Effects of values clarification methodology on self concept of selected group of second generation Armenian-American women.

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EFFECTS OF VALUES CLARIFICATION METHODOLOGY ON SELF CONCEPT OF SELECTED GROUP OF SECOND GENERATION ARMENIAN-AMERICAN WOMEN

A Dissertation Presented
by
SHIRLEY YAYLAIAN SETIAN

Submitted to the Graduate School of the University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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School of Education
EFFECTS OF VALUES CLARIFICATION METHODOLOGY ON SELF CONCEPT OF SELECTED GROUP OF SECOND GENERATION ARMENIAN-AMERICAN WOMEN

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of Arman Setian. His unwavering faith and confidence in me and his pride in his Armenian heritage were inspirations that supported this work. This dissertation is a product of what can be achieved in the spirit of such inspiration. I am grateful.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To my dissertation committee members who were always available when I needed them.

To Sidney B. Simon: Who saw a spark in me and nourished it with wisdom and care; who shared with me his unparalleled expertise in values clarification; and who gifted me with his friendship.

To Grace J. Craig: Whose knowledge and many hours of reading, rereading, and advising; and whose support in so many ways, enriched the quality of my work—a contribution to my dissertation that was invaluable.

To Helen R. Vaznaian: Who provided me with intellectual stimulation and motivation in completing a project that was personally and academically important.

To my family: For the love, support, and understanding that made this dissertation a reality.

To my friends: For their patience, support, and understanding.

To the women who participated in this study: For their invaluable contribution—given with integrity and a deep sense of caring and support.

To my mother and the women of her generation: Whose lives modeled for me, the strength in women's solidarity, and the importance and the difficulty in creating and maintaining one's personal identity.
ABSTRACT

EFFECTS OF VALUES CLARIFICATION METHODOLOGY ON SELF CONCEPT OF SELECTED GROUP OF SECOND GENERATION ARMENIAN-AMERICAN WOMEN

FEBRUARY 1990

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The purpose of this study was (a) to examine how participants define themselves—participants were children of survivors of the 1915 genocide by the Ottoman Turk, and (b) to examine the effects of values clarification methodology on their self-concept. This was a two-part study which consisted of interviews with four participants in Part 1, and an educational intervention in Part 2 which consisted of values clarification workshops involving 16 participants. Data from the interviews in Part 1 were used to design the educational intervention in Part 2. Workshop participants were involved in a one-month period of values clarification activities: a day-long workshop at the beginning of the month; another at the end of the month; and a take-home values clarification workbook requiring entries every other day between workshops.
Interview data revealed underlying themes concerning fusion of personal identity to Armenian heritage and tension in finding a suitable balance between Armenian and American values and lifestyles. Major issues that emerged from interviews and which formed the basis for values clarification workshop strategies were: Armenian heritage, genocide, suppression of feelings, choices, self-blame and self-minimization, avoidance, reactivity/passivity, and sadness and regretfulness.

These issues were discussed in terms of women's identity formation as related to human development theories, feminist literature, and Armenian heritage. Results from Part 2 of the study were discussed in the same context.

Qualitative and quantitative measures were used in Part 2 of the study. Qualitative measures used were On-site Surveys, Participant Observation, and Workshop Evaluation. Quantitative measures used were the Participant Profile Questionnaire (PPQ), which provided in-depth descriptive data, and the Self Perception Inventory (SPI) which was used in a one group pretest-posttest design. Four traits moved in a negative direction at a significance level of .05. No statistically significant differences were found in a positive direction; however, data indicated differences in self-concept which suggested the following model of change: values queries >> psychological tension >> critical thinking skills >> understanding >> clearer reality >> self re-definition.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Much has been written about clear, consistent, and freely chosen values being central to the development of fully functioning personalities—that one’s values are of vital importance in that they contribute significantly to one’s sense of self (Allport, 1955; Association of Supervision and Curriculum Development [ASCD] (1962); Maslow, 1959, 1964, 1968, 1971; May, 1969; Raths et al., 1978; Rogers, 1961; Tillich, 1952). Second-generation Armenian-American women who are children of survivors of the Turkish genocide against the Armenian people, like other daughters of immigrant parents, are challenged to find a suitable balance between their ethnic beliefs and values, and those of Western culture in America. Values clarification theorists suggest that by using the valuing process, which is the centerpiece of their theory to examine and clarify one’s values, one’s self-concept may be enhanced.

The Impact of Person Environment Transaction

In the process of acculturation, old country customs and values may be maintained, rejected, or adapted to American ways. The struggle between preservation of ethnic heritage and American assimilation affects identity development in many ways, such as in the phenomena of cultural knowledge. Cultural knowledge contributes to a peoples’ sense of community (Spradley, 1980). It is an information base from which one interprets experience and which influences behavior (1980). According to Ivey and Simek-Downing (1980), “It is extremely difficult to separate environment from the individual as the two are so intricately intertwined” (p. 152). In pointing out the importance of the transaction between person and environment, Ivey and Simek-Downey cite
Roberts' (1975) model of environmental factors transacting with the individual which identifies seven factors: familial, sexual, cultural, social class, provincial, ethnic and personal (p. 30).

Significant to this study is the impact of genocide on familial transactions and the resultant effect on the self-concept of second-generation Armenian-American women who are children of survivors of the Ottoman Turk's genocide of the Armenian people in 1915. The parents of these women escaped to America from the Ottoman empire after a history of oppression as members of a minority group—oppression which culminated in genocide against their people. Thus they were catapulted into a foreign environment where their customs, beliefs, values, and way of life often conflicted with American mores. Americans knew little about the catastrophic past of these new immigrants, and the survivors of this genocide said very little to outsiders about the trauma that they had experienced. Like other immigrant parents, Armenian-Americans raised their children in a multi-cultural society which at that time stressed the melting pot theory of assimilation. According to some sociologists, it was also a society which contained within it the struggle for a cultural pluralism which honored the preservation of diverse ethnic identities (Gordon, 1964). Children of immigrants were raised in an environment where preservation of ethnic heritage vied with pressure for Americanization (1964).

**Human Development Theories**

In the ensuing years of immigrant settlement subsequent to the early 1900s, popular and scientific theory in America espoused Freud's premises regarding human development, influencing child rearing practices in the home, school, and other institutions concerned with issues of mental and physical
health. Freud’s psychoanalytic work added an authoritative, scientific stamp to those beliefs which regarded women not only as inferior to men but also as destined to neuroses.

By the 1950s, the social structure in the United States reflected a particular tone of understanding about women. Talcott Parsons (1949), sociologist and leading functional theorist of the times, described a milieu which devalued the role of housewife, and which perceived manifestations of neuroses in women to be a result both of women's weaknesses and their inferiority to men. Popular publications of the times reflected the notions of Parsons, Freud, and their followers regarding women’s alleged inferiority, weaknesses and neuroses. During these years, when society contained within it a devaluation and minimization of women and their roles, second-generation Armenian-American women were growing up and entering adulthood—for most, a period of young married life or thoughts of marriage.

Along with Freud, some researchers and scholars thought that their beliefs regarding women had universal application with little regard to cultural and environmental factors. In contrast, other researchers and scholars, such as Mead (1935), Horney (1950), Beauvoir (1952), and Friedan (1983), challenged views about human development which bound feminine and masculine traits to primarily biological determinants. A number of subsequent researchers and scholars also offered new views about women’s development, including consideration of cultural, social and environmental factors (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule, 1986; Broverman, Broverman, Clarkson and Rosenkrantz, 1972; Gilligan, 1982; Greenspan, 1983; Hunter College Women's Studies Collective, 1983; Miller, 1976; Okin, 1979; Tavris and Wade, 1984; and Williams, 1983).
Certain more recent contemporary understandings of women's identity formation include remnants of past theories and beliefs, as does Kegan's (1982) expansion of Piaget's (1967) theory of adaptation. Kegan's constructive-developmental theory posits that human development is a process wherein the evolution of meaning-making consists within a biological, psychological, and philosophical framework. According to Kegan, we continually redefine our concept of self through an integrative, adaptive, meaning making process—examining, organizing, and making sense of life happenings to construct our own reality.

Feminist critiques assert that women are too often deprived of an authentic identity as a result of internalization of beliefs, values, and expectations developed in a male-dominated society (Gilligan, 1982; Greenspan, 1983; Hunter College Women's Studies Collective, 1983; Miller, 1976; Williams, 1983). Kegan's (1982) notion of self-definition provides a corrective to human development theories, which according to feminist critiques, emanate from predominantly male theorists who did not check out the validity of their perceptions through women's own experiences.

Identity Formation in Second Generation Armenian-American Women

The assertion of feminist theorists regarding sexist bias in human development theories and the resultant effects on male dominated social institutions which impact on identity formation, implies self-limiting and restrictive dimensions in women's social and psychological structuring. If one accepts these assertions, as does this researcher, then self-definition for second-generation Armenian-American women can be said to encompass
experiences couched in a trilogy of oppression: as targets of sexism; as ethnic women in American society; and as daughters of the survivors of the Turkish genocide of the Armenian people. In addition, these women face the probability of other forms of oppression, such as ageism and ableism in their life experience.

The following questions are relevant:

1. How do second-generation Armenian-American women interpret and make sense of their world?

2. How are conflicting aspects of their lives reconciled in the meaning-making process of self-definition?

3. How does their understanding of the reality that they construct impact on their self-concept?

The experience of second generation Armenian-American women, who are children of survivors of genocide, has yet to be fully examined. Their unique ethnic background contains within it the history of their parents’ experiences as members of a minority group who suffered the ultimate manifestation of oppression—genocide—with its intended destruction of life, nation and culture. Research has yet to provide sufficient insight into the understanding of identity development in women of this background.

**Values Clarification**

Freire (1970) contends that imposed values result in prescriptive behaviors that reinforce oppression, and that people cannot develop authentically as long as their decision-making power is outside themselves. He suggests that by entering into dialogue with others and critically viewing one’s world in the context of one’s own experience, the contradictions in personal and social life
become evident, enabling people to deal with them (1970). When the complexities of human development become enmeshed in oppression and bi-cultural issues and with values in flux in a rapidly changing world, confusion may enter the meaning-making process which self-definition requires.

It is theorized that people need to know how to sort out the constantly changing values that impinge upon their lives from many sources (Kirschenbaum & Simon, 1974; Kirschenbaum, 1977a; Naisbitt, 1984; Raths et al., 1978; Simon et al., 1978; Toffler, 1970, 1974, 1980). Proponents of values clarification theory suggest that one’s life may be enriched by using the cognitive and affective approaches of a valuing process which consists of seven criteria in the process of examining one’s values (Kirschenbaum, 1977a, 1977b, 1977c; Kirschenbaum et al., 1977; Kirschenbaum & Simon, 1974; Raths et al., 1978; 1978; Simon et al., 1978).

This study focuses upon the process of values clarification methodology which may be used in workshops to provide a format for the dialogical encounter suggested by Freire (1970) and proponents of values clarification theory (1977a; 1977b; 1977c; 1974; 1978) in the service of enhancing self-concept. In so doing, data may be generated to shed light on the lives and on the development of the self-concept of second-generation Armenian-American women who are children of survivors of the genocide by the Turks.

**Statement of the Problem**

Scant research exists on second generation Armenian-American women: about the values they hold; about how they make meaning of their lives; about their bi-cultural upbringing; or about the impact of their parents’ experience
with genocide and its aftermath. Chapter II provides a detailed discussion of relevant literature regarding (a) women's identity issues, including feminist perspectives and traditional human development theories; (b) second generation Armenian-American women, including an historical overview of relevant background information regarding the Armenian people; and (c) values theories, with a focus on values clarification methodology and its relation to humanistic education. This study addresses emergent questions resulting from a review of the literature. Specifically, the major questions which this study examined were:

1. How do second generation Armenian-American women whose parents survived the 1915 genocide by the Ottoman Turk define themselves?
2. What impact does a set of relevant values clarification exercises have upon the development of self-concept with respect to second generation Armenian-American women?

Given the unique history of second generation Armenian-American women who were children of survivors of genocide and who were raised bi-culturally in the milieu of a rapidly changing society, insight and knowledge about values issues in their lives were examined. Values clarification methodology was used as a way for participants to examine their lives, and its effect on self-concept was measured.

**Statement of Purpose**

The purpose of this study was two-fold:

1. To add to the meager research on Armenian-American women who are children of survivors of the Ottoman Turk’s genocide of the Armenian people; and
2. To examine the effects of values clarification methodology on the self-concept of second generation Armenian-American women.
The sparsity of research on second generation Armenian-American women led to the efforts of this study to collect and document data about their lives and about their self-perceptions. The effectiveness of values clarification methodology was explored by extending it from its traditional use of clarifying values in order to enrich one’s life, to being used concurrently as a method of data collection about the lives of research participants.

**Design of the Study**

This two-part study used qualitative methodology to supplement descriptive, quantitative measures in its examination of how second-generation Armenian-American women define themselves. The first part of the study consisted of preliminary interviews which were conducted with a select group of four second generation Armenian-American women. Data from the initial interviews were used in the second part of the study to design an organic educational intervention: relevant values clarification activities in workshops, coupled with a supplemental workbook of values clarification exercises. Values clarification workshops, which comprised the second part of the study, involved 16 second generation Armenian-American women in two, day-long workshops that were held one month apart. A supplemental take-home workbook was distributed to workshop participants to be completed during the one month period between workshops. The researcher served as both workshop facilitator and participant observer. Methods used to collect data during the workshops were as follows: (a) pretest and posttest Self-Perception Inventory, (b) Participant Profile Questionnaire, (c) on-sight surveys, and (d) Workshop Evaluation. The series of activities, conducted to provide participants with opportunities to acquire self-knowledge, generated data to add to the presently
meager research on second generation Armenian-American women, children of survivors of genocide.

**Conceptual Framework**

The theories which shape the perspectives of this study are considered in more detail in Chapter II. A conceptual framework which encompasses the following areas of research was used to describe and interpret the findings of this study: (a) traditional human development theories, (b) feminist perspectives, (c) contemporary life-span development theories which address continuing self-definition and meaning-making, (d) a historical view of Armenian culture which includes genocide, (e) theories regarding the values dimension of self-concept, and (f) values clarification theory.

The lives of the participants of this study were examined within a conceptual framework which included considerations of

1. Traditional human development theories.
2. Feminist perspectives on women's identity issues.
3. Contemporary self-definition and meaning-making theories.
4. A historical perspective of Armenian culture, values, and beliefs.
5. Armenian culture, values and beliefs in America.
6. Intergenerational effects of genocide.
7. The centrality of values to self-concept.
8. Values clarification methodology—an educational intervention grounded in humanistic education.
9. Values clarification methodology as a way of data collection.

Each of these considerations is described in more detail in Chapter II, which discusses (a) problems in women's identity formation in a historical
context that includes relevant past and present human development theories, (b) the background of second generation Armenian-American women which, in the sparsity of literature available, illustrates the meager research that exists regarding their lives, and (c) the potential of using values clarification methodology to enhance self-concept.

**Limitations of Study**

The small size of the population which is the focus of this study—second generation Armenian-American women who are children of survivors of genocide—moved the researcher to choose an experimentally convenient, self-selected sample, in a one group pretest-posttest design. This study did not use random sampling nor a control group. Consequently, data and conclusions drawn from this study are limited in application to participants of the study, and are not intended as generalizations about the self-concept or values of the wider population of second generation Armenian-American women. Similarly, this study does not attempt to draw generalizable cause and effect conclusions about the effects of genocide on the self-concept of second generation Armenian-American women who are children of survivors of genocide; however, because genocide is a part of these women's lives in terms of their parents' experiences, the participants' views regarding the genocide were sought and recorded. This study is limited to second generation Armenian-American women who are children of survivors of the Ottoman Turk's genocide against the Armenian people in 1915, and whose parents immigrated to the United States prior to 1930.

