less concern with living for and through others; feelings of being more in charge of one's own life; greater satisfaction with life; and for a while as a result of this increased awareness more unhappiness in traditional family or work roles that circumscribe their new identity.

For men to move out of their sex role stereotypes might mean that they would cry more frequently; acknowledge that they are frightened more often; ask for help; refuse to let women sit back and not take responsibility for making decisions; be more nurturant; see relationships as more
important; feel more comfortable being intimate with men; not look exclusively to women to meet their emotional needs; feel that if they are going to have children, then being a father is a critical part of their identity; feel less responsible for protecting their homestead, and hence feel more collaborative with the persons with whom they are living; and deal with their feelings of fear, anger, anxiety, and depression, if they experience them, towards the women who are growing more assertive.

Yet, as has been said, the value inherent in this dissertation is that the first step towards change is generating awareness and building cohesiveness. Before confronting societal institutions, it seems necessary that men have a sense of male identity and brotherhood and women of femalesness and sisterhood. Then, whatever the specifics of the direction they take for change, the conclusion will embody values from both male and female cultures and the mode for creating change will be collaborative between the sexes.

The Women's Movement, and now the Men's Movement, has operated at a more personal level than the Black and Chicano movements. Somehow, the Civil Rights Movement of the '60's, Martin Luther King, Rap Brown, Stokeley Carmichael, and Eldridge Cleaver, were able to capture the media and educate white people about white oppression and its effect on black culture. The movement with respect to sexism has not caught fire in the same way for a lot of
different reasons: not the least of which is that women tend not to confront in the same manner as men.

Instead, the Women's Movement has developed as a smaller grass roots organization. Within the next few years, possibly with the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, there may be a more global response within the culture to Sexism. Therefore, the utility of this dissertation is limited. Probably, hopefully within the next few years, awareness to the level advocated in the preceding exercises will be developed and the exercises will be extant. There are many more steps ahead for the movement toward androgyny. With awareness, individuals and groups may begin to deal with the institutions of our society: the family, business organizations, educational systems, the government: all of which are sexist. One of the major issues in our society is that the norms which shape people into sharply defined sex roles discriminate against women, and hence the institutions of our society discriminate against giving women equal access to power.

The next steps in dealing with oppression call for equalizing the distribution of power and influence and incorporating the values of women as well as men into the culture. Specifically, what this would mean is a society which valued both nurturance and assertiveness; a concern for task as well as concern for people; a human emotional approach to problem solving as well as a rational approach; and an understanding that within all of us is a striving
for interdependency rather than allocating independence to some people and dependency to others.


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APPENDIX A

TRANSCRIPTS

EDUCATION 386

SEX ROLES AND STEREOTYPES

Alice Sargent

18 Persons (12 Females - 6 Males)

Week 1: January 27, 1972

M- I've read a lot of Women's Lib articles: they bother me. I want to find out more about them.

F- All my classes think I'm the only female there: when there's like 3 out of 50. They just stare at me: look me up and down. People either say you're going to get a better grade because you're the only female, or you can also get a worse grade because the professor doesn't like females.

M- I don't know. I think that being in Elementary Education with mostly females all along for the past two years really hasn't bothered me that much. I felt strange at first, but I got used to it after a while: it wasn't all that bad.

M- It seems strange how the School of Education works because I know of a friend--a male--who's just transferred into the School of Ed. yet they have a waiting list of girls that's pretty long. They really want more men.

F- That's the same with the schools now. If you go out to do student teaching and they're trying to decide who they're going to have this semester and if there is one guy who applied they just want somebody who's male instead of just having females all the time and the kids really enjoy having a male. If you see a guy applying, it's all over . . . Now that's actually discrimination, isn't it?

M- But the reason that that happens is the stereotype of teachers. I think guys never wanted to get into teaching because that was a woman's job, especially younger children. You know it's just kind of a motherly thing so there just aren't even that many in the younger educational area, though I think a lot more are coming now and we are becoming more aware that they are needed.

F- Say, what's this class all about anyway?
Alice- It seems to me that the only thing I've mentioned thus far is that the criteria for joining in the course is participation. If you don't come prepared to share yourself, to give your feelings and opinions in some way, other people will be deprived of a viewpoint. It would be nice to be able to say "come along and listen to other people even if you don't feel like sharing," but we don't have room for that. Instead, this is a place to take a look at your own stereotypes of your sex role and to share these with others. It will be a personal consciousness-raising experience for the first eight sessions and then we will discuss some topics, like alternative life styles, racism, sexism. Everyone is asked to keep a journal each week of critical incidents, in and out of class, that raised your consciousness regarding sex stereotypes. How does all this sound?

F- I'm the type of person who has to have some positive reinforcement; I usually have to have a little push to look at myself. This is just what I want--to have to talk.

F- I think it could be a good place to let things out. With me now, recently I've had all these hassles in my head and it just hasn't seemed like I had any place to let it out where people were really interested; you talk to friends and they say, "Yeh, well I guess so," and I'm just so confused about well, male and female; how he acted, how I acted. Do I do it because I think it's right or because I'm conditioned to act this way; it's a real mess. When I saw this course it seemed like this would be the place that we could talk about something like that.

M- Just the whole idea that so many people are conditioned not to talk about it. Now it's sort of clicks in my head, saying "be aggressive." Since I was a Freshman to a Senior I don't even know where I am; it's just a real mess in my head.

M- I've really been thinking hard about being a father lately. I don't want to have children if I'm going to be a father like my father, but if I can do it differently, then all right.

Alice- It sounds like we're beginning to get into our stereotypes. For today, why don't we try a simple exercise so that we can all share our data. In the future, we don't need to structure our sessions unless we want to. For today, why don't we try some sentences completions. Let's also stop about ten minutes early to explore if we want an extended session in the course before too long to get
to know each other better. Does everybody have a piece of paper? Draw three columns. In the first column make a list of ten items answering the question, "Who am I?" They can be roles, but try to have some adjectives, qualities. Rank them, letting #1 stand for the quality without which you would feel most unlike yourself. For example, if you were going to introduce yourself to somebody, you might say, "Hello, I'm Alice, and I'm involved."

In column 2, the women write the sentence, "Since I am a woman----" and, for the men, "Since I am a man, I must----" answering it ten times.

In column 3 for the women, "If I were a man I could----" and for the men, "If I were a woman I could----"

Now select another person, maybe someone you don't know well, and share whatever this experience evoked. Then we'll return in ten minutes, and share together in the total group...(10 minutes later). Let's split up in our pairs so that one person comes into the inner circle in order to share some of what we've done.

M- I noticed that a lot of things that we put down on the paper were conditioned by society. Things like, "If I were a woman I'd like to cook...but maybe men like to cook. Like there are quite a few men chefs but society says well, a woman stays home; she cooks; she keeps house. Actually, the only difference between men and women is really a physical and a chemical one.

F- I was talking to this guy, and he brought up some interesting things that I never viewed in this way. That in parts of the Women's Lib movement they put down the woman as a wife and mother and housekeeper—and they put down housework and cooking as a drudgery. But there's also a really great thing about being a mother, about watching your children grow and there's a lot of creative potential in cooking and things like that. That's the same with any job that anyone is ever going to go into; you're going to get a lot of things you don't like, but you're going to stay in it because there's one thing about it that you really love. Like I want to go into teaching Kindergarten. I really love working with little kids. But I know I'm going to hate teacher's meetings; yet because of that one thing I love I'm going to stick with it. I think Woman's Lib is missing that.

F- I don't think they put being a mother down. But if you're going to be home, I don't think it's fair for any woman to be expected to wash the dishes and make supper seven nights a week. It's a drudgery for anybody to have
something expected of him every day. I think it's something that should be shared. The responsibilities that you take in any field should never be solely on one person. I think it's more the right to choose what you want to do that people are after.

F- If somebody chooses to be a housewife, let them do it; why put them down. But I shouldn't be put down if I want that, or if I want to be President of the U.S. It should be equal opportunity to do whatever one chooses to do.

M- I think it does for the man, too. If he chooses, or if the couple chooses for the man to stay at home. Then, fine. If there's a guy who really doesn't want to work full time, then both he and his wife should have a part-time job, and share child care and the home the rest of the time. My father never had much time at all for us. I think if you're going to have children, the man should participate, too. I even think if a couple gets divorced, the father should have the chance to keep the children.