Chapter III presents the methodology and describes the participants of the study in more detail. Within the limitations defined above, Chapter IV presents,
interprets, and discusses the findings of the study; and Chapter V presents a summary and implications for future research and practical application.

Definitions of Terms

Acculturation:

Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (1977) defines acculturation as "1: a process of intercultural borrowing between diverse peoples resulting in new and blended patterns 2: the process beginning at infancy by which a human being acquires the culture of his [her] society" (p. 8).

Culture:

The term culture, as used in this study, may be defined as "the integrated pattern of human behavior that includes...learning and transmitting knowledge to succeeding generations...the customary beliefs, social forms, and material traits of a racial, religious, or social group" (Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, p. 277). Spradley (1980) defines culture as "the acquired knowledge people use to interpret experience and generate behavior" (p. 6).

Ethnic:

The word ethnic, has roots in the Greek word, ethnos -meaning, nation or people- "relating to races or large groups of people classed according to common traits and customs" (Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, 1977, p. 393). An ethnic group may be defined as a group of people who share a common culture of shared values, with genetic similarities and a common geographic history (Farrell, 1980).

Ethnography:

Spradley (1980) defines ethnography as "the work of describing a culture....Rather than studying people ethnography means learning from people" (p. 3).
Genocide:

The definition for genocide given in Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (1977), is the definition of choice for this study: “The deliberate and systematic destruction of a racial, political, or cultural group” (p. 479).

Oppression:

To oppress means “1...to crush or burden by abuse of power or authority 2: to burden spiritually or mentally” (Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, p. 805). Oppression is defined as “1: unjust or cruel exercise of authority or power...or excessive exercise of power 2: a sense of being weighed down in body and mind” (p. 805).

Self-Concept:

According to Soares and Soares (1985),

“The concept of self, like any concept, is an abstract idea generalized from particular instances. It compares a system of perceptions which the organism formulates of the self in awareness of its distinctive existence. Since it is a construct which is inferred from behavior and which evolves from experience, this concept of self as perceived is measurable” (p. 1).

One’s sense of self, one’s identity, is self-defined. Life experiences are interpreted differently by each individual based on the characteristics that form the sense of self (Whitbourne & Weinstock, 1979). Adult identity is the integration of self-attributed personal and interpersonal qualities such as “physical appearance, abilities, desires or motives, goals, social beliefs and attitudes, values, and the set of roles that one is expected to carry out within the home, at work, and in the society as a whole” (p. 8).

Significance of the Study

Examining values related identity issues of second generation Armenian-American women may have the potential to (a) provide data for
comparative studies regarding American women of diverse cultural backgrounds, (b) gain insight into the lives of women whose parents survived genocide, (c) shed light on the understanding of oppression as it was manifested in the extreme (genocide), and (d) extend knowledge acquired about genocide to other forms of oppression.

Findings from research on the influence of values clarification methodology on self concept may suggest consideration of using values clarification methodology to explore (a) women’s issues, (b) issues of oppression, and (c) issues involved in the development of self-concept.

Summary

The presentation of this study is organized in a format consisting of five chapters, as follows:

Chapter I introduces the study, and includes a statement of the problem, statement of purpose, design of the study, conceptual framework, limitations, definition of terms, and significance of the study.

Chapter II reviews the literature on women’s identity issues, on second generation Armenian-American women, and on values clarification theory. This chapter includes (a) an historical overview and critique of religious, political, social, and scientific perspectives regarding women and identity formation; (b) a background on second generation Armenian-American women which includes a brief history of the Armenian people; and (c) a discussion of values clarification and related theories.

Chapter III contains a detailed explanation of the design and methodology used in this two-part study, which consisted of interviews in the first part, and a values clarification educational intervention in workshop format in the second
part. Chapter III includes descriptions of (a) participants demographically and in terms of factors pertaining to certain aspects of Armenian background; (b) research settings; and (c) research procedures used to collect and assess data.

Chapter IV presents the results of the study: (a) of interviews and emergent implications for values clarification workshops and workbook; (b) of on-site surveys; (c) of participant observations; (d) of Workshop Evaluations; and (e) of Self-Perception Inventory. Analyses and interpretations of the data collected accompany the results of the study as they are presented.

Chapter V presents a summary of the findings, and implications for future research and practical application.

The intent of this study is to examine the lives of second generation Armenian-American women and to assess the effectiveness of values clarification methodology on self-concept. This chapter provides an introduction and overview of the study in which interviews and values clarification methodology were used to examine values issues in the lives of the research participants. As stated above, Chapter II presents a review of relevant literature which is pertinent to the study. This review of literature is presented in three parts: (a) “Women’s Identity Formation”, (b) “Second Generation Armenian-American Women”, and (c) “Values Clarification Theory".
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A comprehensive understanding of the three major components of this study rests on a review of pertinent literature which explores the following topics: (a) identity formation in women; (b) second generation Armenian-American women who are children of survivors of the 1915 genocide of the Armenian people by the Ottoman Turk; and (c) values clarification theory. This chapter presents a review of the relevant literature in three parts: Part 1, Women's' Identity Formation; Part 2, Second Generation Armenian-American Women; and Part 3, Values Clarification Theory.

Part 1: Women's Identity Formation

One's sense of self is determined by the integration of self-defined personal and interpersonal qualities which includes one's values. In the meaning-making process of self-definition, life experiences are filtered through the lens of each person's unique world view. It is universally understood that norms shaped by family and social values influence the development of self-concept. Thus, it can be said that ideal characteristics and interpretations of womanhood are transmitted through relationships with family and adaptation to social norms.

A growing body of research suggests that old assumptions about feminine and masculine characteristics have transmitted conflicting messages about ideal womanhood (Friedan, 1983; Gilligan, 1982; Greenspan, 1983; Horney, 1950; Lerner, 1986; Miller, 1976; Okin, 1979; Tavris & Wade, 1984; Williams, 1983). According to psychotherapist and political theorist Jane Flax (1980), a patriarchal society that devalues women has created conflict within women
about feminine personality development (as stated in Hunter College Women's Studies Collective [HCWSC], 1983). Some authors who have approached women's studies from an interdisciplinary perspective contend that in the past, male theorists have looked at human development from a male perspective without checking out the validity of their perceptions through women's experiences (HCWSC, 1983; Lerner, 1986). One of the consequences of such a skewed perspective is that women have been defined by male-oriented theories. As a result, in historically male-dominated societies, identity development for women is inherently problematic (1983; 1986). Such claims beg the following questions: (a) How have the social norms and values that shape women's identity development evolved? (b) What problems have women encountered as a result of conflicting messages and male-oriented norms and values concerning women? (c) How can authentic identity development be promoted in women who have been negatively impacted in an environment which minimizes and devalues women?

Part 1 of this chapter traces to the present times, historical, societal and psychological factors which have affected women's identity development, with emphasis on the role that these factors have played in creating obstacles for authentic identity development. The presentation of Part 1 is organized as follows: (a) Some Origins of Problematic Views Regarding Women, (b) Women Defined by Freud and His Followers, (c) Differing Views on Women, and (d) Contemporary Adult Development Theories and Views Regarding Women.

Some Origins of Problematic Views Regarding Women

Early written stories of humankind illustrate misconceptions and biases which often hindered a clear perception and understanding of womanhood
(Agonito, 1977; Lerner, 1986). The role of religion in creating negative beliefs and attitudes about women can be found in Judaic biblical sources written during the sixth and tenth centuries B.C. For example, the story of creation tells of the suffering that men and women must endure because of women's evilness. In these beginnings, Hebrew patriarchal culture found grounds for strict encumbrance of women's lives. Considered unclean for religious rites, women also had no legal status. Women were often depicted as inferior and troublesome—useful only to serve men (1977; 1986).

Christians adopted certain concepts of the male-oriented Jewish religion regarding women which perpetuated the belief that women were inferior and to be treated as subordinates (HCWSC, 1983; Lerner, 1986). Christian theologians were also influenced by a rediscovery of Aristotle's fourth century B.C. philosophies concerning women: Woman was said to be "a defective man"; women were to serve men and be ruled by men; women were irrational and intellectually inferior (1983; 1986). Both Jewish and Christian religious traditions tended to preserve and continue remnants of these views.

The negative regard for women embedded in ancient Hinduism is illustrated in an excerpt from sacred Hindu writings found in Benjamin Walker's (1968) *The Hindu World: An Encyclopedic Survey of Hinduism*:

Woman is an all-devouring curse. In her body the evil cycle of life begins afresh, born out of lust engendered by blood and semen. Man emerges mixed with excrement and water, fouled by the impurities of woman. A wise man will avoid the contaminating society of women as he would the touch of bodies infested with vermin.

Day and night woman must be kept in subordination to the males of the family: in childhood to the father, in youth to her husband, in old-age to her sons....Even though the husband be destitute of virtue, and seeks pleasure elsewhere, he must be worshipped as a god. (Walker, 1968, pp. 603-605, as cited in HCWSC, 1983, p. 68)
In addition to religious views which denigrated women, the roots of social thought concerning women include liberal views of equality and liberty by Enlightenment philosophers who cast women in a subordinate role (HCWSC, 1983). In England, Robert Filmer (c. 1588-1653) advocated the widely held view of “benevolent patriarchy”. Even though this view was replaced by democratic liberalism, in actuality, women were not considered free and equal citizens, but rather under the “protection” of the male head of household (1983).

The works of Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), known as the philosopher of freedom, generally indicate that he did not believe that the principles of freedom and equality applied to women (HCWSC, 1983). According to Rousseau, “Nature herself has declared that women, both for herself and her children, should be at the mercy of man’s judgment...” (Rousseau, 1762/1966, p. 328).

In Rousseau’s opinion,

The entire education of women must be relative to men. To please them, to be useful to them, to be loved and honored by them, to rear them when they are young, to care for them when they are grown up, to counsel and console, to make their lives pleasant and charming, these are the duties of women at all times. (as cited by Okin, 1979, p. 136)

Although the above excerpts reveal a negative view of Rousseau’s beliefs about women, Schwartz (1984) reports that at one time Rousseau wrote about the injustice done to women in the political arena. In a passage from “Sur Les Femmes”, an unpublished essay on women by Rousseau, Schwartz translates from Rousseau’s French work Oeuvres Completes (1959-1969): (Femmes is used as an abbreviation in the text reference following the citation)

Women [are] deprived of their liberty by the tyranny of men, who are masters of everything, for crowns, offices, posts of responsibility, the command of armies, all is in their hands; they have gotten hold of it from
the beginning of time by what natural right I know not, which I have never been able to understand, and which could have no other foundation than greater strength. (Femmes, p. 1254)

According to Schwartz, this train of thought “seems to indicate the existence of an earlier, feminist Rousseau...” (Schwartz, 1984, p. 56).

Differing interpretations of Rousseau’s works reflect more than author orientation or Rousseau’s ambivalence about egalitarianism in regard to women. Importantly reflected is the theme of contradictions and ambiguity which surrounds women’s lives in the social and political spheres. The literature reports a history of ambiguity and contradictions concerning women: On the one hand, women are said to be respected free agents of their lives—on the other hand, authoritative historical beliefs and attitudes perpetuate messages to the contrary. A social structure that propagates mixed messages about women’s rights and the role of women has left women with a legacy of social and psychological obstacles—obstacles to their being equal participants in a free society—and obstacles to their being all that they are capable of being.

Religious and social philosophies which professed female subordination and denigration continually influenced social and individual thought, thus preserving the status quo of male dominance. Prominent philosophers on the European continent upheld similar beliefs and practices. In Germany, Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) found women immoral and irrational (HCWSC, 1983). Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900) counseled men to view women as property and claimed that woman gained fulfillment in her predestined role to serve men (p. 74). French philosopher Auguste Comte (1798-1857), the father of sociology, declared that women were “biologically” inferior to men and such was their fate (HCWSC, 1983). In addition to ancient religious beliefs and
historic philosophies which espoused male superiority, one must look at the socioeconomic forces behind women’s subjugation.

The works of Frederick Engels (1820-1895) and political philosopher Karl Marx (1818-1883) contend that the rise of patriarchal power with its accumulation of property by men, placed women in economic dependence and consequent subordination (HCWSC, 1983). Engels, in his 1884 *Origins of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, explains that economic causes shape the dynamics of a culture and its institutions, including the social relationship between men and women that provide the conditions for the monogamous family.

Marx and Engels saw the wife in middle-class families of Western capitalism in the position of having sold herself sexually for economic support. Women of the lower classes were denigrated by being exploited in factories and domestic service jobs. As these women left the factories due to economic progress in the late 1800s, they looked forward to the security that they thought was enjoyed by middle-class wives. The few who achieved that goal found the price to be a “position of powerlessness...denied any chance for self-development or personal freedom” (HCWSC, 1983, p. 81).

The historical trail of societal and individual thought and action which perpetuated the belief of female inferiority and subordination continued. Future influential writers and thinkers accepted and buttressed such tenets of the past with their own form of logic.

**Women Defined by Freud and His Followers**

Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) made a substantial contribution to perpetuating negative beliefs about women. In his pioneer psychoanalytic work,
he concluded that data he had gathered to elucidate differences between men and women confirmed that women were inferior. Freud's premises regarding development emphasize separation from the mother who is the primary love object for both male and female infants (HCWSC, 1983). The girl child has difficulty separating from the mother because she identifies so strongly with the same sex parent who has been the primary caretaker and nurturer. She identifies with the mother while still resentful because she blames the mother for her "inferior anatomy" (lack of penis), and suffers from what Freud called 
penis envy. The boy child readily separates and identifies with the father, develops a "male" identity and internalizes the father's moral standards. Thus, Freud presents a scientific portrayal of females as feeling inferior, resentful and envious (1983).

Freud explained the consequences of penis envy and the female identification with her mother in his 1933 work entitled "Femininity":

A woman's identification with her mother allows us to distinguish two strata: The pre-Oedipus one which rests on her affectionate attachment to her mother and takes her as a model, and the later one from the Oedipus complex which seeks to get rid of her mother and take her place with her father. We are no doubt justified in saying that much of both of them is left over for the future and that neither of them is adequately surmounted in the course of development. But the phase of pre-Oedipus attachment is the decisive one for a woman's future: during it preparations are made for the acquisition of the characteristics with which she will later fulfill her role in the sexual function and perform her invaluable social tasks....The fact that women must be regarded as having little sense of justice is no doubt related to the predominance of envy in her mental life...We also regard women as weaker in their social interests and as having less capacity for sublimating their instincts than men. (cited in Agonito, 1977, pp. 320-321)

Freud supports his belief that women are neurotic and inferior to men by comparing a woman to a thirty-year-old man in analysis:
A man of about thirty strikes us as a youthful, somewhat unformed individual, whom we expect to make powerful use of the development opened up to him by analysis. A woman of the same age, however often frightens us by her psychical rigidity and unchangeability. Her libido has taken up final positions and seems incapable of exchanging them for others. There are no paths open to further development. It is as though the whole process had already run its course and remains thence forward insusceptible to influence—as though, indeed, the difficult development to femininity had exhausted the possibilities of the person concerned. As therapists we lament this state of things, even if we succeed in putting in an end to our patient’s ailment by doing away with her neurotic conflict. (p. 321)

Freud said of other “psychical peculiarities of mature femininity” that he came across in “analytic observation”:

Thus, we attribute a large amount of narcissism to femininity, which also affects women’s choice of love object, so that to be loved is a stronger need for them than to love. The effect of penis envy has a share, further in the physical vanity of women, since they are bound to value their charms more highly as a late compensation for their original sexual inferiority. Shame, which is considered to be a feminine characteristic 'par excellence' but is far more a matter of convention than might be supposed, has as its purpose, we believe, concealment of genital deficiency. We are not forgetting that at a later time shame takes on other functions. It seems that women have made few contributions to the discoveries and inventions in the history of civilization. (p. 319)

In his typically biological, deterministic view, Freud cast women as limited in their ability for mature development, having little sense of justice, having weak social conscience, being rigid and unchangeable and contributing little substantively to the advancement of civilization. According to Freud, women are vain, narcissistic, shame-ridden, resentful and envious. His psychoanalytic work put an authoritative, scientific stamp on negative beliefs about women, concluding that women’s role was to be passive; to be otherwise was to risk neuroses.
The concepts regarding women that Freud developed from observations of select middle-class European men and women of his Victorian era were transposed to America in the 1940s as an answer to what was wrong with American women (Friedan, 1983). Freud's theories were enthusiastically accepted by his professional followers and by American society. Marriage courses, magazine articles and professional literature popularized his image of women (1983).