M- Whether you want to do it or not, there's just no choice. In this system, guys can't stay home.

M- But still, if things have to be done, like shopping, they can be done by both the husband and wife. It shouldn't be put on one person, just because it's always been put on one person. You ought to be able to make a list of duties that has to be done and then negotiate and make a contract.

M- What my wife and I have said is that, in general, we both have accepted the male and female stereotyped roles. We both have hostilities toward these roles. There are things that I'd like to do that wouldn't be masculine and things that she'd like to do that wouldn't be feminine. We'd like to change, but we don't see any way to go about it.

Alice- Can you give a "for instance": something you'd like to do that you don't feel free to do?

M- Sure. Certain times, there are prescriptions of how to react against pain, emotion, or feeling dependent; I may feel like not being cool, but I constantly have to restrain against it. By and large, I've learned to be a Stoic, I guess--to compartmentalize. It shakes me up when Women's Lib comes along and tries to shake everything down--tell me I can cry if I want.
F- How do you know what is really feminine and masculine? I really think that because we're physically different, there's got to be a difference. Maybe not in an extreme way, but where do you draw the line between what is culturally learned and what really is a difference?

F- Differences were accentuated out of necessity. Now, though, when you hear things like, "The man is stronger so he should go out and do the work," you wonder. Is he stronger, or just bigger, and is that strength relevant to the mind and the work he is doing. It's a known fact that a female can withstand pain better than a male. It seems very important to reevaluate whether women can't go out in the world, too.

F- One thing that I got from my list was how afraid I am about the roles I'm supposed to play but that I might not like. I think that when I wrote my list I put down things that I didn't necessarily feel down deep inside, but that I thought other people saw in me.

Alice- Want to share any of your list?

F- I put that "Since I am a woman, I find it hard to be anything but a woman": I don't feel that I can be myself, me, a human being. I feel that I have to be a woman first, because of the way other people view me. It's just something I've become aware of. And I guess basically, I have to like myself, and I guess a lot of people aren't going to like what I'm going to change into when I can really be myself.

M- The thing that really surprised me was that I couldn't remember any of the good things that people think of as being a man. All I could think of were "shoulds."

Alice- What did you say for "If I were a woman"?

M- They were the things that I would very much like to be. They were very stereotyped things like being able to be more emotional, being able to cry, being able to be soft. Another thing I put down was being able to hate myself and have a good reason. I mean, women can say they're downtrodden and men aren't supposed to have those pressures on them. So, women have an excuse to hate themselves that men aren't supposed to have.

M- It's strange how a woman will say, "I'm sensitive, I have feelings, I'm emotional," and yet a guy can be gentle too, you know. Guys are supposed to be rough, like they can't feel dependent.
F- I found myself thinking that all my inadequacies would disappear if I were the opposite sex. I knew that even when I put it down it wouldn't be so but it seemed a nice excuse. Like, if I were a man, I would be angry instead of bitchy, or assertive instead of too aggressive.

F- I just realized that I put down all bad things for being a woman, and all good things for if I were a man.

Alice- I'm sorry to stop here but we probably need to take the last few minutes to organize ourselves for the future. Now that we've had a taste of what our experience will be like over the next eight weeks, I'd like to check again to see to what extent this meets your needs and expectations. I'll be available after class or we can make an appointment this week to talk if anyone would like to talk more about the course. I'd like to encourage any of you with doubts to please talk to me or someone else in the class. Particularly, if you thought that this experience would be primarily one of reading books and not personal sharing, or if you're feeling saturated even momentarily with taking a look at yourself, maybe it would be better to drop the course for this semester....Course requirements are to come to class, to participate, to keep a journal each week, and to take responsibility for leading a discussion on a reading during the last six weeks.
Week 2 : February 3, 1972

F- I'm Marilyn, an Elementary Education major, and I took this class to see what people had to say about sex stereotypes. Since I'm going to be a teacher, I thought it important to sort my own ideas out before I go out and stereotype children in my classes. I'm afraid that I would go on expecting girls to be "good little girls" in class and letting the boys express themselves more.

F- I'm Marsha. At first I didn't really know what to expect but I think I'm going to like this informal type of class. I've really never had a class where students participate and I like the idea of learning from each other rather than just teacher-type figures.

M- I'm Lance. I came to this course from the business school because I felt that it would offer me some opportunity to find out about myself. I've been made aware because of the background that I come from of rigid sex stereotypes which I find very restricting. I welcome sharpening my awareness, going further in my thinking here than I would by myself.

M- I'm Eric. I'm a graduate student in Physical Education. We're so used to going along the same old way and not thinking about things, and unless someone mentions something and we start talking, I tend to go along the same way. I have a question. Do you girls ever feel that if you know a guy, you're aggressive if you approach him, or do you feel that he's got to approach you first.

F- If he's a friend, I'm comfortable approaching him. But, if I'm interested in him as a date, I hold back. Do you feel the same way? If you want to approach a girl on a friendship basis, that you might be misinterpreted?

F- I feel for the guys. After all, they're the ones who own the cars, drive the cars, pay for the dates. Guys may have a superior tradition of position, but they also have that responsibility.

M- I don't mind it; in fact, I'd be uncomfortable to have a girl drive the car. I know I'm a chauvinist, but I can't help it. I think men should have more authority than girls have.

F- I was talking with this guy about dating relationships, and he feels that a girl should at least pay half the time. He said he's had a couple of girls call him up and ask him out. It struck me as really strange, because I'm so used to the other way.
F- Last week my girlfriend and I were going to go out in our car and we couldn't get it started for the life of us. So we had to ask our neighbors, a couple of guys, for a push. They gave us such a hard time: "What's the matter, girls. You're supposed to be able to do everything for yourselves." I'm not that gungho Women's Lib, and there are just some things that I know I'm not strong enough to do.

F- The thing I think is really ironic is that, in my experience, if a girl calls a guy to ask him out, no matter how good a time they have, he'll never call her back. No matter how liberal he says he is.

F- Sometimes my boy friend will give me money to buy the tickets or pay the bill. He just doesn't feel like doing it; and it really bothers me and I'll say, "No, you're the man--you do it." I guess women really help to keep men in their box.

F- I have four sisters, and people always pity my father, Bob. "Poor Bob, he has no sons."

F- I'm in a dilemma. My fiance and I have decided we want two children and we're going to adopt at least one of them. I know that if I were to have two children, both daughters, I would get a lot of pressure about having another child--an heir. They just have to have a son in the family.

F- I just don't see how a woman can pursue a career and still live a full life at home, with children.

F- My mother always stayed home, never worked; I used to feel sorry for kids whose mothers worked--that they couldn't be so sure of their mothers love as I--or couldn't love their mothers as much. Now, I don't think that's so. If you need to get a babysitter, it depends on the person you get. A babysitter can really be a surrogate mother. Sometimes kids get love and respect from sitters that they might not get at home.

F- I think you can have a career and work part or full time, and do as good or better a job than a person at home. They get impatient with them and frustrated. It's not whether or not you're home all the time, but what kind of relationship you have with your children when you're with them.
M- It looks to me that it's leading to a giant kibbutz, where you women stay away from the kids just like the fathers do. I'm really bothered by it.

F- Why don't you give up your job and stay home with the children if you're so worried about it?

Alice- It's regrettable, but the time is up. Maybe next time we ought to spend some separate time with the women talking to each other about what they have in common, and the men talking to each other about their common heritage.
Although I'm not liberated, I'm somewhat sensitized to feelings that I have because I am a woman. I'm more aware when women are put down as hysterical, or a dumb broad, or more subtle things that I never used to notice. I'm aware that I even join in, subscribe to the atmosphere because it makes me more a woman. Now, I feel a greater freedom and I keep questioning myself when I want to hide behind a shield of being "just a woman." There's no reason why I can't do something. I'm free if I want to do it! That's a big thing to conquer.

I've gone through many different stages with the Woman's Liberation Movement. I'm at the stage where I'm a person first and I know that. I know that no matter what I do, I'm going to succeed at it. I'm in the business field, so I have everything going against me; either they will patronize me or discriminate against me. But I'm going to hang in there. I refuse to let being a woman block me from whatever I want.

That sounds like you're over-compensating.

In a way everyone has to overcompensate. I suppose it does, in the sense that I have to be better because I'm a woman.

Yes, and to show men that you're at least as good. Have you been discriminated against because you're a woman?

On the campus I really haven't had that much trouble. In my classes, they expect less of me, really, so when I show more, they're surprised.

It sounds like you've really been struggling.

Yes, I have been struggling.

How do you feel about people expecting less of you and being surprised that you can do as well?

I get a lot of satisfaction out of it. It keeps me on my toes to be able to teach them a lesson. It hurts also because a lot of times I'm afraid I won't make it but I can't let my guard down and show anyone. It's awfully lonely, too.
F- I think I've internalized all the feelings that women can't expect that they compete as well as men. I'm fighting against it, but in a lot of situations, I find myself giving up—-or not trying as hard as I could. I guess it's being a helpless female. I give up if something goes wrong with my car, or if I don't speak up in class as much as I could, or if I don't put as much effort into writing a paper.

F- For me, being a person is really important, and part of being a person is being a woman. One of the things that I'm trying to do is to relate to others as a person, not to see them as "a man" or "a woman" and automatically react in a certain way. I really want to try and break down those barriers. Yet I also think it's important that I understand that they're a man or they're a woman and how that affects the person that they are.

M- I do believe in differences between men and women. I think women are more dependent, and softer. Men are tougher, more aggressive.

F- But, I just want to be considered for what I am and what I do.

F- I don't like any stereotype, even those from other women: that if you're for any part of Women's Liberation you have to wear dungarees, or go without a bra. I don't see any connection between how I feel and how I dress.

F- Liberation is doing what you want to do, how you want to do it, and when you want to do it. Sometimes, it's hard to know what you want. I question what I want. Sometimes I find I waver, depending on whom I talk to—sharing doubts with those who feel them, then feeling stronger when talking with those of a stronger opinion. I don't want to give up being taken care of by men, but I also want to be able to take care of myself.

F- I've never found it easy to come out aggressively and put someone on the defensive, but I want, at least, to know where I stand and not be so wavering.

F- I'm in a small seminar, and a bit intimidated by the intellectual professor. I felt the first night that he did something that was really sexist by putting down another woman. He seemed to scoff at her. Although she and another man had the same topic for a paper, of course they wouldn't be doing it the same way. Yet, when she and another woman in the class picked the same topic, well, he said, they'd better get together and decide so
that they don't overlap. I thought that was a real put-
down. But I didn't say a word to him about it. I'm not
at that point yet--especially feeling a bit intimidated
and knowing it would not be well received.

F- I'm in classes with a lot of women, and the male profes-
sors say, "Come on, girls," like he's up there and we're
all his children. Now, I call that sexist. Can you
stereotype that as a male professor or just that guy?
I'm not saying that men don't experience these kinds of
things, but the degree and frequency is negligible.

M- One of the reasons that I'm here is that I know that
there's some of that built into me and that I've been
taught to react as a sexist and there are things that I'd
at least like to find out about myself. A woman's
perspective, because you've experienced that, would be
valuable to me.

F- Regarding discrimination, I don't think it's happened
to me very often, and if it has, I don't think it would
bother me. Things like you describe don't phase me.

F- You seem to infer that being discriminated against is
something that women should accept, because you accept it.
You admitted that maybe it happens to women more, but you
said, it happens to me and it doesn't bother me. Should
we really tolerate it, or wouldn't it be better if we
were bothered, and we did something to try to change it?

F- It feels like we're differentiating between a woman and
a human being. There shouldn't be a difference, but
there sure is in this society.

F- I think it's a shame that men aren't allowed to look
beautiful in this society. But, when women are concerned
with looking beautiful all of the time, then your image
or role as a woman is imposing on you as a human being.

M- If I were a girl I would like a lot of things that you
all enjoy. I'd love someone to open car doors for me,
send me flowers, put my coat on. Most women I know would
be offended if I treated them the same way I do a man.

F- You're not a girl, you don't know. You've never been
treated like one; you've never been shut out of things.

F- If we want help in relating to each other as people, then
we need to be aware of what he's saying, not to tell him
to keep quiet.
F- I think it's just not fair; that the women in this room are doing to the men what they accuse men of doing to women. If I were a man, I wouldn't want to come back to this class. Being a woman, I really empathize. I would like to ask the women in this room, "how does it feel to be the persecuter?"

F- I don't feel that I'm being a persecuter, but I'm no longer at a point where I can turn the other cheek.

F- You might be able to go along your whole life, and if no one pointed out anything, you might think, "Oh, I'm not a sexist, because no one ever gave me any feedback that I was."

M- But I had 21 years of being a man, and all of a sudden-- slam, bang, you jump on me. We probably don't even realize what we're doing, that's why we're taking this course.

F- Like before class, when you tried to light my cigarette; behind that there are a whole lot of implications. You need to be aware of those implications. What you communicate to me is that I'm weaker. That you think I need someone to take care of me... Be careful with me...

M- Or maybe he did it out of an expectation role. When I got up and gave my chair to Ellen when she came in late, I really didn't want to sit on the floor: I liked that chair. But I've been taught to feel uncomfortable all my life if I don't offer a woman my chair.

F- I definitely think the women need to meet separately from the men.

F- In fact, I don't see why we have men in this class at all.

F- I'm glad the men are here. I want to know what's on their minds.

M- I don't see why we should meet separately from the women. I came to learn what they have to say.

Alice- Maybe a compromise would be to spend the first hour separately next week and then come together for the second hour to share what we talked about.
Week 4: February 17, 1972

F-I was very hurt last week because I don't think I over-reacted. What I said might have been unwise, but I said it because nobody else was saying anything that had to be said. I felt that none of you supported me. It bothers me that there isn't some kind of solidarity or common ground.

F-I agreed with everything you said completely, but I find it hard to talk in front of people. I don't want anyone to put me down.

F-I think there is a masculine mystique dominating the climate in here...a kind of swaggering attitude. You have to be tough, speak up about your feelings in the face of whatever is going on...

F to Alice- I was irritated at you for suggesting separate groups. I came to hear what was on the men's minds, too. I think you only pushed us further apart. Why did you do that?

Alice- My sense is that we, as women, were addressing more of our remarks to the men than we were to each other, as well as giving static to each other. In some sense, the women were treating each other as invisible, and so were the men. Getting together separately like this offers the opportunity to at least see who the women in the group are. Also, I feel we were perpetuating old roles that women typically play with each other of competing for the approval of the men or protecting the men more than each other. For example, this is one of the first times anyone has spoken directly to me. That makes me feel less invisible already. The size of the group contributes to that, too. How does all this fit with your perceptions?

F- I was in a group of men and women before. We were all close friends. Yet, when we came upon subjects like role stereotypes or feminism, I found that the men just couldn't go far, and I couldn't get support from them. Beyond a certain level, it seems that it just has to be a female or male-understood type of thing, and I just don't know how to get past that.

F- I wonder if men have to work together first for consciousness raising, just like women, and then we get together.
Sometimes I think it's unrealistic or impossible to forget sexes and just try to relate to each other as people.

But, they are male people, and I'm a female person... and I think we always have to deal with that.

I remember in high school reading romantic novels. I got the idea that for someone to fall in love, you had to be involved in this great adventure, that you had to have something unusual happen to you.

In high school I had a huge crush on this super guy. I used to watch him all the time. He obviously was disgusted with me, like "ugh, leave me alone."

There was an older guy I dated. He was really sex-oriented. He used to talk about his past relationships with women all the time. Sex, sex, sex...and he was always suggesting that we do things, and I was always going, "No, no, no." We never really got to know each other well, but we shared some emotional experiences.