The application of his theories about women is illustrated in a passage from the 1947, Modern Women: the Lost Sex by psychoanalyst Marynia Farnham and Sociologist Ferdinand Lundberg, which was widely paraphrased in popular publications and discourse:

Feminism, despite the external validity of its political program and most (not all) of its social program, was at its core a deep illness...The dominant direction of feminine training and development today...discourages just those traits necessary to the attainment of sexual pleasure: receptivity and passiveness, a willingness to accept dependence without fear or resentment, with a deep inwardness and readiness for the final goal of sexual life—impregnation....

It is not in the capacity of the female organism to attain feelings of well-being by the route of achievement....the essentially male road of exploit...the female road of nurture....

The psychological rule that begins to take form, then, is this: the more educated the woman is, the greater chance there is of sexual disorder, more or less severe. (as cited in Friedan, 1983, pp. 119-120)

American society adopted and expanded on Freud's idea that fulfillment for women was defined in terms of anatomical destiny.

According to Helene Deutsch, one of Freud's followers, women who resisted their "natural" position of passivity and expressed dissatisfaction, did so at the expense of "feminine fulfillment," paying the consequences of what she called the "masculinity complex" (Friedan, 1983). Dr. Deutsch asserted that
unless a woman rejected her own aspirations and originality to identify instead and gain fulfillment through her husband or son, she could not acquire "normal femininity"—indicating that she suffers from the "masculinity complex," which is directly attributable to the "female castration complex". In attempting to help women get rid of their "neurotic desires", his followers continued and reinforced Freud's belief that women who did not adhere to their biologically passive and subordinate role suffered neuroses (1983).

Talcott Parsons, sociologist and leading functional theorist of the times, described the social structure in the United States:

It is perhaps not too much to say that only in very exceptional cases can an adult man be genuinely self-respecting and enjoy a respected status in the eyes of others if he does not 'earn a living' in an approved occupational role....In the case of the feminine role the situation is radically different. The majority of women, of course, are not employed, but even of those that are...do not have jobs which are in basic competition for status with those of their husbands....The woman's fundamental status is that of her husband's wife, the mother of his children....This leaves the wife a set of utilitarian functions...which may be considered a kind of "pseudo" occupation....The utilitarian aspect of housewife...has declined in importance to the point where it scarcely approaches a full-time occupation for a vigorous person. (1949, pp. 94-98)

According to Parsons, women experienced insecurity because their community activities were "only partially institutionalized." Emphasis on personal appearance, "the glamour pattern," caused strain as women struggled to adapt to increased age. He suggested that the "good companion pattern" which involved community activities common to men and women,..."offer the greatest possibilities for able, intelligent, and emotionally mature women"; however, he cautioned:

It is only those with the strongest initiative and intelligence who achieve fully satisfactory adaptations in this direction. It is quite clear that in the adult feminine role there is quite sufficient strain and insecurity so that
widespread manifestations are to be expected in the form of neurotic behavior. (p. 99)

The circumscribing of women’s lives in American society was compounded by the expectation that the strain and insecurity of their feminine roles would cause neurotic behavior. However, questions regarding the definition of neurotic behavior and appropriate feminine and masculine roles had begun to surface, linking such definitions to narrow male perspectives which excluded the experience of women.

Psychoanalyst Karen Horney (1885-1952), a student of Freud, published a paper in 1926 entitled, “The Flight from Womanhood.” She stated that male views of females as inferior shaped theories and social milieu, thus creating an environment that restricted the development of a woman’s potential. She recognized the male bias in Freud’s theory of female psychosexual development and dismissed his concept of penis envy by equating it with a male wish for breasts. She also contended that the neurotic characteristics described by Freud as the consequences of “masculinity complex” were characteristics found in neurotic men as well as neurotic women. She attributed these characteristics to feelings of inferiority. In order to gain self-confidence, both men and women need to develop such “human characteristics” as “talent, initiative, erotic capacity, achievement, courage, independence” (as cited in HCWSC, 1983). The persistent views of the past which cast women in a negative light continued to be confronted, contradicted, and questioned.

Differing Views on Women

Biases and misconceptions about women were further distorted by a tendency to disregard cultural factors and to think that beliefs regarding women had universal application. Margaret Mead (1901-1978), in her pioneer anthropological research, concluded:
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. (as cited in HCWCS, 1983, p. 136)

Mead's work laid the foundation for the recognition that "feminine" and "masculine" traits are not bound to biological determinants.

Simone de Beauvoir (1949/1952), in The Second Sex, contends that humanity has been viewed as male and that

Man defines woman not in herself but as relative to him; she is not regarded as an autonomous being....She is the incidental, the inessential as opposed to the essential. He is the Subject, he is the Absolute—she is the Other. (pp. xviii-xix)

As the ideal, male characteristics have been highly valued, whereas women's characteristics have been devalued. Men have been considered the norm. By comparison, as the "Other," women have been considered as deviant (1949/1952). The effect of such definitions throughout women's lives has been far-reaching.

Distorted observations and interpretations based on a skewed male view of reality have affected women's lives in the areas of self-esteem; circumvented aspirations; and political, economical and social status. Women are pressured to be what societal definitions communicate women are supposed to be—definitions shaped by predominantly male-oriented perceptions and beliefs (Friedan, 1983; Gilligan, 1982; Greenspan, 1983; Horney, 1950; Miller, 1976; Okin, 1979; Tavris & Wade; 1984; Williams, 1983).
Contemporary Views and Adult Development Theories Regarding Women

Friedan (1983) raises critical questions about psychological and societal assumptions regarding women. She reveals the quiet frustration and desperation of middle-class American women in the 1950s trying to live their lives according to societal expectations of housewife and mother. In a strong analogy comparing the world of the housewife with a concentration camp, Friedan strikes at the dehumanization of women forced by societal values to conform to lives that inhibit their growth. She cites the process that Bruno Bettelheim, psychoanalyst and educational psychologist, observed when he was a prisoner at Dachau and Buchenwald in 1929. In Friedan’s words:

In concentration camps the prisoners were forced to adopt childlike behavior, forced to give up their individuality and merge themselves into an amorphous mass. Their capacity for self-determination, their ability to predict the future and to prepare for it was systematically destroyed. It was a gradual process which occurred in virtually imperceptible stages—but at the end, with the destruction of adult self-respect, of an adult frame of reference, the dehumanizing process was complete. (1983, p. 306)

While conceding that, “All this seems terribly remote from the easy life of the American suburban housewife” (p. 307), Friedan goes on to say,

But is her house in reality a comfortable concentration camp? Have not women who live in the image of the feminine mystique trapped themselves within the narrow walls of their homes? They have learned to ‘adjust’ to their biological role. They have become dependent, passive, childlike; they have given up their adult frame of reference to live at the lower human level of food and things. The work they do does not require adult capabilities; it is endless, monotonous, unrewarding. American women are not, of course, being readied for mass extermination, but they are suffering a slow death of mind and spirit....It is not possible to preserve one’s identity by adjusting for any length of time to a frame of reference that is in itself destructive to it. It is very hard indeed for a human being to sustain such an 'inner' split—conforming outwardly to one reality, while trying to maintain inwardly the values it denies. (1983, pp. 307-308)
Despite Friedan's monumental work in elucidating the effects of woman's subordinate position in American society, she too minimizes and devalues women in her portrayal of a housewife's work as not requiring adult capabilities. The influence of past beliefs which cast women in an inferior light continued to persist, even in one whose life work advocates equality for women.

Friedan reminds us of efforts to free women from the conditions that denied them the right to become fully human: when Mount Holyoke opened its doors in 1837, providing women's first chance for education equal to education for men; the first Women's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848; the efforts of Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton who organized the National Woman's Suffrage Association in 1869; Margaret Sanger, who opened a clinic to provide birth control information in 1916; and the right to vote in 1920. Friedan says that with the winning of the right to vote, the concern for women's rights ended, and yet, prejudice and discrimination remained.

According to Friedan, many of the women of the following generation did not make the transition to a woman's new identity. She contends that they were caught up in choosing between two alternatives: a fighting feminist, the lonely career woman; or the protected and loved wife and mother. She posits that those who evaded the discomfort and risks involved in defining a new identity for themselves and chose the latter, fell into the trap of the feminine mystique.

Friedan explains:

The feminine mystique says that the highest value and the only commitment for women is the fulfillment of their own femininity....The new image this mystique gives to American women is the old image....housewife-mothers....feminine existence—as it was lived by women whose lives were confined, by necessity, to cooking, cleaning, washing, bearing children...a pattern by which all women must now live or deny their femininity. (1983, p. 43)
Societal pressures continued to communicate the message that true fulfillment for women was found in traditional, stereotypical aspirations and behavior.

During the 1970s, certain researchers who examined old assumptions about feminine and masculine characteristics and behavior concluded that women are in a double bind: Masculine characteristics are the ideal—female characteristics are not the ideal, but are considered normal for women (Williams, 1983). Women who exhibit female characteristics are in the impossible position of being normal but deviant.

Broverman et al. (1972), compiled a table which in bi-polar fashion compares some of the stereotypical traits assigned to men and women in American society and the values attached to them. The table reveals that in twenty-nine comparisons, the masculine traits are more desirable, and that in twelve comparisons, feminine traits are more desirable. In total, both sets of comparisons depict femininity as being passive, non-assertive, relationship oriented, illogical, emotional, dependent, acquiescent, sneaky, indecisive, conceited about appearance, unskilled in business, unworldly, without ambition, non-competitive, reluctant to talk about sex with men, seldom acting as a leader, thinking they are always superior to men, and having a dislike for math and science (1972). By keeping in mind that in twenty-nine of the forty-one comparisons, masculine traits fall toward the more desirable opposite pole of these feminine traits, one can see once again in American society, the scientific documentation of the inferior female—superior male syndrome.

Tavris and Wade’s (1984) research found little substantiation for past dichotomous theories about gender roles and alleged differences between men and women. Their study of presumed differences indicate similarities in
abilities and personality characteristics such as general intelligence, cognitive style, sociability, and love—and conflicting evidence or little evidence to substantiate alleged differences in dependence, empathy, emotionality and nurturance (1984). The validity of past theories regarding dichotomous sex-roles continued to be questioned. And the effects of the internalization of beliefs which were engendered as a result of such theories continued to be examined.

Rubin (1976) attributes the sex-role socialization described by Broverman et al. (1972) for the reported dissatisfaction that working class couples whom she interviewed experienced in their marriages:

He blames her: 'She's too emotional.' She blames him: 'He's always so rational.' In truth, neither is blameworthy...They are products of a process that trains them to relate to only one side of themselves—she, to the passive, tender, intuitive, verbal, emotional side; he, to the active, tough, logical, nonverbal, unemotional one. From infancy, each has been programmed to be split off from the other side; by adulthood, it is distant from consciousness, indeed. (p. 116)

A lifetime of energy spent molding oneself into role-segregated images prove dysfunctional when the emotional needs of a person require attention. The man is left bewildered. The woman is left feeling unfulfilled, angry, guilty and anxious (1976). The increased recognition that stereotypical sex-roles present barriers to identity development in both men and women, coupled with the acknowledgment of women's subordinate position in a male-dominant society, supported the push to shed light on the inequities and limitations which women experience in such an environment.

The theme of Miller's (1976) book, Toward a New Psychology of Women, is about women's struggle to create a basis for worthwhileness. Creativity and cooperation are strengths which Miller attributes to women. Creativity is
developed as a result of their need to create an “inner psychological structure” in order to exist as subordinates within the culture; cooperation is developed in their efforts to maintain the family so that each person’s needs are met.

Given the oppressive condition of inequality in women’s lives, women face a different process in trying to fit into the prescribed guidelines of the dominant culture. Miller contends that creating a sense of self that is different from that which the dominant culture finds acceptable illustrates that women’s mode of development is not inferior, but simply different.

Some traits that distinguish an autonomous adult are considered to be undesirable traits for women (1976). For example, independence is associated with mature adulthood, but independence in women tends to carry a negative connotation because it contradicts women’s expected role of passivity and submissiveness. The negativity assigned to the dependency versus independency issue in women’s lives illustrates the conflict between women’s reality and the realm of human development theory: The fact that women make affiliations central in their lives is perceived as a negative dependency trait according to psychological theory.

Miller has a different interpretation. She says, “Women stay with, build on, and develop in a context of attachment and affiliation with others. Indeed, women’s sense of self becomes very much organized around being able to make and then to maintain affiliations and relationships” (p. 83). According to Miller, underlying these affiliation needs is the ability to trust others and find ways of social organization that do not depend on dominance. Strengths such as these which are not valued, are developed out of women’s necessarily different approach to living (1976). Miller reframes attributes which have been characterized as women’s weaknesses—to women’s strengths.
The divisiveness of sex-role socialization compounds problems in women's struggle for authentic identity formation. Miller calls for a new theoretical framework which would take into consideration new data that reveals "unrecognized aspects of women's lives" (p. 78). She points out that formulations and denials of the past "fail to take seriously the inequality of power and authority between men and women" (p. 79). She urges:

Ask seriously who really runs the world and who 'decides' the part of each sex that is suppressed....The question is one of what has been suppressed and what can bring forward the suppressed parts? Finally, these formulations are themselves a reflection of the whole dichotomization of the essentials of human experiences. The present divisions and separations are, I believe, a product of culture as we have known it—that is, a culture based on a primary inequity. It is the very nature of dichotomization that is in question. (p. 79)

When women's development has been defined in "masculine" terms, differences have been interpreted as problems in women's development (Gilligan, 1982). Gilligan's theory of female development, which is based on women's experiences, takes cultural, environmental and social factors into consideration in examining the "reality" of women's lives. She points out that the social experiences of men and women are different. Gilligan also posits that women's style of thinking tends to be relational, which is different from men's linear mode. A psychology of adulthood needs to be aware of and must be able to distinguish between differences which are presumed and differences which are real when constructing models of human growth (1982).

Theories developed by Freud, Piaget (1967; See also, Piaget, 1965 in section 3 of this chapter and Kohlberg (See 1973, 1975 of this chapter) are examples of development theories which excluded the consideration of differences in women's social experiences, mode of thinking, and ways of being,
thereby excluding women from their research. Based on male theories, development continues to be identified with separation. Since masculinity is defined through separation and femininity is defined through attachment, women's development continues to be seen as problematic.

Differences in the female conception of morality are also not fully acknowledged (1982). The male conception of morality centers on impartiality—the female on the ethic of care. Male theories of morality, such as those posited by Piaget and Kohlberg bind moral development to the understanding of rights and rules. Gilligan contends that women's conception of morality emerges from their understanding of responsibility and relationships. Women's concern with relationships and their sense of responsibility in caring for others leads them to include other points of view in their judgments, according to Gilligan. Given male standards of morality, this is seen as a "moral weakness". Gilligan sees it as women's moral strength—in their commitment to the ethic of care and in their understanding of the importance of interdependence and connectedness (1982). Gilligan's report on women's identity formation and moral development explicates the difficulties inherent in women's attempts to speak in their own voice when faced with development theories that better fit men than they do women.