The big thing in my family was to avoid touching. We always kissed each other, but we never touched. I still feel very inhibited about doing physical things. I remember my mother always saying: "Be sensible. Be neat. Be sure not to be ugly. Don't get hurt." I had very poor feelings about myself. There was a time I got really fat...and again, I remember feeling really ugly. I started joking about it and I became kind of a clown...got friends that way. I don't feel terribly independent. I'm getting a lot more independent than I ever was...perhaps that's because my mother did so many things for me. Like she would comb my hair when I was in high school. Then the big thing came...you're a woman now, you'll wear a bra. I didn't need a bra--I still don't, and so I feel like less of a woman. Still, I went out to buy a bra, and the saleslady laughed at me. All the way through high school and then college, I kept looking to boys and then eventually men as a reflection of my worth. Now, here, I can come talk to women about these things and even look to women to be valued. That really makes me feel good.
I remember being really happy when I was young, because I liked to do a lot of things—climb trees and things like that, and no one ever hassled me about it. It was fun and I was happy. There were a lot of guys in my neighborhood, along with two brothers, and I always remember being with guys. I guess at that point they were the people that I liked to be with because they were doing the things that I liked to do and I was pretty much accepted by them, and still not old enough that I was getting any friction from my parents about it. For most of high school I was pretty lonely. It was during high school that the few friends I had started being girls instead of boys. There was a time that my mother gave me a talk about, "Why was I so tough?" Tough looking, tough dressing, tough acting, how I was older now, and since I was in high school, I should be more feminine. I should be more this, more that. What was wrong with me? I can see now why she may have thought I was tough, although she never really knew me then, even though she thought she did. I used to get both sad and mad at that. I remember my reaction was that I was going to be tougher, if anything.
Week 4

MEN

M- It's like they're walking around with a chip on their shoulders: like I have to think through everything I say now before I say it. The rules are certainly changing for talking to girls. What used to work doesn't work anymore.

M- I feel like I've been attacked: criticized. I felt defensive. At the same time, I felt a certain bond with other men. Because you are a man and I am a man. We're trying to figure this out together.

M- They made it sound like everything for a guy is great: rosy.

M- I'm very aware that so much men do is habit--

M- When she says, "Women have problems"; even if she says they have the greatest problems in the world, and you say: "Well, men have problems," their response is like I don't want to listen to you because I already know your problems, and mine are more important to me right now. I can't pay attention to you now.

M- At first, when Alice suggested we meet separately I was angry. I didn't see any point to it. Now, I realize how uncomfortable I feel in here with only men. I am more comfortable with women than men. (The transcript of the men's session is incomplete).

WOMEN AND MEN TOGETHER FOR THE LAST FIVE MINUTES

M- We used all our time up talking separately. It's gotten pretty heavy in here. Next week, when we get together could we start with a structured exercise that might help us share our feelings?

Alice- How do the rest of you feel about that? Does anyone have any ideas?
Week 5: February 24, 1972

Alice- In response to the request for a joint experience to facilitate sharing, why don't we try this. Let's make a picture of our space in this group. Divide this up proportionately into the amount of space in which you feel free, the amount of space in which you feel known to others, the amount of space which is known only to yourself, and the amount of space in which is unconscious and unknown.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Known to Self</th>
<th>Known to others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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On the back of your picture make a list of things in "Known to Self" which you haven't shared yet, but could or would. Put these lists in the center of the group, anonymously, and we'll take turns reading each other's lists.

LISTS

I'm afraid that I will never share love with a man.
I'm confused about love. I think I'm so dependent.
I don't know what kind of relationships I want, what I can accept and what limits I will want to impose.
I need to be needed.
The person I would like to be is so different from the person I am.
I'm so lonely.
I'm so anxious about what others think of me.
It's very hard to discuss my feelings about sexism outside this group.
I don't know what my goals are.
I like the company of most men over the company of women.
I like attention.
I want someone to hug me in here.
I really don't like a lot of women. I think they're bitchy and fragile.
I'm uncomfortable with most men. I don't know how to be close to them other than to play football with them, or to talk about sports.

I've been living up to some kind of John Wayne image. I have a lot of feelings I wish I could express. I haven't cried in the past ten years. I envy women so much for being able to cry.

I wish I wouldn't cry so much. I feel so silly.

I don't trust most women. I think they'd take my boyfriend away from me if they could.

I want to have a career which is central to my life. I don't think I'll ever get married.
Week 6: March 2, 1972

Alice- Maybe we should begin by taking stock of where we've been—what we've liked about the group this far and what we've disliked. We only have two more weeks until spring vacation and that ends consciousness-raising through personal sharing. Is this all right? . . . My sense is that there were moments where we touched, but then we backed off quickly, particularly if we got angry at each other, like when Margaret got angry at Lance. For myself, this group helps me to stay in touch with what being a woman means in my life right now: that it means a lot of searching, that it means I feel a lot of pain, and that I'm angry: I feel good to be dealing with whatever the female part of me is about with this group. It feels good to be sharing in this search together.

F- I was thinking last night, evaluating the semester; I let myself get far behind unlike past semesters. I think this semester academics didn't matter in the same way; that people and relationships were much more important; and finding out who I was. I did that a lot.

F- Just getting to know people and finding that they share a lot of the same feelings I do has been good. Just to know that I'm not angry alone.

M- I can hardly believe this is happening in school. . . . I never shared feelings with people like this anywhere.

F- I guess I'm not so passive, and not so ready to take a lot of things from men as I used to be. It felt good to get angry at Scott even if he didn't deserve all that. It's one of the first times I've gotten angry at a man.

F \_ I wish it had been a smaller group. Then I might have said more of what's on my mind. I guess I'm pretty quiet a lot of the time . . . quieter than usual, but I do find myself a lot more aware of things.

Alice- Do you want to use this "too large" group in any way now to share what your feelings have been?

F \_ Well, something happened to me last week. I met three people, one woman and two men from California, who came to get into grad school. They're into this thing about working with people; acting on their feelings and getting involved in relationships whenever it feels good. I really thought they were fantastic; I listened to them for hours and I trusted them. After spending an evening
with one of them—Chris—I went to visit him with my roommate a few nights later. Chris really gave my roommate a lot of attention and she liked and accepted it and they were fooling around and it hurt me. Later on, I talked to her and told her how I felt. She didn't feel she had done anything wrong. It was a relationship that had satisfied her. She had just gone along with it. I wondered if I was wrong. How much should you consider another person? Should you just do everything for yourself? The next night I talked to Chris, and the other guy, Tom, about it. I had never opened up so much. It ended up that Tom agreed with me. He said he had found Chris—the guy I slept with—exploitive in their relationship as well. Tom told Chris he thought he was out for himself too much and he wasn't really living by their philosophy, that you don't use people. They decided they couldn't continue to go on together because Tom was so disappointed. I was amazed. I couldn't believe my feelings were really legitimate. I got really scared.

Alice—It was frightening to you that you could have such an impact on other people?

Fl I guess so, except they also had such an impact on me. The openness certainly felt good, but it's been a lot to carry around inside me. I wanted to share it some place. I'm so glad it was here.
APPENDIX B

LINDA'S JOURNAL

September 20, 1972

Sexual Roles and Stereotypes 3655

Sentence completions in class.

Women are:

1. weak
2. gentle
3. domestic
4. sensitive
5. maternal
6. protective
7. passive
8. submissive
9. romantic
10. predictable

Men are:

1. strong
2. stable
3. dependable
4. aggressive
5. dominant
6. vital
7. heroic
8. mathematical
9. calm
10. intelligent

Since I am a woman I must:

1. bear children
2. maintain a certain serene patience
3. wait for things to happen
4. use only the "ladies" room
5. know how to set the table
6. perfect the fine art of giggling
7. wear a shirt, even when it's hot
8. strive for recognition
9. be understanding
10. create

If I were a man I could:

1. build houses
2. roam the country
3. race motorcycles
4. grow a beard
5. be a protector,
6. be taken seriously
7. run fast
8. play professional football
9. die nobly
10. drink water straight from the bottle
Who am I?

1. confused
2. busy
3. searching
4. analyzing
5. sympathetic
6. occupied
7. optimistic
8. accepting
9. independent
10. trapped

The child in me:

1. loves to paint
2. fondly remembers Mickey Mouse
3. climbs trees
4. flies kites
5. eats with my fingers
6. talks to bugs
7. likes to jump on the bed
8. feels delightfully guilty going out in the rain without boots or a coat
9. likes to play tag
10. plays with matchbox trucks
I wonder how other people see me—as a female, a student, a friend... I long for the friendship of a male comparable to the best girl friend type thing. I want friendship to be a deep growing-together experience, an awareness of another person, a communion of souls. I have a true platonic friendship with a lot of guys, but it seems that it must remain casual and almost superficial to stay platonic. When it gets physical, jealousy and possessiveness become a part of it.

I'm amazed that I still allow myself to perpetuate certain stereotypes at times (giggle).

Nothing is more provoking than having someone indulgently ask, "Are you into Women's Lib?"

I love roses. The one on the table is just perfect now—it opens up more each day.

Class revolved around Marshall and his awareness of his sex role. In a roomful of women, the women again played a minority role in trying to draw Marshall out without adequately expressing themselves. A conflict arises in my mind: Did Marshall dominate because he's Marshall? I tend to think it's because he's male. I am trying to erase any concepts of him following stereotypic behavior. (But—don't all stereotypes have a basis in real life?)
I went down to the Valley Women's Center. I really like the atmosphere. Wish I had more time to spend there. The relaxation of being with "sisters" is a welcome change from the rat race of "dating," etc.

Jeannie, a dear, dear friend, goes to U. Mass., Boston. I went to see her last weekend. She told me about her Buddhism class. The teacher had them doing sensitivity exercises. One involved touching. There was a circle within a circle of people; everyone facing a partner. With eyes closed, the partners would touch each other; after a few minutes each would move on to a different partner until everyone had experienced everyone else. Jeannie said that although she embraced one girl, for the most part the girls shied away from doing more than just putting a hand on her shoulder. The male encounters, she said, were tense with sexual vibrations. The teacher told them afterwards that from his observations, and also general observations by others, that the least tense encounter was female with female; after that was male/female; then male/male. It got me thinking about the norms society has impressed on us, and also the extent to which our insecurity about hetero- and homosexual relationships manifest themselves in daily encounter.

It's taken awhile for me to break down my "no touch" barrier, but I feel my relationship with Jeannie is so fine
that holding hands and showing affection has become a part of our relationship. It's great! Sisterhood can be a wonderfully fulfilling thing.

10/5

Again, vibrations in class were confusing. I personally think the class is doing something. We are learning about each other by being with each other and experiencing each other. I guess if someone takes a class with the typical "class" in mind, they wouldn't be satisfied. Gone is the podium, the blackboard, the syllabus, the hand-raising... In its place is a group experience which may at times be unordered or random. The members can bring up whatever is on their mind. I am really getting to know and enjoy Jeannie, Lois, Diane, and Elaine, the nurse. The casual conversation after class was nice.

10/6

ARGH!!! House Mixer tonight... I walked in from dinner (roommate's father took us out) to a house that had gone totally beserk--a band in the living room, writhing bodies all over the place, beer flowing from taps, glasses, people's mouths...And, of course, the old zoo story--the happy hunting ground for the young male bucks...such fierce animal vibrations in the air. Couldn't take it! Took a walk in the rain which always eases my mind. Why? Why always sex? Why not friends? It's so confusing. I wonder
if life would be better at a co-ed school?

10/11

I really like long dresses and lemon cologne. Does this reflect a personal liking...a true feminine trait? Or is it a socially inbred liking? I guess to be aware of yourself as a woman you don't have to question your preferences, but just the motives and rationale behind the preferences.

10/19

A funny thing happened to me on the way home from Stony Brook...I had a flat--no spare, driving a borrowed blue '65 Chevy station wagon with a bright red rejection sticker on the windshield. Went to Sear's Auto Center to get it checked out. Definitely an irreparable flat, says Honest John... I ask for a re-cap. I end up with a new tire, new valve, and a front-end balancing. Wait for three hours to get it changed. My turn comes. But wait! What's this? The front tire no longer looks flat. Upon closer inspection by a kindly freak in work clothes we see that the tire isn't flat; it's just a leaky valve. All the car needs is a new valve which costs 75 cents. The job is done--another 45 minutes to get the money back from Honest John...Voila! I'm on my way.

Four hours late, I zoom along the L. I. Expressway in the left lane. What's this? Have I hit a brick wall? No--
it's just the hood. It's flown up, and I am looking at a solid mass of pale blue. Somehow, without causing a major (or even minor) pile-up, I stop. Get out of the car, try to get the hood down. It won't budge--won't budge. Horns madly honking. I get onto the roof, step on the hood, and bounce on it. I get it to go down--perhaps forever! So--girl alone is able to solve dilemma without the superman or even Clark Kent.

10/21

I spent the whole day studying in the library for a mammoth psych test on Monday...got home at six. At seven I started to study. Got out the essay questions, and there in the margin was a message in Barry's handwriting--"let yourself love, don't hold back." Written at least a week ago, I've just seen it. It really confused me and has totally screwed up my train of thought as far as psych goes. What a rotten trick to haunt me like that! I want a brother. I feel a very deep brother-love for him, but not any kind of "special" love...Why then am I again forced into a corner? I don't understand. Where is Ann Landers when you really need her...

11/11

A few spare minutes... I can't believe it! Got up at five a.m. this morning to get the 5:45 bus to Springfield, so that I could be at Springfield College by 8:00
for the nursing boards... And here I am with 15 golden minutes to write. Time has recently been very elusive.

I know that I am somewhat romantic in hoping for the "one and only," --the all-consuming relationship to occur without some sort of "hit and miss" approach. That doesn't stop me from hoping. I haven't had sex (intercourse) with anyone yet. I really don't want to have sex outside of marriage. I often feel the need to gratify strong sexual urges, but I'm not going to do so. I really want to be understood here. Can you? It is very hard sometimes not to give in, but isn't that the way strength is created? I'm reading this over and cringing inside because it can so easily be read as some sort of fanatically puritan thing. But it's like a spiral. You can be in the same place in the circle and yet be further up--having spun around from the original depthless point and arriving at seemingly the same point, only now it is backed up by a wealth of thought, experiment, and meditation. Do you understand? I am not blindly following a set of "moral" rules enforced on me. I am arriving at conclusions myself, forming my own values on what seems to inspire peace and truth within me. I don't think you doubt my sincerity. A lot of confusion, bewilderment, and anguish was experienced before I arrived here.

As for how I feel about my body...sensually, showers, and stuff. But I know you mean how do I feel. I don't
know. I don't love my body; I wish I did. I guess it all comes with self-respect and actualization. I haven't worked it out yet.

And you asked me in my journal last week--are you happy? That really is a difficult question. I don't know. I am not consistently anything. I have moments of happiness which are warm and precious to me; but often I am unhappy and sometimes even depressed. Think where Rod McKuen (for goodness sake!!) would be if unhappiness was not around. The guy would be less about 20 million dollars and a few home-baked apple pies...

I'm beginning to think that I really don't have a lot of things worked out very well. I guess I could use help in figuring them out. I'm holding on so hard to what I think my values should be. I don't have much experience to tell me what works and what doesn't. I'm afraid of who might become aware of me if I let myself experience. I don't know who it would be. I'm just afraid. Whoever thought I would go to a class to find out I was afraid. I want to go on being Peter Pan. I won't grow up!!

11/13

My thoughts whirl around and around. Is it equality that makes me insist on hauling the carton of books 3/4 mile or stubbornness? Which is which...and "will I really make a good mother" someday? It's not good to be so tired. I feel defeated and dragged down--very much in need of
leaning on someone. Is this female reaction, or human reaction? Or escape?...

11/14

Snow! Beautiful, sticky snow with silent splatters—lands perfectly on my coat and hat. I feel like I'm tramping behind enemy lines, a W.W.I. refugee looking for a potato peel or something. What fun! I wonder if there is enough for a snowman?

11/20

This weekend was busy, no time to write. Class Thursday was nice—a casual getting to know each other, an airing out time. A group of people were in the lounge talking, feeling the obligation not to break the chain of classes, talking about the need for movement, for trust and more relaxing with others.

11/30

Today Sylvia came to class to talk about why, as a black woman, the Women's Movement appears irrelevant to her. I found that I really got to know Sylvia—a lot of things about her childhood, upbringing, etc., that I hadn't known. I have come to love her even more!

I really feel happy though—like I've finally contributed something to the class, something substantial.
A man may work from
sun to sun,
but a woman's work
is never done...

some famous Tibetan mystic

12/4

Alan--Lisa's boy friend--wants to take this course next semester. It would be great if he could. It would add a bit of diversity to the group and broaden Alan's outlook.

As a result of my course at U. Mass., several girls in the house are interested in female studies. Diane is taking Mrs. Glazer's course at Hampshire; Alan wants to take a course; and Lisa is looking for a course. Perhaps I have done something after all! (Or Alice certainly has!)