The problem created for women by the failure to represent their experience or by the distortion of its representation is explained by Gilligan (1982):

Women come to question whether what they have seen exists and whether what they know from their own experience is true. These questions are raised not as abstract philosophical speculations about the nature of reality and truth but as personal doubts that invade women's sense of themselves. (p. 49)
In order to be considered a healthy, normal adult, woman must embody characteristics defined by male standards (Greenspan, 1983). If she embodies these characteristics, she will not be seen as feminine. When women have problems with these conflicts and seek professional help, they face a male-dominated professional world. Greenspan warns against a psychiatric establishment that declares women mentally unhealthy when they do not meet the norm (male norm)—a psychiatric establishment where most practicing psychiatrists have been schooled in the Freudian psychoanalytic theories of women.

She points to Phyllis Chesler's 1977 book, *Women and Madness*, in which Chesler's analysis shows how traditional therapy reinforces passivity and feminine helplessness. According to Greenspan, women blame themselves for their problems and are usually told by others that there is something wrong with them. She criticizes the traditional approach to therapy for not recognizing the socioeconomic oppression in women's lives and its effect on their personality structure. Greenspan's suggested approach to therapy is to help women understand that their problems are not caused from within themselves, but are products of their socioeconomic subordination, and to encourage women to value themselves in their own terms and not through male eyes.

Although the Women's Movement of the 1960s and 1970s made some inroads into raising the consciousness of American society about women's socioeconomic inequities, a problematic by-product developed—"The Liberated-Superwoman syndrome" (1983). The standards set up for liberated superwoman continue the subordination of women to men. She has all the traditional male virtues and at the same time retains the old feminine virtues. Greenspan predicts that:
As the Liberated Superwoman more and more becomes the established norm for femininity, the psychiatric establishment will once again declare women who do not meet the norm mentally unhealthy. What will remain essentially unchanged in all of this is the fact that the norm for mental health for men and women will still be equated with masculinity and femininity, respectively. There will be a double standard for mental health. (Men will not have to be supermen: they will just have to be men.) And women who live in a situation of sexual inequality will continue to pay the psychic costs. (1983, p. 102)

In prescribing guidelines for achieving the goal of superwoman, society again demands that women accept the status quo according to a new male cultural standard.

During the 1980's, history seemed to repeat itself as women's progress in their struggle for liberation met the resistance of societal self-interests. The media reported progress as well as setbacks: Woman's role had been expanded from housewife and mother to include choices in a wider range of jobs and careers, and/or singlehood; more women were going to college; women no longer needed to live vicariously through their husbands or their children; the advent of birth control pills brought women more control over their own bodies as did legalized abortion; the sexual revolution freed women to an awareness and appreciation of their sexuality; women were making small inroads in the political arena; there was an increased awareness of the need for quality child-care to be more readily available; more men were sharing in housekeeping duties; more fathers shared in the nurturing and care of their children. These gains held the danger of complacency—of lulling people into thinking that the goals of equality had been met and no longer need attention.

During the 1980s, subtle attitudinal pressures and overt resistance supported social, political and legal decisions which restricted women's choices and activities. Inequities that women suffered in the labor force are reflected in
the U.S. Department of Labor [USDL] (1982) report concerning working women:

The majority of women work because of economic need... About 66 per cent of all part-time workers are women... Women with a higher education than men had the same income on the average as men with a lesser education... Women are still concentrated in low paying dead end jobs. As a result, among full-time year round workers the woman earns only about three fifths (59) per cent of the average man's earnings... Women continue to constitute large proportions of workers in traditional occupations... clerical workers... service workers... retail sales workers... The number of working mothers has increased more than tenfold since the period immediately preceding World War II (1940)... Women are maintaining an increasing proportion of all families... Women represented 63 per cent of all persons below the poverty level who were 16 years of age and over. (pp. 27-29)

The highest concentration of inequality is reflected in statistics which represent Hispanic women and women of color (1982)—women who faced both racist and sexist barriers.

Opportunities to establish an identity and move toward increased self-esteem through work outside of the home dims in light of the odds women face in the workplace. Being employed appears to be less a choice when one considers that economic need is the reason most women work, and that increasingly, women are the primary ones who maintain families. The large number of working mothers is a reality. Lack of enough adequate day care centers give little choice to mothers who must choose between inadequate care for their children or staying home to care for them. The large number of women holding part-time jobs indicates a cheap labor pool—part-time jobs rarely provide benefits such as health insurance, and usually do not pay enough for workers to buy their own. How does growth and development flourish in poverty? What kind of environment is provided for the growth and development
of women in the work force? These rhetorical questions beg answers that are far beyond the scope of this study—serving only to point out the reality of an unjust workplace.

In issues that involve the judicial system, such as divorce proceedings or child custody and support cases, women face yet another male-dominated institution that more often than not, favors men. Pornography which exploits women, rape, physical abuse and sexual harassment are crimes against women which have yet to be adequately addressed by the judicial system—crimes that often expose women to a “Blaming the Victim” mentality by unenlightened law enforcement officers and others.

Also during the 1980s, a political swing to the right and a vocal Moral Majority movement advocated traditional gender roles and other measures to preserve a white male-dominated society. A resurgence of fundamentalist religions continued to promulgate ancient beliefs of women’s subservience to man. Women of the 1980s still had to deal with hierarchal, organized religions which for the most part continued to exclude women from the higher echelon. During the Reagan administration, attempts were made to dismantle legislative, judicial and social gains in women’s rights: the ERA was not ratified; cuts were made in programs which served women and their children; laws which protect against sexual discrimination—a civil rights violation—were poorly enforced. Political and social institutions were aided and abetted by the media in communicating messages pressuring women to “know their place.”

The media that informs is also a media that influences values and beliefs. Books, magazines, television, videos and other means of mass communication in the 1980s continued to contribute to sexism in their portrayal of women as sex
objects or as stereotypically incompetent. The socialization of women as sex
objects by the media and consumer advertising manifests itself in women who
mold their bodies and conduct their lives to fit standards which continue a cycle
of objectification. Substantial changes which would result in an equitable and
supportive environment for women’s authentic growth would not come easily.

Greenspan (1983) contends that the double bind of constructing a
feminine identity in a male world produces an unconscious rage at male
dominance that manifests itself in the “hidden protest of depression”.
According to Greenspan, depression is the single most characteristically
feminine symptom that women bring to therapy. “Women are the majority of
patients in all sectors of the psychiatric system except for state and county
mental hospitals” (p. 5). Was Freud right when he said that the only way for
women was neurosis?

Horney (1950) describes neurosis as “a disturbance in one’s relation to self
and to others” (p. 368). She says of the neurotic process,

It is a process of abandoning the real self for an idealized one; of trying to
actualize this pseudoself instead of our given hidden potentials; of a
destructive warfare between the two selves; of allaying this warfare the
best, or at any rate the only way we can; and finally, through having our
constructive forces mobilized by life or by therapy, of finding our real
selves. (p. 376)

Westkott (1986) points out that Horney’s usage of the word “neurosis” is
dated. Today the term “personality disorder” would be used. Westkott says,
“Horney’s theory of neurosis is not only an explanation of character
development and conflict but also a critique of the social relations and cultural
values that give rise to psychological suffering” (p. 12). Many women pay a high
price in their efforts to be agents of their own lives when faced with situations
which deny them their rights, exploit and denigrate them, and withhold support.
Women's sense of self can be lost in approval-seeking attempts to be what is perceived to be an ideal image. Women need the opportunity to be full and active participants in the "real world", and the belief that they have that right (Miller, 1976). They need to experience their own power in order to create their own identity. Miller believes that the struggle for authentic identity involves personal creativity which she describes as 

a continuous process of bringing forth a changing vision of oneself, and of oneself in relation to the world. Out of this creation each person determines her/his next step and is motivated to take that next step. This vision must undergo repeated change and re-creation. Through childhood and adulthood, too, there are inevitable physical changes as one grows and then ages. These demand a change in one's relation to the world. Further, there are the continuous psychological changes that lead to more experience, more perceptions, more emotions, and more thought. It is necessary to integrate all these into a coherent and constantly enlarging conception of one's life....the closer we can come to this ideal of authenticity, the better off we are. And the more we can act in terms of our own conceptions, the more whole and authentic we feel. (pp. 111-112)

The continuity needed in integrating the physical, psychological and social changes that occur in one's life is provided by the qualities that constitute the sense of self (Whitbourne & Weinstock, 1979; see Self-Concept under Definitions in Chapter I). One's self-concept is more than the sum of its parts. The process of constructing one's self-concept is a process of continual re-creation based on changing experiences.

The sensitive balance between change and stability which marks adult development has been the subject of increased adult development studies and research in recent years (1979). In the past, human development research focused on the development of children. In looking at past human development theories from a perspective which recognizes the importance of studying life-span development, contemporary research incorporated information from past research with new data and ideas about adult development.
Piaget's (1967) seminal ideas on children's thought processes provide a useful model for looking at the thought processes of adults. According to Piaget, individuals use mental structures (schemata) to organize and process what they experience. This adaptation to the environment consists of **assimilation** and **accommodation** mechanisms which organize schemata so that new experiences can be perceived without distortion. Assimilation takes place when existing schemata are applied to new experiences. When schemata are altered to fit new experiences, accommodation takes place. Piaget explains, “The balancing of the processes of assimilation and adaptation may be called 'adaptation'. Such is the general form of psychological equilibrium, and the progressive organization of mental development appears to be simply an ever more precise adaptation to reality” (p. 8). When new experiences cannot be fit into existing schemata, psychological disequilibrium occurs. A balance between assimilation and accommodation marks adolescent and adult cognitive development and the greatest degree of psychological functioning (1967).

If one accepts Piaget's theory, about disequilibrium, then one must question how the process of assimilation, accommodation, and adaptation functions for women. Given research that shows the limitations and restrictions which women experience, and that women’s ways may not fit with what is considered normal, appropriate, or desirable, then Greenspan's (1983) report on the widespread problem of depression in women may be more easily understood.

In the midst of new information provided by contemporary researchers about women’s identity development, male-oriented human development theories continue to permeate the understanding of human development. One
cannot approach the monumental works of Erik Erikson (1950, 1980, 1982) without an awareness of the male bias embedded in his views. Williams (1983) points out that in Erikson's (1950) *Childhood and Society*, his "eight stages of man" theory led him to use all male examples in exploring identity development, that is, John Henry, Hitler, Maxim Gorky, and the male-dominated societies of the Sioux and Yurok Indian tribes (1983). In stressing autonomy and individuation, which are mostly associated with male maturity, Erikson neglects to emphasize the equal importance of attachment and care, usually attributed to female development. There is increased recognition that these are all essential human qualities, regardless of gender (Gilligan, 1982; Kegan, 1982, Miller, 1976).

Boys and girls were subjects in Erikson's subsequent longitudinal study of child development. He concluded that the spatial tendencies of children at play were related to sexual anatomy: boys tended to be involved in phallic shapes and in activity, girls to enclosure, protection, and receptivity (womb, vagina analogies—women's "inner space"). Freud's influence, "anatomy is destiny", is evident in Erikson's work (Williams, 1983).

Erikson's (1950, 1980, 1982) life-span development theory includes an eight stage epigenetic chart which illustrates growth from infancy to mature age. The eight stage psychosocial model with corresponding psychosexual stages is based on Freud's psychoanalytical work. It describes critical issues which individuals encounter and need to resolve during each stage in order to sequentially develop and integrate the necessary strengths for healthy adulthood. Although all eight stages are applicable throughout life, the last three are characteristic of adulthood: intimacy versus isolation, generativity versus stagnation, integrity versus despair (1950).
This review of the literature traces some of the history of long held beliefs which attributed women's subordinate position to biological destiny—from ancient history to Aristotle—to Freud—to Erikson. Research continues to explore the extent of biological determinants in identity formation, while women continue to live with the residual effects of skewed, male-oriented human development theories which bind women to perceived biological destinies.

Erikson's works have been the springboard for other researchers in their quest for knowledge about adult development. Marcia's (1967) research on ego identity status extends Erikson's concept of identity crisis in which ego identity is achieved, or identity diffusion continues. According to Marcia, identity establishment requires the presence of crisis and commitment. Crisis involves decision-making (choosing among identity related alternatives). Commitment refers to the investment in the alternative chosen. Marcia used the issue of occupation and ideology which Erikson had identified as important areas requiring choice and commitment (1967).

In a study of college men, Marcia (1967) assessed whether or not crisis was experienced, and also, the degree of commitment to occupation and ideology. Ideology was divided into two categories, religion and politics.

Based on Erikson's definition of the fifth stage of life span development, "Identity vs Identity Confusion", four identity statuses were used to describe styles of dealing with the identity crisis. Persons in the identity achievement status have undergone a crisis and have made freely chosen commitments to occupation and ideologies. Persons in moratorium are in crisis and indecisive about commitments. Foreclosure individuals did not and are not experiencing
crisis, yet made early commitments, often having accepted parents' standards. **Identity diffusion** persons are not struggling with crisis and are uncommitted (1967).

Marcia and Friedman's (1970) study of ego identity status in college **women** applied the four identity statuses used in Marcia's earlier (1967) study of college **men**. A crisis identity issue which the researchers' deemed unique to women was added to the issues of occupation, religion and politics, which were used in the study of men:

The choice of attitudes toward *premarital intercourse* [italics added] appeared appropriate and was consistent with Erikson's statement that 'womanhood arrives when attractiveness and experience have succeeded in selecting what is to be admitted to the welcome of the inner space 'for keeps'. (Marcia & Friedman, 1970, p. 251)

The researchers' notion that such an addition was appropriate perpetuates the view that women's identity is biologically determined and psychologically defined by her relation to another, as opposed to men's identity being autonomously determined. Such a notion bears rethinking. Theoretically, the identity statuses are applicable to both women and men, providing insight into the process or style of dealing with identity crises.

Marcia and Friedman's 1970 study on female identity statuses compared scores on tests which measured self-esteem, anxiety, and degree of endorsement regarding authoritarianism. Results were as follows: **identity achievers**, low in self-esteem and submissiveness to authoritarianism, and high in anxiety; **moratorium**, high in anxiety, moderate self-esteem and scored lowest in submissiveness to authoritarianism; **foreclosures** scored low in anxiety, high in self-esteem and submissiveness to authority; **identity diffuse** scored high in anxiety, low in self-esteem and moderate in submissiveness to authoritarianism.
Marcia and Friedman suggest that foreclosure status may serve as an adaptive status for women. By adhering to parents' expectations they demonstrate their submissiveness to authority, gain high self-esteem and experience less anxiety. Identity achieving women may experience low self-esteem because breaking away from family expectations may generate disapproval from peers and be socially discomforting. They further suggest "that the further a woman is from stable identity (diffusion), the more anxiety she reports" (p. 261).

This interpretation speaks to the dilemma women experience in the process of identity formation: The price women pay for not subscribing to the "stable identity", as defined by male theorists, is anxiety. Whitbourne and Weinstock (1979) suggest that identity achieving women appear to use internal guidelines in making decisions. Even in movement toward an internal locus of control, women pay a high price if one puts any credence to Marcia and Friedman's (1970) finding that identity achievers tend to have low self-esteem and high anxiety. It is only in foreclosure that women escape high anxiety and achieve high self-esteem—the price is submissiveness to authoritarianism. Again, the pattern emerges, for women: Authentic identity development involves obstacles which pressure for capitulation to other-defined identity—identity which mandates submissiveness and passivity.