12/13

A week slips by so quickly. There are definitely things to say. Last week was a good class. I think we achieved a closeness that has eluded us all semester. I really do feel special about the class. We certainly have transcended the definition of class. I feel the potential for warm friendships in the class. Perhaps if we all had been able to get together more than once a week the potentials could have been realized.

Within the last week I have gone through many changes ...I will be leaving Smith Tuesday morning and not coming
back. Instead, I will be at the U. of Florida, hopefully working towards my B.A. in Nursing. It's so important that I learn nursing; it strikes a very responsive tone deep within when I think about it. It will insure a certain freedom that can come only with self-supporting independence. I feel as though a cycle has ended; it is time to move on, time to get down to work. I am finished here. This semester was really a growing one. This class joggled me from what I thought had been a very "in-touch" feminine awareness, and let me see that I still have a long way to go before I am truly sensitive to the female consciousness. But the doors are open! Emotionally, I have discovered that I really need to be more open, to show and say a little more of what I feel instead of scribbling everything furiously in this notebook. Most people who know me know about this course. Alan is going to take it. He is quite a bit like Scott in his reflective sensitivity. I think he'll add a nice tone to the class next year.

Alice, it really has been an experience—and a good one, though at times painful. Being in this class, I have learned an awful lot, and the effect I know will continue for a long time. Being unashamedly trite, I'll never forget this course. It's been a startlingly unique experience for me. You are such a good person; please do give more of your ideas next semester. I think it would be really valuable.
APPENDIX C

DON'S JOURNAL

Friday, September 29, 1972

I am confused about something said in class. One of the males made a statement that men judge more by the physical standards when viewing the attractiveness of a female. A few of the women then denied this, saying that they, too, judge by physical standards.

If I remember correctly, in the preceding class those same females were downgrading the fact that males judge by a woman's body and how stupid they were to do that. Well, those two statements are basically contradictory. Either females don't judge as much by physical characteristics, or they are just as "stupid" in doing so.

Formerly I believed, and was in fact told, that females use more mental criteria such as personality, etc. I suppose that the difference might lie in males being more sexual, which would in turn make them use physical attributes more often. But it is still possible that females don't make such use of physical characteristics. Are males really more sexual than women?

Monday, October 1, 1972

I've just returned from a weekend visit to a friend's house. The people that live in the house are all members of a rock and roll band. From that time they got together
four years ago until the last time I saw them, it was an all-male band. Well, it has been liberated. Two women who have long been hanging around and listening finally decided to stand up.

Their presence adds a lot to the band. Everyone seemed to accept them readily—if not eagerly. I wonder why it didn't happen earlier? I guess the women were reluctant to step forward. Or maybe the males had kept them at a distance somehow. They both say they've wanted to play for awhile.

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Until now, this journal has been something for which I had to find material. Today, I'm glad I have the journal to accept what I have to give.

I'm not sure exactly how this all fits into this journal. It isn't directly concerned with male-female role differences in general, but it is concerned with my own role and my closest friend, Joan's, role.

Joan and I were to be married in June. It looks like we won't be. It is not for a lack of love. I love Joan intensely and feel the same from her. But Joan's head is changing rapidly. Joan is really on to a new feeling she has—that of independence. She says that through my love she has found security and respect for herself. And with this, she can now freely and securely relate to others. We both find our friendships with members of the opposite sex
to be very satisfying, even enhancing our own relationship. That is good and beautiful.

Well, Joan says that because of this new feeling of independence she can relate to other males as individuals instead of part of a male-female pair. I believe she is saying something similar to an event in class. Beaver said she saw herself as a woman only in terms of Rich, her husband. Alice said she was surprised that Beaver didn't also see herself in terms of more males than her husband, since she worked with a number of men. Some of those other relationships might also be revealing. Well, I have the impression that Alice and Joan are saying pretty much the same things. I guess I can get into that idea. I suppose that is the way it should be. I'm sure there is potential for great growth. Joan is better able to form close relationships with males than I am with females, yet I still felt I could receive benefit from it. This is not the hassle, though.

The problem of sexual relationships forming at the same time is something over which Joan and I are in disagreement. Joan says she doesn't desire them, but if they are a natural part of the emotional relationship with someone, then she is for them. I'm not. I don't feel I have a very convincing argument against it, though.

Joan feels that she would receive additional fulfillment from it without it affecting—or at least being
detrimental to our relationship. If you can love two people without one love hurting the other, then why can't you have sex with two people? Well, it would hurt me. But why would it hurt me? I've been tearing myself apart trying either to agree with Joan, or to find a good reason why she is wrong—or rather, why it wouldn't be best for us. One reason is that it would hurt me because of my own "hang-ups." But that is asking Joan to give up what she sees as potential growth for my own lack of growth.

But maybe there is a good reason. I feel love for two women, Marie and Jane. We have shared a lot, but I feel differently toward Joan. It is not only a matter of quantity of love, but it is a love of a different quality. With Joan I really want to make love, but with Marie and Jane it just isn't part of the relationship. In fact, it might be harmful to that relationship to have sexuality become part of it. Sex in the three relationships is a different story with each one. Joan and I need it: it is unnecessary in those others. Maybe I have yet to love another who does need it (but Joan might, now or later).

Sometimes I feel that what I am saying is good for Joan merely comes out of my moralistic training. Right now I can't even think straight. I travel from depression and insecurity to joy when I think of my love for Joan and her affection toward me. Somehow I fear that with Joan having intercourse with other people I will lose her, lose both
our sexual joys and her love for me. She doesn't think it need be that way. My insecurity won't let me risk it.

After thinking this all over for the last few days, I've been feeling that I'm the one who has fucked up and am giving Joan a difficult time. But then I think of the millions of others who at least profess belief in the same ideas as mine. What are their reasons? Are there any reasons at all? Why can't we all love mankind in every possible way? I just know I can't!

Thursday, October 19, 1972

Things are still evolving between Joan and me, and in my own head. The thought that is on my mind right now is what Alice said about giving freedom is one way of giving love. When I face up to it I realize that freedom is the only level on which to relate. Not to allow freedom would be destructive and would defeat the love I have.

I have faith in Joan's judgment. And she says that this one feeling, or value, of hers doesn't change anything. Our relationship will be just as fulfilling, but we may receive additional fulfillment from others which we would have missed. She knows her own values and needs best, so I can't say it is right or wrong for her. And since I realize her freedom is most important, then the first solution is to give her that freedom. I must tell her she is free to handle all relationships in the manner she chooses and, for this truly to be freedom, I must add that I will
support her judgment and continue caring for her as best I can. This requires two things: first, my honesty and belief in this way of living and, secondly, Joan, too, must maintain this honesty and communication throughout our relationship.

Well, I do believe in the necessity of freedom. I hope that I can and will love Joan no matter on what level she keeps her relationships. Last week I said that Joan's having intercourse with others might hurt me in such a way that I might withdraw from her. I want to try not to let this happen.

Thursday, October 26, 1972

When I'm with Joan things are always in a different light. I don't have any security problems: I don't feel any threats. I have someone that's open and always sharing, someone that gives love freely and receives what I give with such acceptance and responsiveness. It is those times that make me whole and give me reason and strength to go on when she leaves.

I should think that after five years of being together for a few days and then separated I would be able to cope with the partings, but each one still leaves me with my arms empty and feeling sad. It is then that I get depressed and question myself and my life. But soon I get back on my feet and can endure the time between our being together.
I'm really happy with my role and with Joan's. I feel we have gotten it together as far as roles go. We both have deep respect for the other person's feelings and intelligence. I'm really quite proud of Joan's abilities as a nurse. She is very good at relating to patients: her personal qualities come through strongly, and she's very quickly in a position where someone else can communicate with her. But what's also so impressive to me is that she is quite intelligent in more academic ways. She always seems to be dealing with the problems of life. Joan is really an intense person. For awhile now I've had no trouble treating her as an equal as far as male-female roles go. To behave in any other way would be such a blatant lie; I couldn't imagine it.

Lately I've found that I am enjoying doing my own washing, cleaning, and cooking. There are some things that I'm not very good at yet, but the feeling of independence is well worth it. I don't foresee any significant problems in dividing up the housework.

Aside from this sexual hassle, I can't foresee any threatening problems in our future.