According to Marcia (1976), "Identity is never static" (p. 153). Person's may move from one status to another in accommodation to "each new life cycle issue...There has always been a process aspect inherent in the determination of identity status....Any adequate theory of identity should have descriptive terms that take this movement into account" (p. 153). Craig (1986), in her text of
life-span development, includes the personality development theories of both Loevinger (1976) and Kegan (1982) who like Marcia and others, view human development as process.

In a seven stage sequential model that centers on the ego, Loevinger has integrated various research findings with Kohlberg's (1973, 1975; See section 3 of this chapter) moral development theory, and with psychoanalytic theory (as stated in Craig, 1986). According to Loevinger's theory, ego development (the meaning-making of experience and the gaining of self-understanding). The ego serves to put meaning to experience, to gain self-understanding, and to incorporate these understandings with behavior.

The last two stages of Loevinger's model deals with adulthood. At the sixth stage, autonomous, differing points of view are understood and tolerated. The last stage, integrated, is attained when individuals can reconcile personal and external conflicts and value differences. “Loevinger estimates that less than 1% of all adults reach this stage” (Craig, p. 424). With all the personal and external conflicts and value differences that surround a woman's life, one wonders what portion of that 1% are women.

The core of Kegan’s (1982) theory is the process, or the evolution of meaning-making within a biological, psychological, and philosophical framework, that is, “the relationship of the organism to the environment (what biologists call 'adaptation'); the relationship of the self to the other (what psychologists call the 'ego'); and the relationship of the subject to the object (what philosophers call 'truth') (p. 293).”

Kegan extends Piaget's notion of the process of adaptation which occurs as a result of tension between assimilation and accommodation—the activity which Piaget calls equilibrium. Kegan says that this process
is not one of continuous augmentation, but is marked by periods of
dynamic stability or balance followed by periods of instability and
qualitatively new balance. These periods of dynamic balance amount to a
kind of evolutionary truce: further assimilation and accommodation will
go on in the context of the established relationship struck between the
organism and the world. The guiding principle of such a truce—the point
that is always at issue and renegotiated in the transition to each new
balance—is what, from the point of view of the organism, is composed as
'object' and what as 'subject'. The question always is: To what extent does
the organism differentiate itself from (and so relate to) the world? (p. 44)

Kegan's portrayal of development is depicted by a helix, or spiral of
evolutionary truces (developmental stages) continually moving back and forth
between six stages, resolving the tension between the psychologies of
independence and the psychologies of inclusion by favoring independence at
one stage, and favoring inclusion at the next. The six developmental stages are
labeled as follows: (0) incorporative, (1) impulsive, (2) imperial, (3)
interpersonal, (4) institutional, and (5) interindividual. Kegan explains that a
strength of the institutional balance, "is a person's new capacity for
independence, to own herself, rather than having all the pieces of herself owned
by various shared contexts" (p. 101). The interindividual balance of ego stage 5
is characterized by the creation of the individual and the recognition of
interdependence. The hallmarks of Kegan's adulthood stages are the
understanding of a unique self in the process of becoming, and understanding
the interrelatedness of self and the world.

In describing the concept of evolutionary truces as a helix, Kegan says,

We move from the overincluded, fantasy embedded impulsive balance to
the sealed-up self-sufficiency of the imperial balance; from the
overdifferentiated imperial balance to overincluded interpersonalism;
from interpersonalism to the autonomous, self-regulating institutional
balance; from the institutional to a new form of openness in the
interindividual. (p. 108)
Underlying the balance-seeking process of evolutionary truces which mark each developmental stage of Kegan’s model of development is the tension inherent in a lifelong seeking to achieve the fundamental human needs of autonomy and inclusion. Kegan states that

The two greatest yearnings of human life...may be the yearning for inclusion (to be welcomed in, next to, held, connected with, a part of) and the yearning for distinctness (to be autonomous, independent, to exercise my own agency, the self-chosenness of my purposes). These yearnings are in obvious tension, and the history of development is a succession of temporary resolutions in favor of one side, then the other. Every evolutionary truce sets the terms on differentiation and integration, which is only a cold way of saying the same thing. (p. 142)

According to Kegan, the environment in which and from which growth and development takes place is a psychosocial one—one which he calls the culture of embeddedness. In Kegan’s concept of “the evolution of a person”, a life history of successive cultures of embeddedness, of which the person is a part, helps in the transformation from one evolutionary balance to a new one. According to Kegan’s theory, the natural systems for growth and development (cultures of embeddedness) and their corresponding evolutionary balances are: the mothering culture (incorporation); the parenting culture (impulsive); the role-recognizing culture (imperial; the culture of mutuality (interpersonal); the culture of identity or self-authorship (institutional); and the culture of intimacy (interindividual). The cultures
tend to evolve out of each other, each one including, or potentially including the last....all part of a single community, and serve as the vehicles by which that community communicates. Among its most important communications is its recognition of a person’s growth and change. (p. 260)

Using Kegan’s model of development as a guide, one may ask: To what extent have “the natural cultures of embeddedness” in women’s lives been
supportive and affirming in the process of identity development? This review of
the literature has presented a selection of historical, societal, and psychological
factors which indicates insufficient support and affirmation of women, and the
existence of restrictions, limitations, and obstacles which have hindered women
in the many arenas of their lives.

Celie represents women's oppression as she shares her life as a nonperson
through the muted voice that dares speak only to God. In her increasing
awareness and evolving liberation, she questions and rejects those aspects of her
belief in God that limit her growth. She recognizes imposed beliefs that
contribute to her passivity in the face of the racial and sexual oppression she
experiences. Her sense of being is sparked, nurtured and developed through the
support of important women in her life. This speaks to the supporting networks
which emerged from the experience of female role models and solidarity in one
woman's liberation and growth. Celie's story is the story of human struggle for
identity in a setting of oppression. Can today's women look forward to
self-fulfillment as Celie did in the lived-happily-ever-after ending of Walker's
story?

The review of the literature reveals glimmers of insight into injustices
women suffer as a result of their exclusion from human development theories,
their subordination to men in societal institutions, the minimization of their
contributions, and the restrictions and limitations imposed on their personal
growth—all of which in essence, create a denigration of humankind. New ways of
understanding women are beginning to emerge as a result of women giving voice
to their experiences and being heard.
Generational, historical, and cohort differences, as well as cultural and ethnic differences are being increasingly recognized by life-span development theorists and scholars (Craig, 1986). Enlightened viewpoints and theories of human development need also to hear the experiences of women in all their diversity. In the following section, a review of the literature concerning one such diverse group of ethnic women is presented—second generation Armenian-American women who are children of survivors of genocide.

Part 2: Second Generation Armenian-American Women

An ethnic group may be defined as a group of people with genetic similarities who share a common culture of shared values, and a common geographic history (Farrell, 1980). Throughout childhood, the mirror of self reflects what significant others tell us we are. The culture of the Armenians as a people has, to varying degrees, affected the lives of individual Armenian-Americans. When studying other cultures, Spradley (1980) suggests that three basic aspects of human experience must be dealt with:

what people do, what people know, and the things people make and use. When each of these things are learned and shared by members of some group, we speak of them as cultural behavior, cultural knowledge, and cultural artifacts....in most situations they are usually mixed together.... Although we can easily see behavior and artifacts, they represent only the thin surface of a deep lake. Beneath the surface, hidden from view, lies a vast reservoir of cultural knowledge....Although cultural knowledge is hidden from view, it is of fundamental importance because we all use it constantly to generate behavior and interpret our experience. (pp. 6-7)

According to Spradley (1979),

In every society people make constant use of...complex meaning systems to organize their behavior, to understand themselves and others, and to make sense out of the world in which they live. These systems of meaning constitute their culture....The concept of culture (as a system of meaningful symbols) has much in common with symbolic interactionism, a theory which seeks to explain human behavior in terms of meanings. (pp. 5-6)
Blumer's (1969) theory of symbolic interactionism posits three premises:

Human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them....The meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows....These meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretive process used by the person in dealing with the things he encounters. (p. 2)

Armenian-Americans identify themselves as an ethnic group through important symbols: "church, family, language, cuisine, Armenian names, values, music, and dance, among others" (O'Grady, 1981). Whether viewed individually or in the broader categories of church, family and nation, these symbols, interlocked in an historically immersed social milieu, inform the lives of second generation Armenian-American women.

For purposes of this study, second generation Armenian-American women refers to the daughters of survivors of the Turkish genocide of the Armenian people. The examination of second generation Armenian-American women requires the understanding of three major components which are integral parts of their identity. The first component is the understanding of women's identity formation which is discussed in section 1 of this chapter. As women who were born into American society, second generation Armenian-American women have been subjected to the same influences as main-stream American women; therefore, the review of literature in section 1 pertains to them also.

The second component is an understanding of historical factors unique to the Armenian people—a history that includes their parents experience with genocide—the first recorded genocide of the twentieth century. In this, unlike their main-stream American counterparts, second generation Armenian-American women have a rare factor which enters into their identity formation. It is from this historical background that one finds the roots of
Armenian values and beliefs which the parents of second generation Armenian-American women brought to America and which guided them in raising their families.

The third component is the understanding of what the amalgamation of Armenian-American values and beliefs looks like, and what the effects of that blending of beliefs and values had on the lives of second generation Armenian-American women. The last two components are the subjects of the literature review which is presented in this section under the following topics: (a) The Armenian People: An Historical Perspective; (b) Immigrant Life; and (c) The Second Generation.

By tracing relevant historical factors such as the role of religion, village life in Armenia, genocide, immigrant life in America, and American assimilation versus preservation of Armenian heritage, this portion of the review of literature attempts to provide insight into the evolution of certain beliefs and values and the resultant effect on the lives of second generation Armenian-American women. Background information about the geographic location of Armenia and the governance of the Armenian people in the past is presented to provide an understanding of the environment which shaped the legacy that Armenian parents brought to their American-born children.

The Armenian People: An Historical Perspective

Ancient Armenia was located in the northeast area of Asia Minor and a portion of south-central Turkey on the Mediterranean coast, Cilicia. (Mirak, 1980, 1983; Strom & Parsons, 1982; Waldstreicher, 1989). In 1514, the Armenian nation was reduced to a Turkish domain (1980, 1983; 1982; 1989).
As a Christian minority within the Ottoman Empire, the Armenians were governed by a system known as the millet system. The Ottoman Empire was organized into separate communities based primarily on religion: Muslim, Greek Orthodox, Jewish, and Armenian. The head of each minority group was their religious leader who was responsible to the Ottomans. The Patriarch of the Armenian Church controlled the Armenian millet and was their sole representative to the Turkish government. In Mirak's (1983) words, “The Armenian church's historic role as the foremost aspect of Armenian nationality was fortified” (p. 7). The millet system served to keep the Ottoman subjects segregated from the Turks, and also preserved the religion and ethnicity of the minority groups (1980, 1983; 1982; 1989). Armenians coexisted as second-class citizens with the Turks and their neighbors, enduring discrimination and periodic violence which escalated into massacres and other atrocities, and culminated in the 1915 Armenian genocide by the Ottoman Turk (Kloian, 1985; Mirak, 1983; Strom & Parson, 1982; Waldstreicher, 1989).

Villa and Matossian (1982), in *Armenian Village Life Before 1914*, describe the daily lives of villagers in Western Armenia before World War I. Their analysis is based on data collected through extensive interviewing of 48 Detroit Armenians: 35 women and 13 men born around the 1870s to 1908. Written sources of information were from publications by contemporary Soviet ethnographers and nineteenth and early twentieth century travelers’ accounts. It is reasonable to expect that some of the parents of second generation Armenian-American women shared backgrounds similar to those described by Villa and Matossian.

According to Villa and Matossian, the majority of Armenians lived in nuclear family households. The more isolated settlements in rural areas
maintained extended family clans for economic reasons and to protect one another (1982). In this patriarchal and patrilineal structure, it was customary for a wife to move into her husband’s household with his parents and family (Abajian, 1984; Avakian, 1977; Kherdian, 1979, 1981; Namias, 1978; Villa & Matossian, 1982). The family was headed by the senior male member because males were dominant over females. The wife of the family head had a great deal of authority over household operations (Villa & Matossian, 1982).

Villa and Matossian state that,

There is no doubt that the marriage ceremony was the single most decisive event in the life of the Armenian village woman (p. 72)....Pregnancy and the bearing of children—especially sons—gave the Armenian woman status as a wife and mother, reinforced her husband’s manhood, and provided against her husband’s eventual death. (p. 96)

Once a village girl married, she lost her freedom. The typical village girl led a circumscribed life in a male dominated society. Controlled by elders, she often fell under the rigid traditions reserved for new brides, observed mostly in rural areas, more than in towns. She was not allowed to speak, except to children when alone with them, and to her husband—only when they were alone. Periods of silence of five years and more were not uncommon in some villages—varying in severity and length in different households. Duties included kissing the hands of elders and visitors, and waiting on family members (1982). It was also customary for children to kiss the hands of elders and visitors (Shipley, 1984). Traditions which were applicable to newly married women and to children indicate that the status of women was comparable to a child, except for the senior wife in the family who acquired her status through her husband.

Sex role division found girls involved in household chores and learning domestic skills (Villa & Matossian, 1982). Boys were assigned to jobs that
required physical strength. They learned harvesting skills, and they were sent to the store if something was needed (1982). Females were not allowed to stray far from home unless accompanied by one or two relatives (Abajian, 1984). Although food preparation and storage was considered women’s work, and field work was for men, when extra help was needed at harvest time, women worked in the fields with the men (Villa & Matossian, 1982).

Education for boys was not especially valued by villagers. Skills in farming were considered more important. Some girls were not sent to school because of the belief that they would be morally contaminated or distanced from family control—as illustrated in a popular saying, “A woman who is literate will destroy the house” (p. 20). Decades later and an ocean away, American women were discouraged from being educated according to the following message in an article by Farnham and Parsons (as cited in Friedan, 1983): “The more educated the woman is, the greater chance there is of sexual disorder” (p. 120). When girls did attend school, boys and girls were segregated (Abajian, 1984; Shipley, 1984).

Formal education for girls depended on the availability of a school and on a family’s progressiveness (Villa & Matossian, 1982). Although for the most part, education for girls was not highly valued, exceptions can be found in the stories of some women who did go to school: the ethnobiography of Ermance Rejebian (Farrell, 1980); the biography of Sirarpie Der Nersessian (Allen, 1981); a son’s story about his mother, Vernon Dumejian Kherdian (Kherdian, 1979); and the autobiographies of Alice Muggerditchian Shipley (Shipley, 1984) and Heghine Der Babian Abajian (Abajian, 1984).
Home education or family education provided children with what they needed to know in terms of general knowledge and basic skills (Avakian, 1977; Namias, 1978). In Namias' (1978) interview of Araxi Chorbajian Ayvasian, she quotes her as saying, "Family education is what you give and what the children take with them all their lives" (p. 97). Children were taught early that their behavior could bring either honor or shame to themselves as well as to their families (Villa & Matossian, 1982). One was expected to suppress any open display of emotions. Sexual feelings were also suppressed, with the exception of those toward one’s spouse—even then, a woman’s modesty was paramount.

Children were instilled with the cultural values of duty to the family, and compassion and care for the unfortunate. Adhering to Armenian values insured the support of family and friends in times of need, and companions in times of celebration. It was a way of life that contributed to survival (1982).