Discover the beauty
our unveiling
transcends through misty
eyes of affection
simplicity in expressing
the delicate complexity
of within
Watch us... Mary Lee

Wednesday, November 1, 1972

I found these poems in a friend's house up in Maine last weekend. The woman who wrote them is a sensitive, free spirit like I've never seen before, although now I can feel some of the freedom in myself and can see it in Joan.

From Tender Bough, by Mary Lee

Fighting the tears, afraid to bear the truth
I close my eyes on sweet memories painful intrusion
That hurls me back through yesterday's empty frames.
Sometimes his smile will reach beneath my fears
Drawing out unborn love that's been long just illusion.
Filling me once again with hopeful aims
Wondering why it happens as it does.
I try so hard to disguise my childish confusion.
Maybe in time I'll know of reason's games.
If there's really any reason at all.

You're strong and young
The world is yours
your heart is free
But I'm not so
I can't escape
My destiny
to grow attached
to learn to cure
but that's just me
and I want you
more than any
rhyme could ever say.
In open woods
you never fear
which path to take
the world intrudes
I seek confinement
like the lake
I know my boundaries
where to sleep
and when to wake
and I need you more than any
rhyme could ever say.

By being you
you've shown me how
to really see
my heart and mind
now love and think
in harmony
I've peace of mind
but still my love beats frantically
and I love you
more than any rhyme could ever say.

Inside always leads to out
Which leads to in which leads to doubt
And never lets you go the way you want to.

Thursday, November 8, 1972

A month has passed since the first of Joan's and my
discussions on independence. I've learned a lot--there is
no doubt about it. Yet, even now I find myself unhappy at times over it all, and very confused, too. I have really been unsettled by it. The experience has made me value the day-to-day relationship we have because the future is hard for me to imagine. That we still love each other is definite. We still have great enjoyment together. And we have restored ourselves to a very warm closeness.

Joan and I got together last weekend and shared a lot. I felt very secure and loved by her. Joan's feelings toward me had not changed even though she had started having a sexual relationship with someone else. She showed me that she could still maintain our relationship. When I was with her I felt all my questions had been put to rest. Now I don't know. When I think of her I start to get worried. I would be so lonely if Joan left me.

The next question is: Can I live in this manner and still give and receive what I want from our relationship? Do I now want to have a sexual relationship with someone else? I don't. For one reason, there is no one with whom having sex would add much to our relationship. But the truly important reason is that I want to marry Joan and spend quite a while learning and loving with Joan. This is something in which I want to invest my life as totally as is possible. Joan and our relationship is my highest priority. Does this mean I will cease to have relationships with others? I'm sure I won't stop. Maybe I will limit
them in intensity, but I doubt that. Or maybe I'm just avoiding the problem for myself.

Joan doesn't want to get married. She fears it would interfere with the establishment of relationships with other males and would put her in a circle of women that were exclusively domestically-oriented.

Perhaps she is right. If so, what would that do to our future? We wouldn't get married. She says we could live together. Well, it would seem that any males she became very close with would probably hear that we were living together, and would that not have the same effect? And if we were living together, wouldn't our relationship be similar enough so that the same demands would be placed on her life that would throw her into a group of married women? If I wanted to be married, but ended up living unmarried with Joan, I would probably look for the same relationship.

What this all comes down to is that, if Joan is right in her assumptions and correct in her needs, then maybe our relationship as I want and need it is doomed.

This one problem is, in turn, being complicated by others. I can't decide whether I want to go to graduate school. Joan wants to go to U. Mass. and get her bachelor degree in nursing. (She will be getting her R.N. in May). We couldn't afford to have both of us going to school at once. Since I am less definite about wanting it, Joan gets first priority.
There is always the possibility that I will be drafted if there is any draft next year. I'll be called since I have a low number. I know that both the Army and I would be unhappy if we were to get together, so I simply won't go. I'm glad that's settled.

I've been having some difficulty in other areas, too. When I'm down emotionally it affects how I relate to people in general. I feel less warmth in the people I pass when walking around campus. I'm less responsive to the people in my environment. One positive feeling is that, as a result of this consciousness-raising group, I'm being more open about my feelings. It was good to discover that Barb felt the same way I did about her relationship with the guy with whom she is.

Scott said he wished so much he could love someone the way I do. He wasn't sure he was capable of it.

I've gotten closer to a few friends, closer than I've been in a few months. Being open to them is very important. Openness is much more customary with Joan; yet being open with others helps my relations with Joan. At times I'm open and in close contact with the world, and at other times I'm isolated and closed to it all.

Wednesday, November 8, 1972

It was quite an experience to be interviewed in class. I felt that I wasn't ready to bring up those issues in the
class, but when it happened they absolutely gushed out. I received a lot of cathartic relief with the sudden outpouring. By the obvious interest I knew I was communicating something of value. Now I need responses in the way of ideas, personal feelings, and experiences.

I think that maybe I've been buming Joan out a little of late. We only see each other on weekends, and sometimes it is in an atmosphere where personal conversation is very difficult. Well, I've been taking her failure to communicate as a lack of an attempt to communicate. I've been feeling that her failure to write letters as often as she used to was a lack of concern with my head. I've been feeling ignored at the two parties to which we've been. Maybe this is all a reflection of Joan's change in orientation from intense one to one, to many close ones. But right now I need her to aid in dealing with my problems. I need her to be responsive to my needs.

Or, as it sometimes appears to me, I'm projecting my own insecurity out on her, saying that she doesn't want to relate. I know that I am threatened by the events in our relationship. I'm not going to try to justify that. But perhaps I'm trying to fulfill that prophecy when it really isn't there. Also, she has told me she has found a relationship in which she wants sex. Will she just go ahead?

Joan has said that sex would become a part of one of her other relationships only if it was a natural part of
it, desired by both but not something for which she would be looking. Well, here she's known this guy for a couple of weeks, and she's "into it." I can't help but think its just the idea of her sleeping with a doctor. She doesn't seem to me to be "into it" because of its "natural place" for growth. I guess she has other reasons--it's kind of ego-building to sleep with a doctor. He's older: she might just be curious or looking for variety. I don't know. It is affecting me greatly. Christ, I wish this had never happened!

I have a dream, very simple--yet very dear to me. I want to live on an old farm with lots of land, fields, and forests. When I'm there I want to be away from all of the outside world unless I invite them. I want to have the chance to control how much the world impinged upon me. It is not that I want to stop human contact. I want to do that for my life's work, and I want to be able to control some of it. I want to be alone when I choose. I want Joan to be there with me. I want us to share this way of living. And I want us to love and live together in very close harmony.

Joan once wanted that. I really don't know if she still does... I really know she doesn't.

November 15, 1972

I find as a result of the group, and having to keep
this journal, that I've been thinking about myself much more. I'm really not as bad inside as I thought. I do feel I have some strength. I'm sensitive: I don't want to hurt others. I want to be able to go on learning. I even feel that I really do have something inside worth giving. My thoughts and ideas are good. Others value them and need them, and I grow from them. Everyone in class said they were so impressed by my openness when I spoke. Several of the women said they wouldn't believe a man could be so sensitive. They said I gave them hope. It was worth relating to men.

Thursday, December 7, 1972

This group has been a very important part of my life over the past few months. I am very glad that so many changes in my life had a beautiful place for expression. But this course is ending and I'm continuing. Where? I really don't know. I know I am going forward.

I could write about where Joan and I are right now--and we are getting it together again--but I know that there is so much change ahead that this one small chapter will be dwarfed in time.

I'm learning a lot about life. I guess you could say I'm maturing. I thought the pain of growing up was an adolescent phenomenon, but I can see that it is a human phenomenon.
I'm not the person I thought I was. I'm better and worse. I'm just different from that perception I had. I'm feeling an awful lot of love inside, and it is a really beautiful thing. I want very much to find someone--someone to whom to give love.

I'm starting to give some of it to myself. But I have also found myself to be a person with walls. I'm not very good at being able to find someone else on the outside of my walls. I guess I kind of built Joan right into my walls. But they are breaking, and I'm opening my eyes to other women and other people. I know I have something to give, but I'm having trouble giving it. It will come if I remain open to it.
APPENDIX D

SAMPLES OF TAT STORIES

1. The following is an example of the ambivalence towards success in women as demonstrated by one of the women students in the course. While describing the scientific achievements of one of the women scientists in the picture, the writer also points out that, "Anne worked hard, since she lost her husband and child seven years ago. Success is accompanied by punishment."