Armenians lived under severe conditions of oppression which reinforced already strong family ties. Armenian peasants, mountaineers, town traders and artisans, and the rich of Constantinople and Smyrna lived as “tolerated infidels” with Jews and Christians in Muslim Turkey (Strom & Parsons, 1982). Along with other non-Muslims, Armenians endured discriminatory laws such as the following examples:

* Until late in the 19th century, Armenians were not allowed to join the military or hold government jobs.
* Unlike their Muslim neighbors (especially Kurds, Arabs, and Circassians), they were not allowed to own guns.
* They were not allowed to testify in courts involving Muslims.
* An Armenian would receive the death penalty if he or she murdered a Muslim, but the death penalty did not apply to a Muslim who murdered an Armenian.
* An Armenian man could not marry a Muslim woman, but a Muslim man could marry an Armenian woman. (She would convert to Islam).
* Armenians were often not allowed to ride horses.
Unlike their Muslim neighbors, Armenians were forced to pay additional taxes. (1982, p. 355)

Armenians lived with discrimination and harassment which accelerated to massacres in 1844-1895 and 1909, and genocide in 1915 (Baliozian, 1975, 1980; Lang and Walker, 1978; Mirak, 1980, 1983; Nazer, 1968; Strom & Parsons, 1982; Ternon, 1977/1981; Toynbee, 1975; Wertsman, 1978; World Council of Churches, 1984). Dadrian (1972) offers a “tentative and partial” definition of genocide as a concept: “Genocide is the successful attempt by a central government, vested with effective authority and with preponderant access to the overall resources of power, to substantially and violently reduce the number of a minority group whose extermination is sought” (p. 101).

The Turkish government denies genocide and calls the atrocities inflicted on the Armenian people unfortunate but necessary actions to quell civil revolution. The Armenian people call for acknowledgment of genocide. This researcher names the atrocities genocide and repudiates sources which support the Turkish denial; therefore, information from such sources is not included in this review of literature. Although many in the world community do not know much about this cataclysm in history, the purpose of this study does not require providing information about the genocide in detail; however, the subject of the genocide is included because it is a significant factor in the lives of second generation Armenian-American women.

Between 1918 and 1920, the Armenians succeeded in the establishment of the Independent Armenian Republic. The short-lived independent Armenia was attacked by Turkish forces from the west and Communist Russians from the east. Armenia was divided between Turkey and the Soviet Union. Today, Armenia survives as the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, one of the smallest

**Immigrant Life**

Between 1899 and 1914, 51,950 Armenians entered the United States (Mirak, 1983). From 1915 to 1919, 3,620 found refuge in America (Minasian, 1972). Between 1920 and 1924, 20,559 entered, cresting in 1921 with 10,212 arrivals, and decreasing to 5,916 from 1925 to 1932 (1972). Armenians joined waves of immigrants who came to America in the early 1900s and began their adjustment to a new life in a free world.

An issue which surfaced in 1909, resurfaced in 1913 and again in 1924, threatened the security of Armenian immigrants. American citizenship excluded persons who were not white. The Naturalization Bureau in Washington claimed that Armenians were Asiatics, and as such, should be denied citizenship and the rights that accrued to citizens of the United States (Minasian, 1972; Mirak, 1980, 1983). Even though the controversy was settled by the courts in a decision defining the Armenians as white, confusion persisted over which race Armenians belonged to. In the late 1930s and early 1940s, when filling out forms which required one to designate racial background, elementary and junior high school teachers informed me (the second generation Armenian-American author of this study) that I was Asian and not Caucasian. I remember being embarrassed because that made me different from most of my classmates. I did not understand what being Asian or Caucasian meant. A few years later I became clear about my racial designation and began to understand the racism couched in the distinctions.
Like other immigrants, Armenians experienced discrimination, language barriers, and employment and housing problems (Avakian, 1977; Kherdian, 1981; Mirak, 1983; Nelson, 1954; O'Grady, 1981; Shipley, 1984). Chains of migration saw Armenians help each other gain entry into America and live together or nearby as they settled into their new lives. Many struggled with the trauma of massacre and deportation, and clung to the comfort and security of old country ways.

Social life continued to center around family unity (Mirak, 1983; Nelson, 1954). Women continued to defer to men; the authority of the elder male was upheld; strict moral codes were adhered to— for the most part, women's lives were circumscribed and family bound (Avakian, 1985; Kherdian, 1981; Nelson, 1954).

Marriage, which was important in the old country, took on new meaning in America. In Kherdian's (1981) biography of Veron Dumehjian Kherdian, Veron's arranged marriage to an Armenian in America was explained, “They all were homeless and lost, and their salvation lay in the community, whose future depended on the marriages that would ensure further generations” (p. 123). Abajian's (1984) autobiography tells of her arrival in America as a widow and her remarriage to an Armenian: “We knew we were coming together to make a family. We knew that this was different, that we were different” (Abajian, 1984, p. 102).

Many young Armenian adults in the diaspora were left without parents to arrange marriages in the old country fashion. Single Armenian men in America often sought wives through arrangements mediated by friends, relatives or marriage brokers—sometimes exchanging photos with Armenian women...
overseas (Mirak, 1983; Nelson, 1954). Veron Dumehjian Kherdian, an orphan, was a “picture bride”. Kherdian (1981) describes her expectations of her forthcoming marriage in Racine:

She would pray for the best, for herself and for the man she had agreed to marry—her ticket to America (p. 2)....Veron was not unaware that there were options should the marriage prove intolerable....She knew there was divorce in America. Yet, she did not want to consider it because it carried a stigma that not only would ostracize her from the community in Racine, but would follow her wherever she went. On the other hand, it was a comfort to know if the worse came to the worst, there was this option. She knew little about what the actual obligations of marriage entailed. But she had been taught that if a man was not lazy and did not drink or gamble, then he was considered eligible for marriage and a worthy mate. No wife had the right to complain if a man did not commit these cardinal sins. Any other faults he might have were considered minor human frailties. (p. 122)

A woman's survival and the quality of her life continued to be dependent on a man, with minimal expectations of her spouse, and the painful solution of divorce if the very worse were to happen. It was known that divorce existed in America, but it was unacceptable to Armenians (Kherdian, 1981; Mirak, 1980, 1983; Nelson, 1954).

Like other immigrants, Armenians made adjustments where needed as they settled into marriages, homes and jobs. Waldstreicher (1989) claims that, “Prejudice has led many [Armenian-] American immigrants to shorten or change their names” (p. 97). On the other hand, pride in the family name is indicated in Nelson's (1954) study of Armenians in Fresno, California, which found very little name changes. In a poignant illustration, Apranian (1982) explains the importance of preserving one's Armenian name. In 1924, at the Armenian boys' Farm Home in Canada, the names of all the orphan boys were Anglicized. At a meeting between the staff and some of the boys, an emotional plea was made by one of the boys on behalf of the others, “All he has left of his
past is his name. Please sir, you won't take that away from him, will you?" (p. 45) The boys reclaimed their Armenian names (1982).

During the period of adjustment to a new way of life in America, the status of Armenian women changed in an important way. They began to move outside of the home into community roles: they established and operated Armenian language schools, became involved in charitable organizations and church activities—and when financial straits required, some took jobs (Mirak, 1983). These changes are reminiscent of the Armenian woman’s work role in the old country, and also of the later role of American women in community activities as described by Parsons (1949) in Section 1 of this chapter.

In regard to women working outside of the home, just as Villa and Matossian (1982) report that in the old-country Armenian women were expected to be homebound unless needed in the fields at harvest time, in America, women’s work outside of the home was acceptable when financial straits required. In American society, before World War II, women were encouraged to stay home—until their help was needed during the labor shortage created by the large number of the male labor pool going off to war. Women were then encouraged to help the war effort by working in factories and other jobs to replace the men in the armed forces. After the war, when the men who returned from service needed jobs, women were encouraged to stay home again. However, women still were not granted equal status with men (Friedan, 1983).

In the Armenian-American community, there were still instances of women being segregated in church (Mirak, 1983). A second-generation male, recalling his youth says, “Back in those pre-women’s-lib days, all females were relegated to the church balcony and their heads were covered with little black
shawls" (Thomajian, 1983, p. 92). Despite traditions which tended to relegate women to circumscribed roles, women's contributions continued to enrich family and community life.

Women were the primary force behind Armenian language schools (Mirak, 1983). Unlike their forebearers, education for their children was highly prized by Armenian immigrant parents. According to Mirak (1980), "In 1921 Armenians were said to have the most students in college in proportion to their numbers of any immigrant group" (p. 142). Along with obtaining an education in American schools, children attended Armenian language schools. Hard work and pride, qualities that were instilled in the old country, helped the new immigrants get established. An Armenian victim of the Turkish turmoil says that his parents taught him that even in the worst of times, "I should try to earn my bread with the labor of my own hands" (Hartunian, 1968, p. 67). Mirak (1983) reports that great value was placed on avoiding public welfare. Not all were able to actualize the value of not being on public welfare, especially during the great depression. One way or another, with courage, faith and determination, Armenian parents managed to establish a home life and an Armenian community. They tried to adjust to the American way of life and at the same time preserve their Armenian heritage without diminishing their Armenian beliefs and values.

The Second Generation

An ERIC search and investigation of other sources was conducted to gather information about Armenians in general and second generation Armenian-American women specifically. Sources included two private Armenian libraries in Massachusetts: the Armenian Library and Museum of
America and the library of the National Association for Armenian Studies and Research, both in Belmont. Research on second generation Armenian-Americans is sparse.

Findings about second generation Armenian-Americans have been similar in geographically diverse locations such as: Boston, Massachusetts (Phillips, 1978); Amherst and Boston, Massachusetts; New York, New Jersey (Avakian, 1985); Fresno, California (Nelson, 1954); Portland, Maine (Mezoian, 1985); Washington, District of Columbia (O'Grady, 1979, 1981); Sidney, Australia (Kirkland, 1984). Results of these studies and others shed light on generational value transitions that affected the lives of Armenians in the diaspora.

At the present time, the Avakian (1985) study is the only one that focuses on second generation Armenian-American women. The study consists of an in-depth autobiography, plus data from interviews of two groups of second generation Armenian-American women—one group from the Boston, Massachusetts area, and the other from the Amherst, Massachusetts area. Based on limited available data, this section discusses some of the findings and attempts to provide insight and knowledge about daughters of Armenian immigrants—immigrants who survived the horrors of attempted genocide, and brought with them a legacy steeped in an ancient culture.

As Armenians encountered new situations in America, it became increasingly difficult to retain old customs without some revision—some were maintained—many gave way to change. The paternalistic character of Armenian home life was carried over to the new world. The extent to which daughters sought paternal approval is illustrated in the following narrative:

A memorable day in the life of Zabel Papazian was the one when she received her first adult ladies bob haircut from her [barber] brother Aram
in 1927. It took years to convince her father Setrak to let her have it cut. 'My brother hated to cut it, she said, but finally my father gave in because I cried so much to get it cut. Parents were very strict in those days, and it wasn't until my junior year at Portland [Maine] High School that he allowed my brother to cut it' (Mezoian, 1985, p. 57).

Women continued to defer to male family members and understood, as did other Armenians, that one's personal conduct reflected on other Armenians. A feeling of attachment and responsibility to one's Armenian community pervaded the Armenian psyche. Phillips (1978) speaks of "strong feelings by Armenians that they should solve their own problems and not expose their weaknesses or deficiencies before non-Armenians. Very few Armenians ever go on welfare. There is a feeling that this is a disgrace and brings shame, not just to the welfare recipient but to all Armenians" (pp. 113-114).

In contrast to Western individualism, Armenians tend to have a more collective orientation (O'Grady, 1981; Phillips, 1978). Namias (1978) comments that in her interview of an Armenian genocide survivor, "One sensed the fusion of her personal world and that of her people" (p. 89). Phillips describes this connectiveness as,

this sense of being part of a scattered kin group....Armenians search for other Armenian faces and names in crowds and lists of names. In cultural and ethnic heterogeneity of the American school system, Armenian students actively search for one another. This strong sense of shared descent is a result of the conditions of emigration from the Armenian lands. These conditions, particularly the genocide of the Armenians, have intensified Armenian identity. (p. 275)

O'Grady (1981) and Phillips (1978) attribute the collective Armenian identity to the shared symbols of a common history. That history includes being the first nation to adopt Christianity as a state religion (in the year 301); an ancient, common language; a lost land and nation; the nationalistic Armenian church; and the destruction of the genocide. According to Phillips (1978),

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In history as it is symbolized...there is a selection process involved in which some events are forgotten or repressed and others are emphasized and embroidered and become legends. History as it is transmitted from generation to generation is arranged into paradigms, and these paradigms or cultural models have a major impact on collective identity and channel reactions to contemporary situations. (p. 34)

Despite a sense of unity as a people, Armenians in the United States have been divided by the rivalry of different political and religious ideologies. The rivalry of two major political factions basically centers on the Soviet rule of Armenia. Those committed to Ramgavar and Hunchagian ideologies accept the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic as a realistic solution to the survival of an Armenia, as opposed to an Armenia that would be under Turkish domain. Those aligned with the Tashnag party are committed to a free and independent Armenia which is not under Soviet rule. Other Armenians are uncommitted or neutral on the subject.

Armenians who belong to an Armenian religion are Armenian Apostolic, Armenian Protestant or Armenian Catholic. The political/religious divisiveness in the Armenian-American community manifests itself in Armenian Apostolics being divided in their allegiance to rival diocese. The spiritual head of one diocese is located in Etchmiadzin, in the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic. The spiritual head of the other diocese is located in Antelias, Lebanon.

Passionate feelings about which political/religious side one belonged to created hostility among the immigrant generation and estranged many families and friends. Many second generation Armenians inherited their parents' beliefs in these matters and experienced the admonishment to marry someone of the same persuasion. As in the first generation, some of the second generation tried, with varying degrees of success, to maintain a neutral stance.
In addition to the Armenian Apostolic church being enmeshed in political divisiveness, feelings persist that a real Armenian is Apostolic. Phillips (1978) reports that,

To some Apostolics, the Protestant Armenians are 'not even Armenian'. They have forsaken the Church of Armenia and, thereby have erased their Armenian roots. For example, an Apostolic priest, when asked how many Armenians he guessed there were in the United States, replied, half seriously, “First of all, count only Apostolics. The rest are not Armenian’. (p. 219)”

In recent years, Armenian-Americans have made efforts to set aside differences and unite. These efforts have had some measure of success in the joining together to commemorate the Armenian genocide. Joining together for social events sponsored by either side has met with less success. Except for individual friendships, political and religious differences have not completely lost the ability to create distance among Armenians of differing factions.

The impact of increased interaction with non-Armenians is reflected in changes in socializing patterns (Mirak, 1980; O'Grady, 1981). Emphasis on education, the professions, and self-employment resulted in rapid upward mobility (1980; 1981). Mirak (1980) reports that “A 1976 study noted that there were 1,252 Armenians in academic life in the United States, 31 per 10,000 of the U.S. Armenian population, compared to only 21 academics for every 10,000 in the U.S. population as a whole” (p. 142). As second generation Armenians joined the heterogeneity of academia and prospered in other professions, many moved to the suburbs, away from the insulation of their Armenian world (Avakian, 1985; Nelson, 1954; O'Grady, 1981; Phillips, 1978).

O'Grady (1981) points out that,

While a shared symbol system has a unifying effect, Armenians as ethnic Americans living in a heterogeneous society have available a wide range of
choices in the behavior they can exhibit....Factors such as physical distance from church, residential dispersion throughout the suburban area, marriage to a non-Armenian, education, and occupation contribute to the behavioral diversity exhibited by Armenians....There is a wide variation in the participation of individual Armenians in the activities of the Armenian community....Armenians can participate minimally or not at all...or...they can be fully immersed in the community. (pp. 76-78)

Although non-Armenian friends and the broadened horizons of an American world is appreciated, some Armenian women indicate a preference for Armenian friends because of a sense of kinship (Avakian, 1985; Nelson, 1954; O'Grady, 1981). Others have found a balance between their Armenian and American relationships. With a quote by “a very active middle-aged Armenian woman” (p. 80), O’Grady (1981) gives an example of balancing one's Armenian life with one’s American life as greater involvement with non-Armenians takes place, especially as it tends to in professional life: “...my two closest friends, one is Armenian and one is non-Armenian, and I love them both equally...[I] feel absolutely no problem in going from one world to the other” (p. 80). A clear distinction of living in two worlds is not uncommon in the lives of second generation Armenian-Americans who value both worlds.

Some second generation Armenians helped to establish institutions to ensure the preservation of their ethnic heritage. Since the 1950s, a number of institutions have been established which direct their efforts to the preservation of Armenian culture. As part of the effort to preserve the culture, steps have been taken to preserve the language (Avakian, 1977; Mirak, 1980; Wertsman, 1978). Even though Armenian is no longer the primary language usually spoken in the home—intermarriage being one contributing factor—the Armenian language is considered crucial to the preservation of Armenian culture.
The need for Armenian studies was also recognized. In 1959, the National Association for Armenian Studies and Research established a chair in Armenian studies at Harvard University—followed by a chair in Armenian studies at the University of California at Los Angeles, and a full time program at Columbia University. Armenian studies were also established at the University of Pennsylvania, Wayne State University at Detroit, Boston University and Fresno State College. Full time Armenian day schools were also established (Mirak, 1980) and curricula in Armenian studies were developed for primary and secondary schools (Mirak, 1980; Wertsman, 1978). In 1976, in La Verne, California, the first Armenian college in the United States was founded. These educational efforts have been reinforced by numerous Armenian cultural organizations. Another reinforcing factor has been the influx of Armenians from the Middle East which began in the 1960s (Avakian, 1977; Mirak, 1980; Wertsman, 1978).

Some second generation Armenian-Americans had the talent to capture their ethnic experience in writing. In Bedrosian's (1981) examination of ten Armenian-American literary figures, an excerpt from Keyishian's (1964) article on Armenian-American writer Richard Hagopian describes the second-generation viewpoint:

The first generation cannot be expected to be articulate in the new language; the third generation has no special need to be. Only from the troubled second does the pressure of conflicting loyalties force a unique statement of what it is like to be between two worlds, with an understanding of and sympathy for each, and the frustrations of being caught in a crossfire of conflicting and sometimes contradictory demands. The experience can confuse and embitter, or it can sharpen sensitivity and expand the consciousness of the person who always observes [her] his society through cultural bi-focals, who can bring to bear on his [her] experiences an understanding impossible to those whose awareness comes from only one source. (cited in Bedrosian, 1981, p. 28)
Second generation Armenian-American women, “caught in a crossfire of conflicting and sometimes contradictory demands” and cognizant of their role as culture-bearer, experience “what it is like to be caught between two worlds”. Diana Der Hovanessian (1987), a daughter of Armenian immigrants, is a noted translator of Armenian poetry. She expresses the voice of many Armenian-American women in her own work:

Two Voices
‘Do you think of yourself as an Armenian? Or an American? Or hyphenated American?’

In what language do I pray?
Do I meditate in language?
In what language am I trying to speak when I wake from dreams?
Do I think of myself as an American, or simply as woman when I wake?
Or do I think of the date and geography I wake into, as woman?...

Am I always conscious of genes and heredity or merely how to cross my legs at the ankle like a New England lady?

In a storm do I think of lightning striking? Or what knives dipped into my great aunt’s sisters’ sister’s blood?

Do I think of my grandfather telling about the election at that time of Teddy Roosevelt’s third party and riding with Woodrow Wilson in a Main Street parade in Worcester?

Or do I think of my grandmother at Ellis Island? or as an orphan in an Armenian village?
Or at a black stove in Worcester
baking blueberry pie for my grandfather
who preferred food he had grown
to like in lonely mill town
cafeterias while he studied
for night school?

Do I think of them as Armenian
or as tellers of the thousand and
one wonderful tales in two languages?

Do I think of myself as hyphenated?
No. Most of the time, even as you
I forget labels.

Unless you cut me.

Then I look at the blood.
It speaks in Armenian. (p. 6)

Although proud of their history and of being Armenian, some second
generation Armenian-American women have difficulty integrating their two
the difficulty stems from mixed messages they received while growing up which
tended to restrict their lives and keep them house bound. For example, some
mothers encouraged their daughters to get an education and have careers, and
yet retained their parental way of trying to control their children’s lives by
keeping them home as long as possible. For women who did not marry, leaving
home was a difficult undertaking, often occurring after many years of indecision
(Avakian, 1985).

Parents of second generation Armenians were strict moral disciplinarians
were especially restricted in order to protect sexual purity, and in so doing,
protect the family reputation (1985; 1984; 1980, 1983; 1954). Dating was not
allowed or was strongly discouraged in their growing-up years—especially discouraged was dating non-Armenians (Avakian, 1985; Mirak, 1983; Nelson, 1954). Social life centered around Armenian activities (1985; 1983; 1954). The lives of many second generation Armenian-American women reflected mixed feelings about Armenian ways.

Avakian (1985) and Nelson (1954) report that a number of women expressed regret over the dating restrictions with which they had to contend. While their American counterparts enjoyed more relaxed dating privileges, for most Armenian women, dating was strictly controlled. Restricted dating, as a way of preserving female chastity, assured the protection of an important qualification for marriage to the right man—an Armenian man (Avakian, 1985; Mirak, 1980, 1983; Nelson, 1954). It was understood that Armenian men preferred women for mates who “have not been around much” (Nelson, p. 78). Dating too much endangered a second generation Armenian-American woman’s eligibility for marriage to an Armenian man, and she was expected to marry within her ethnic group.

Like their own parents, second generation parents tended to prefer that their children marry Armenians; however, unlike their parents, there was more of a willingness to accept their children’s decisions to marry non-Armenians (Avakian, 1985; Nelson, 1954; O’Grady, 1981). According to Avakian’s (1985) study, although marriages were perceived to be more egalitarian than that of their parents, some second generation Armenian-American women admitted to deferring to their husbands—and spoke of a sense of loss of identity. In an American society, they attempted to follow Armenian values regarding marriage, striving to be tolerant of changes in the third generation, and those who were married tried to fulfill their role as the dutiful Armenian wife.
In the process of trying to integrate conflicting expectations, some recognized that the price was their own authentic identity. Traditional division of sex roles still existed. Husbands often were not expected to share in childcare or housework. Like their American counterparts, a number of respondents in Avakian's (1985) study expressed a belief in the superwoman myth—that they could have it all—career, marriage, family, self-fulfillment. The myth of the Armenian-American superwoman seems to be that she can find self-fulfillment by satisfying the expectations of her two worlds—expectations which sometimes conflict.

A familiar theme of second generation Armenian-American women is the description of their mothers as strong women. It seems that mothers were not as timid and obedient as they were represented to be (Avakian, 1985; Nelson, 1954). Mothers were credited for providing role models for those second generation women who had a strong sense of self (Avakian, 1985).

A distinction was made between the strength in women and the power in men (1985). Proudian's (1983) study, “Perceived Power and Parental Identification Among Armenian-American Adolescents”, may in part explain the distinction. Proudian says of third generation daughters who describe the power that they attribute to their second generation mothers,

While girls perceived mother to have more power than boys, they did not differ on the perception of father's over-all power. Also, while fathers were perceived to be stronger in Outcome Control powers, mothers were perceived to be stronger in Referent power (p. 1102).

To third generation children, second generation mothers seemed to stand for a dimension of power that was different from that of their fathers—just as first generation parents exhibited a distinctive strength and power to second generation women: mothers symbolized strength, fathers evinced authority.
There was a certain ambivalence that many second generation Armenian-American women lived with. On the one hand they were told that they needed to be taken care of. On the other hand, they were told that they needed to be strong in order to take care of others (Avakian, 1985). They were told to be proud of their Armenian names, but some were embarrassed when others had difficulty with the pronunciation. Many felt a responsibility to transmit their culture to the children—language, religion, and family values; however, there was a wide variety of opinions on how best to fulfill their roles as mothers, wives, and as women (1985).

In her autobiography, Avakian (1985) recalls that, “Growing up meant enduring whatever one felt silently” (p. 283). She tells of not being able to talk to her mother about sex-related topics (1985). For the most part, the issue of sexuality regarding second generation Armenian-American women remains unspoken. It is not discussed in the available literature. Many second generation Armenian-American women are not used to articulating their own feelings about sexuality and other matters (Avakian, 1985).

When their mothers spoke of the genocide, these women listened to their mothers’ stories with mixed emotions. Some did not want to hear them. Others, feeling that the world did not care, listened and felt their mothers’ pain and the anguish of their people. The identity of second generation Armenian-Americans is linked with the genocide experience—ranging from resistance to hearing about its reality, to a responsibility for the telling.

Avakian (1985) and the respondents of her interviews speak of the effects of the genocide on their mothers and grandmothers—of the guilt of survival. Mirak (1983) suggests that the Christian beliefs of the Armenians instilled in
them a silent acceptance of oppression. Phillips (1978) tells of the “emphasis on collective suffering and survival” (p. 3) as a theme of Armenian culture.

Nersoyan (1985), Professor of Philosophy, author, lecturer, and proponent of Armenian studies, suggests that there is

...no merit in mere survival....Rational people who are morally aware survive in order to have more time to do what they can by way of improving the world physically, mentally or spiritually, fulfilling themselves in the process. (p. 4)

He suggests further, that “...to present the Armenian experience to ourselves and to the world...the life of our people may be woven into the life of the world, in order to improve the quality of that life” (p. 4). We are advised to learn from the past.

There is increased recognition of the connection between the Armenian genocide and the Jewish holocaust. Laufer (1985-1986) reports two recorded instances of comments by Hitler which referred to the Armenian genocide, illustrating Hitler’s connection to the atrocities against the Jewish people with atrocities against the Armenian people. In an interview by journalist Richard Breiting on May 4, 1931, in Munich, Hitler remarked, “In 1923 little Greece [Turkey] could resettle a million people (from Turkey). Think of the deportations in the Bible and the massacres of the Middle Ages and remember the extermination of the Armenians” (p. 81). In 1939, when explaining to his generals his rationale for the Nazi invasion of Poland, Hitler stated, “Who today remembers the Armenians?” (p. 81) Is it a giant leap from sexism, racism, ageism, ableism, anti-semitism, homophobia and other forms of oppression that are witnessed in everyday life to the ultimate oppression of genocide and holocaust?
It is not the type of oppression or the extent of oppression that is critical: one person, a million people, two million people—physical oppression or psychological oppression. What is critical is the awareness and understanding of the ways of oppression and knowing how to intervene so that the path of oppression can be interrupted at its first instance when encountered. Second generation Armenian-American share the sexist oppression that all women in American society are exposed to. They are children of ethnic parents who survived the first reported genocide of the twentieth century. It is safe to say that the magnitude of oppression in their lives has influenced their identity formation in specific ways.

According to Danielian (1972), social scientists “express the view that the suppression or neglect of cultural identities leads to chronic tension, anomie and hostile suspicions between ethnic groups; that prejudice can only be reduced by the promotion (not suppression) of healthy ethnic identities” (p. 129). Second generation Armenian-American women and their parents are members of an ethnic group whose history is replete with the suppression of their ethnic identity. Their recent history contains the experience of genocide—people lived by and died for their values and beliefs. That recent history emphasizes the consequences of oppression—imposed values disempower and dehumanize people.

It is clear that sexist oppression and genocide have impacted on the lives of second generation Armenian-American women. By using values clarification methodology to collect data about the lives and identity formation of second generation Armenian-American women, this study attempts to raise awareness about the influence of values and beliefs which were forged in an environment
that contains within it forces of oppression—and to concurrently measure the
effects of values clarification methodology on self-concept. Values clarification
theory contends that clear and cherished values which are freely chosen and
acted upon in a consistent manner after careful consideration of alternatives can
lead to increased self-concept and enhanced lives. Avakian (1985) concluded
her report on interviews of Armenian-American women with the following
statement: “In many ways this project is the first word on Armenian-American
women. It is a conversation that needs to be continued” (p. 33, Appendix).
Values clarification workshops are offered as one of a number of appropriate
forums for continuing the dialogue, with the trichotomous aim of (a) helping
second generation Armenian-American women clarify their values, (b)
measuring the effects of values clarification methodology on self concept, and
(c) collecting data about second generation Armenian-American women who
are children of survivors of the Armenian genocide by the Ottoman Turk.
Values clarification theory is discussed in Part 3, the following section of this
chapter.

Part 3: Values Clarification Theory

The core of values clarification theory is in keeping with Maslow’s (1962)
proposition about growth and self-actualization: “The human being needs a
framework of values...to live by and understand...the cognitive need to
understand” (p. 43). Values and beliefs, which influence behavior, are
intertwined with the individual’s primary goal of self-actualization.

Many researchers and scholars contend that clear, consistent, and deeply
felt values are central to the development of fully functioning personalities—
individuals who tend to live meaningful, productive and enthusiastic lives of

Part 1 of this chapter traces the evolution of beliefs and values which impact on the self-concept of women in the Western culture of American society. Part 2 presents a portrayal of second generation Armenian-American women from the perspective of an historical overview of the Armenian people and the evolution of Armenian beliefs and values which filtered down to second generation women. The presentation of the review of the literature regarding values clarification theory in this portion of the chapter, Part 3, is organized as follows: (a) Values Clarification: Theory and Method; (b) Values Clarification Methodology in the Classroom and Beyond; (c) Values Clarification and Other Values Theories: Comparisons and Contrasts; (d) Critiques of Values Clarification Theory; (e) Relationships Between Values Clarification and Women’s Identity Formation.

Values Clarification: Theory and Method

The goal of values clarification is to help people live more satisfying lives and to become more constructive members of society (Kirschenbaum, 1977b; Raths et al., 1978). According to Frankl (1959) and Simon and Massey (1975), the search for a sense of self moves individuals to question values and beliefs
that give meaning to life and hold promise for the fulfillment of potentialities. Frankl (1959) claims that the search for values and meaning may arouse anxiety. Values clarification methodology seeks to help individuals identify and understand their values in a safe, nonjudgmental environment (Harmin et al., 1973; Kirschenbaum, 1977a; Peckenpaugh, 1977; Raths et al., 1978; Simon et al., 1978).

Louis L. Raths, Merrill Harmin & Sidney B. Simon (1978), founders of values clarification theory, present their theory in the book entitled, *Values and Teaching: Working with Values in the Classroom*. Their theory originated from the pioneer work of Raths who was influenced by the educational philosophies of John Dewey. Values clarification theory is in keeping with Dewey's belief that experiential learning is more effective than traditional expository teaching methods which serve in presenting information, but do not stimulate active thinking (Dewey, 1938, 1964; Raths et al., 1966, 1967, 1978).


It is theorized that persons with unclear values tend to exhibit behaviors that indicate confusion about the relationship of self to others and to society (Krathwohl et al., 1964; Peck & Havighurst, 1960; Raths et al., 1966, 1978). Raths, Harmin and Simon (1966, 1978) identify certain self-defeating patterns
of behaviors that emerge as a result of value confusion: uncertainty, inconsistency, drifting, overconforming, overdissenting and role playing. They contend that delimiting behavior can be overcome by clarifying one's values through values clarification methodology, and that energy diffused by value confusion can be redirected to what is meaningful and worthwhile to the individual (1966, 1978). The focus of values clarification theory is on a valuing process rather than on identification or measurement of absolute values (Raths et al., 1966, 1978). According to Raths et al. (1966, 1978), the definition of a value is based on the following three processes and seven subprocesses or criteria:

Choosing: (1) Freely
(2) from alternatives
(3) after thoughtful consideration of the consequences of each alternative

Prizing: (4) cherishing, being happy with the choice
(5) willing to affirm the choice publicly

Acting: (6) doing something with the choice
(7) repeatedly, in some pattern of life.