   Maria looked at Anne, who was intently measuring something into the pipette. She looked worn and tired; she had been working herself too hard and Maria was afraid it would soon take its toll. 'Anne,' she said softly, 'Why don't you call it a day? I can finish up the culture and you can go on home and rest.'

   Anne finished the measurement before she looked up. 'I'm not tired; I may--I just may be on the verge of something. You go on, I'll be all right here alone--the night watchman will be around.'

   Marie sighed, and took off her lab coat. She knew from experience that it was no use arguing with her; when it came to being devoted to one's work, Anne took the prize. She had been that way since she had lost her husband and child in the fever epidemic seven years ago. Maria hung her coat on the hook and quietly closed the door behind her. Anne, still intent on the vial in front of her, didn't even hear her leave.

2. Whereas, an achievement story without ambivalence describing the same picture, reads as follows:

   These two women are research scientists, working on the opium receptors in the brain. They are just taking out vials of mashed brain cells from various areas of the brain, mixed with a heavy opiate and are about to pour them over separate strainers and find out which cells remain saturated with opiates, if any. The experiment will be very successful, and even make the
New York Times headlines. Both people are tense, excited, and anxious to find out if their work has discovered something new. They are totally absorbed in what is about to happen.

The following story scores high on N power and is written by a man about the same picture:

Marilyn is in school to become a doctor. [She is on the left in the picture]. She just digs the idea of healing people, and enjoys helping others, in general. Dr. Smith [on the right] is one of her professors; she doesn't enjoy much.

Marilyn is being berated for not doing some required lab work. Dr. Smith has found Marilyn in the lab trying to figure out something which she doesn't understand. Marilyn has just finished telling Dr. Smith that she feels that she needs to understand a very important concept about chemical reaction, and so decided to do this experiment.

Dr. Smith is telling Marilyn that if she does not do her required lab work, then she should not be in school, even if she already understands the concepts covered by the required work.

Marilyn is saying, 'Yes, Dr. Smith... Yes, Dr. Smith, ... Yes, Dr. Smith...' But she is really thinking about people and their lives, though she wants to work with people to help make them happy and healthy, she is wondering whether or not the bullshit she is constantly receiving is worth it. She is wondering whether or not people like Dr. Smith will kill her love for people.

The next story, about a different picture, is an example of N affiliation and is written by a man.

A mother is sitting in her doorway awaiting the arrival of her family. She has led a hard day with the housework, and is taking time to get off of her feet. Her children and her husband will be home soon, which will be her reward for doing the housework. She loves her family and works diligently to do what she can for them. Finally, the children come running home from school and are glad to see her and ask what she has for them to snack on. Her husband arrives a little later and asks if she has had a hard day, and also tells her what he has been doing.
APPENDIX E

SCORING SYSTEM FOR THE TAT

I. ACHIEVEMENT: Deciding whether or not a Story Shows Achievement Imagery

To decide whether or not an imaginative story shows evidence of the achievement motive ( Achievement Imagery), first, the scorer checks to see if one of the characters in the story is concerned about attaining an "achievement goal." There are four types of stories containing references to an achievement goal, or Achievement Imagery.

1. Outperforming Someone Else.

One of the characters is engaged in an activity where winning or doing better than others is a primary concern.

2. Meeting or Surpassing a Self-Imposed Standard of Excellence.

A distinction should be made between intensity and quality. Working hard or working fast are evidence of concern over a standard of excellence only when the task demands intense effort.

3. Unique Accomplishment.

Inventions, artistic reactions, and other extraordinary accomplishments fit in this category.

4. Involvement in Advancing One's Career.

There must be evidence of involvement in a long-term
career goal, and this means some statement of wanting, or feelings about goals that lie 5 to 10 years away.

Example:

a) The boy is watching the older man do something that he is trying to learn to do. The boy was trying to do this but he was doing it wrong and the old man is showing him how. The boy is a little downhearted. He knows he can do it if he tries a little harder. The man is calm and patient with the boy and is trying to teach him. The boy will watch and the man will allow the boy to try again and the boy will do well because I think he is determined to do it.

II. DETERMINING THE STRENGTH OF ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION

Sub-Categories

1. Need

Someone in the story explicitly states the strong desire to reach an achievement goal: for example, "She wants to be a doctor."

2. Activity

Activity is scored when something is actively being done by one of the characters within the story in order to attain an achievement goal. "The man worked hard to make money and failed."
3. Anticipating Success: Anticipating Failure

Anticipation of success occurs when someone thinks about the success he/she will achieve, expects that the invention will work, or dreams of herself as a great surgeon. Anticipation of failure occurs when someone is worried about failure, is concerned over the possibility that the invention won't work, expects the worst, or is wondering whether or not he/she will succeed.

4. Personal and World Blocks

Stories are scored for blocks when the progress of goal-directed activity is blocked or hindered in some way. The block may be a previous failure or personal lack which must be overcome before further progress toward the goal is possible, or the block may be a present world or personal factor. Personal blocks exist within the individual, i.e., lack of confidence, a conflict to be overcome, inability to make decisions, or some past failure. World blocks are located in the world at large, such as, "The invention was almost finished when the gasket broke," or "Her family couldn't afford to send her to medical school."

5. Help

Help is scored when somebody in the story aids a character in the story who is engaged in an achievement related activity.

6. Positive and Negative Feelings

Feelings associated with goal attainment, active
mastery or frustration of the achievement-directed activity are scored when someone in the story feels good about a definite accomplishment as, "She enjoys painting," or "He is proud of his accomplishment."

III. **AFFILIATION**: Deciding whether or not a Story Shows Affiliation Imagery

1. **Concern about being Liked, Acceptance, Friendship**
   
   Mention of someone wanting to establish, restore, or maintain a close, warm, friendly relationship with another, or others.

2. **Concern about the Disruption of a Positive Interpersonal Relation ship**
   
   Someone expresses an emotional concern about separation from another person, indicating a desire to restore a close relationship which had previously existed.

3. **Characterization of a Setting as a Social Situation**
   
   Someone expresses a desire to participate in friendly, convivial activities, such as a party, bull session, club reunion, etc.

   Excluded from the definition of Affiliation Imagery are descriptions of normally close interpersonal relationships which are not always characterized by companionship, mutual interest and sympathetic understanding. Heterosexual relationships are usually the most ambiguous on this score. Dating behavior may or may not imply affiliation.
Example:

a) A younger man is approaching a man older than himself for help or advice on a problem. The younger man is worried about his lack of acceptance in the new social group he just became acquainted with. The young man seeks restoration of his confidence. He knows his problem: a man's confidence in himself. (Here is concern about separation from an affiliative object, in this case a group, as well as an example of a helping relationship).

IV. POWER: Deciding whether or not a Story Shows Power Imagery

The scorer checks to see if one of the characters is concerned about attaining an "influence goal."

1. Someone Shows Power Concern through Powerful Actions (Actions which in themselves Express his Power)

There are several types of such powerful actions: strong, forceful actions which affect others, such as assaults, attacks, chasing or catching (e.g., a criminal); verbal insults, threats, or reprimands; and sexual exploitation, where it is clear that the action does not express mutuality or love; giving help, assistance, advice or support if it has not been solicited by the other person: trying to control another person through regulating his/her behavior or the conditions of his life, or through seeking important information which would affect another's life or actions; trying to influence, persuade, make a point or argue with
another person, as long as the concern is not to reach agreement or to avoid misunderstanding or disagreement; trying to impress some other person or the world at large; (such actions as creative writing, making news or publicity, trying to win an election to office or identifying closely with someone else who is trying to win an election.

2. **Someone Does Something that Arouses Strong Positive or Negative Emotions in Others**

   In the story others feel pleasure, delight, awe, gratitude, respect or intense enjoyment because of something the story teller has done; or others feel fear, worry, despondency, anger or offense because of something the story teller has done.

3. **Someone is Described as Expressing Concern for His/Her Reputation or Position**

   Here, the person is concerned about his/her reputation or about others' judgment of his/her power, but no powerful actions are mentioned. She/he may be concerned about being seen as strong, superior, or of high status; alternatively, he/she may be concerned about avoiding a reputation for weakness, inferiority, or low status.