Those processes collectively define valuing. Results of the valuing process are called values. (p. 30)

Aspirations, beliefs, attitudes, interests, purposes and feelings may indicate the presence of potential values; however, if they do not meet all seven criteria they are not values but are called value indicators (1966, 1978). Strategies and techniques which are used to process the seven criteria are intended to simultaneously provide opportunities to develop thinking skills
while moving toward value actualization in all of its dimensions. Kirschenbaum (1977b) views the valuing process as consisting of five dimensions: thinking, feeling, choosing, communicating, and acting.

Given the importance of values in social and personal matters, proponents of values clarification advise that inquiry and exploration of one's values should be included in classroom discussions (Raths et al., 1966, 1967, 1978). Raths, Wasserman, Jonas and Rothstein's (1967) theory on teachers providing students with opportunities to think state "that certain behaviors of children are related to the child's lack of experience with thinking" (p. 292). According to Raths et al. (1967), the following behavioral syndromes are associated with inexperience in thinking: impulsiveness; overdependence on teachers; inability to concentrate; rigidity and inflexibility; dogmatic, assertive behavior; extreme lack of confidence; missing the meaning; and resistance to thinking (p. xiii).

Research supports the theory that when children are given many opportunities to think, there will be a positive change in behavior (p. 305). Some educational theorists contend that clear values derived from accurate thinking increase appropriate behavior necessary for personal satisfaction and responsible citizenship (Kirschenbaum, 1977; Kirschenbaum & Simon, 1974; Raths et al., 1966, 1978; Rogers, 1969).

In recognizing students as feeling-thinking human beings, humanistic educators strive to synthesize the feeling or emotional aspects of experience (affective domain) with intellectual, abstract thinking (cognitive domain). Intellectual learning involves feelings, just as feelings involve the mind (Brown, 1975). The emphasis in values clarification methodology is on engaging both intellect and emotion in the exploration of values (Raths et al., 1966, 1967,
1978). Values clarification is a working, integrative theory that incorporates the theories, philosophies and practices of humanistic education in teaching that results in behavior emanating from internal indicators.

Humanistic education, sometimes called psychological education or confluent education, integrates affective and cognitive elements in learning (Brown, 1975). According to Brown (1975), educators would do well to recognize that the "integration of affective learning with cognitive learning benefits both domains" (p. 60). Alschuler (1975) states that humanistic/psychological education attempts to promote psychological growth by "the integration and simultaneous development of thoughts, feelings and actions" (p. 66). Leading proponents of humanistic education agree on the concept of integrating the affective and cognitive domain for effective learning; however, the underlying principles of humanistic education have not always been clearly articulated.

Shapiro’s (1985) report of his study on the essential elements of humanistic education, submits the following “fifteen major operating value principles...derived from 40 representative and well-known humanistic educators”:

1. Process-oriented (‘how’ more important than ‘what’ or ‘why’).
2. Self-determination (autonomy, self-direction and self-evaluation).
3. Connectedness (empathy, pluralism, relationships).
4. Relevancy (personal meaning and readiness to learn).
5. Integration (affect with cognition, living with learning).
7. Affective (experiential) bias (preference for concrete feelings and sensing).
8. Innovation (social change orientation, anti-authoritarianism).
12. Individualism (authenticity, freedom, person over state or collective).
13. Reality claims (defines 'reality' as concrete and pragmatic).
15. Variety-Creativity (spontaneity, originality, diversity). (p. 99)

As with other methods of teaching in humanistic education, values clarification methodology strives to implement the principles of humanistic education which Shapiro's (1985, 1986) studies identify. The design and implementation of values clarification learning situations include critical thinking skills in problem-solving formats centered on life issues which are relevant to the learner. Weinstein and Fantini (1975) state that "unless knowledge is related to an affective state in the learner, the likelihood that it will influence behavior is limited" (p. 109). Krathwohl, Bloom and Masia (1964) in support of the importance of the affective domain in learning, point out, "The affective domain contains the forces that determine the nature of an individual's life and ultimately the life of an entire people" (p. 91). Weinstein and Fantini (1975) do not view cognitive and affect as contradictory forces, but as complementary forces needed in education for an individual to learn "to behave appropriately as a citizen in an open society—'humanistic behavior'" (p. 112). There is great emphasis in humanistic education to recognize and address both the cognitive and affective domain.
Bloom (1956) describes the link between cognitive and affective processes in explaining his hierarchical classification of educational objectives in the cognitive domain. Bloom's taxonomy contains six major classes which are organized from the simple to the more complex behaviors. The six classes are: (1.0) knowledge, (2.0) comprehension, (3.0) application, (4.0) analysis, (5.0) synthesis, and (6.0) evaluation. The simpler behaviors are components of the more complex behaviors. Evaluation, at the highest level of the cognitive processes, involves some combination of the lower level behaviors. According to Bloom, "Evaluation represents not only an end process in dealing with cognitive behaviors but also a major link with the affective behaviors where values, liking, and enjoying (and their absence or contraries) are the central processes involved" (p. 185).

In their presentation of educational objectives in the affective domain, Krathwohl et al. (1964) elucidate the relations between the categories of the cognitive and affective domains. The affective domain taxonomy is an hierarchical classification arranged along a continuum of internalization, from lowest to highest. The categories are: (1.0) receiving (attending), (2.0) responding, (3.0) valuing, (4.0) organization, (4.1) conceptualization of a value, (4.2) organization of a value, (5.0) characterization by a value or value complex (p. 95). Krathwohl et al. describe the overlap in the two domains as follows:
Comparing the two taxonomies illustrates the relationships between thinking, feeling, and valuing.

One needs to understand the complexity of the thought process involved in arriving at one's values in order to determine the appropriateness of teaching methodologies which offer students learning opportunities for developing their own values. In the past, as each era struggled with societal changes that brought with it new values, the traditional value transmitting institutions such as family, church, and school were looked to for guidance. The family, church, and school no longer are the primary sources of imparting values. People living in today's mobile, technological society, informed by extensive mass media about
innumerable aspects of their lives, are constantly faced with decision-making situations (Kirschenbaum and Simon, 1974; Kirschenbaum, 1977a; Naisbitt, 1984; Raths et al., 1978; Simon et al., 1978; Toffler, 1970, 1974, 1980).

Adaptation in a rapidly changing society requires skilled decision-making for choosing from a multitude of alternatives. People need to know how to sort out the constantly changing, sometimes confusing, often times conflicting values that impinge on their lives from a myriad of sources (1974; 1977a; 1984; 1978; 1978; 1970, 1974, 1980).

Bloom (1956) advocates the development of reasoning skills to enable individuals to deal with the new situations of a rapidly changing culture. As members of a democracy, individuals are expected to make decisions that require independent decision-making. Proponents of values clarification theory contend that the process of valuing presented by their theory offers skills that can be applied to many areas of life for individuals of any age level (Harmin et al., 1973; Kirschenbaum & Simon, 1974; Raths et al., 1978; Simon et al., 1978).

Raths et al. (1978) and Rogers (1969) posit that a fully functioning person needs to know how to learn as opposed to what to learn, because values change and evolve as a result of the individual's differing life experiences. Rogers' view on learning is that an educated person is one

who has learned how to learn...who has learned how to adapt and change...who has realized that no knowledge is secure; that only the process of seeking knowledge gives a basis for security. (p. 104)

Raths et al. state that,

The development of values is a personal and lifelong process. As the world changes, as we change, and as we strive to change the world again, we have many decisions to make and we should be learning how to make these decisions. (1966, p. 37)
Values Clarification Methodology in the Classroom and Beyond

Kirschenbaum & Simon (1974) and Raths et al. (1978) assert that moralizing, modeling and/or imposing no longer work as effective ways to transmit values. They point out that in the past there was considerable agreement between educators and parents on what values children should be taught. Today, disagreement and confusion about values that are in constant flux leave little room for choosing values that could be appropriate for all situations (1974; 1978). According to Kirschenbaum and Simon (1974), there are so many models to emulate in a young person's life ("parents, teachers, religious leaders, peers, sports' figures, movie, television and recording stars"), that to choose one becomes an overwhelming task. They urge that education "consciously and deliberately" teach a process of valuing because of "unknown challenges of the future" and "difficult value choices" (p. 263).

The original aim of values clarification methodology was to increase student learning by dealing with values issues in the classroom. Harmin, Kirschenbaum & Simon (1973) point out that schools usually teach at a facts or concept level or a combination of the two, but rarely at a values level. They recommend a three-level concept of teaching: the facts level, the concepts level and the values level. The authors of the three-level concept of teaching contend that optimum learning occurs when subject matter is presented so that students learn specific information (facts level); understand underlying principles and generalize (concepts level); and relate subject matter to their own lives (values level) (1973).

The Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (1962) views learning as encompassing a total personality, and that "unless behavior
has changed, one has not really learned” (p. 199). Rogers (1969) illuminates the difficulty inherent in learning which involves change in one’s sense of self: “Learning which involves a change of self-organization—in the perception of oneself—is threatening and tends to be resisted” (p. 159). Educators need to understand the difficulty that learners contend with when faced with learning which calls for such change.

Raths et al. (1978) direct teachers to work toward developing a psychologically safe learning climate. The guidelines which are offered to accomplish the climate necessary for clarifying values parallel the qualities that Rogers (1969) sets forth as qualities that promote learning, that is, genuineness, prizing, caring, acceptance, trust, and empathetic understanding. Rogers believes that a learning environment based on these qualities stimulates “self-initiated learning and growth” (Roger, 1969, p. 126).

The purpose of values clarification is to help individuals discover their own values by providing opportunities for value exploration in such a manner that values will be freely chosen, prized and acted upon after careful consideration of alternatives (Raths et al., 1978). The values clarification concept of free, informed choice in choosing one’s values is based on the view that humans are capable of intelligent, self-directed decision-making. Teachers are admonished not to impose their values on students. Howe and Howe’s (1975) book, Personalizing Education: Values Clarification and Beyond, was written to help teachers organize and manage personalized classrooms so as to “build a climate of trust, meet student needs, help students clarify their values and become self-directed, and provide for individual learning differences” (p. 27).
Teachers are often in the difficult position of being expected to teach accepted values in a pluralistic society of diverse values. Knowing which values are acceptable can be problematic (Butts, 1977; Kirschenbaum & Simon, 1974; Peckenpaugh, 1977; Raths et al., 1978). Community and societal support for school involvement in the teaching of values has changed with the times.

Handlin (1959) tells of the influential role of the school in inculcating values during the early part of the nineteenth century, and of Dewey's revolt against the “widening gap between the school and the society evolving around it” (p. 16), which heralded a time of change in the nation and its schools, leading the way to innovative ideas in progressive education (1959). The turbulent social climate in the United States in the 1960s was favorable for putting innovative and progressive educational ideas into practice. A conservative trend in the 1980s advocated a back to basics in education that questions the appropriateness of schools being involved in teaching a valuing process.

While the question of including values issues in the schools continues to be debated, literature reports that advocates of values clarification are carrying on with their work in the schools and beyond. Kirschenbaum (1977b) points out the vast amount of literature related to values clarification that has come into existence since the 1960s.

The belief that values clarification is a valuable tool in the school in dealing with traditional subject matter has been expanded to include its use in a variety of other areas, such as:

1. in counseling (Glasser & Kirschenbaum, 1980; Havens & Morrison, 1982; Simon, 1973a);
2. in racism (Goodman et al., 1973; Simon & Carnes, 1973);
3. in drug abuse (Blokker et al., 1976);
4. in environmental education (Knapp, 1973);
5. in religious education (McEniry, 1982; Simon, 1973b; Simon et al., 1973; Simon & Hayes, 1984; Westerhoff, 1970);
6. in health education (Osman, 1973);
7. in family relations (Kirschenbaum, 1973a; Simon, 1973c, 1980; Simon & Olds, 1976);
8. in career decisions (Franklin-Panek, 1980; Nitz, 1982);
9. in sex education (McGinnis, 1981; Rees, 1973); and
10. in organizational settings (Kirschenbaum, 1973b).

One may reasonably view these as areas which touch the lives of many adults.

Strategies such as the clarifying response, the value sheet and other strategies which originated with the founders of values clarification theory have increased in number to include a variety of materials from the work of other practitioners in the field of psychological education and personal growth. The following resources are examples of some of the materials that are sometimes incorporated into values clarification methodology: achievement motivation (Alschuler, et al., 1971); rational-emotive theory (Ellis, 1975; Ellis & Harper, 1975); reality therapy (Glasser, 1965, 1981, 1984); communication and conflict resolution (Gordon, 1974); reevaluation counseling (Jackins, 1965); self-disclosure (Jourad, 1971); climate setting, learning facilitation and communication (Rogers, 1961, 1969); group processes in the classroom (Schmuck & Schmuck, 1975); and self-science (Weinstein, 1975, 1976; Weinstein & Fantini, 1975). The integrative nature of values clarification allows for the synergetic use of many such resources which can be appropriate for
stimulating inquiry and subsequent (sometimes concomitant) actions directed toward developing values.

The work of Louis E. Raths, the founding father of values clarification theory, is carried on by Sidney B. Simon, one of the co-founders of the theory. Simon continues to disseminate the work of values clarification through his numerous publications, speaking engagements, teaching at the University of Massachusetts, and presentation of values realization workshops. Special workshops to train individuals to train others in value clarification methodology are offered by Simon to those who complete a prescribed series of personal growth/values realization workshops conducted by him. In addition, an organization has been founded to carry on the work of values clarification: Values Realization Institute Incorporated is a nonprofit organization whose members are counselors, educators, business people and others who have been trained by Simon to do values realization training.

Values Clarification and Other Values Theories: Comparisons and Contrasts

The study of human values has been addressed from a number of different approaches. Definitions and descriptions abound with no general accord on a universally accepted definition. However, in the various studies that have examined the place of values in human development, the centrality of values to the human condition, that is, emotion, thought, and behavior, has not been disputed—as previously discussed in the review of literature in this chapter.

Values studies show that individual and group values shape and are shaped by society and its institutions, and by experience (Inlow, 1972; Kluckholn, 1951). Kluckholn defines a value as "a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the
selection from available modes, means, and ends of action” (1951, p. 395). He emphasizes that “affective ('desirable'), cognitive ('conception'), and conative ('selection') elements are all essential” (p. 395) to his definition of value.

Kluckholn's inclusion of the affective, cognitive and conative domains to value definition corresponds with the same assertion in values clarification theory. In addition to this similarity, Kluckholn's commentary on values stresses (1) choosing from alternatives, (2) evaluation in terms of consequences, (3) commitment to action, (4) consistency in behavior, and (5) verbalizability—which correspond to five of the seven criteria required by the valuing process of Raths et al. (1978).

In Kluckholn's (1951) distinction between explicit and implicit values, he explains that while everybody cannot always easily verbalize her or his values, their values are nonetheless values. Implicit values can be put into words by another to be either affirmed or disaffirmed by the person indicating the value by his or her consistent behavior. “Verbalizing is a necessary test of value” (p. 397), according to Kluckholn. Values clarification extends the notion of verbalizability to willingness to publicly affirm a value choice (Raths et al., 1978).

Kluckholn (1951) acknowledges universal values as givens of life, founded as a result of “the fundamental biological similarities of all human beings”....and “the circumstance that human existence is invariably a social existence” (p. 418). Kluckholn prefers the word universal rather than absolute in referring to values for which there is global agreement. He contends that

Some values may indeed be absolute because of the unchanging nature of [humankind] man or the inevitable conditions of human life. On the other hand, such an adjective is dangerous because culture transcends nature in at least some respects and because propositions about values are subject to
Values clarification theory and Kluckholn's values theory concur on the
distinction between universal and absolute values (Kluckholn, 1951; Raths et
al., 1978).

The concept of values, as defined by Kluckholn, includes a definition of
factors similar to a value. Like values clarification theory, Kluckholn contends
that beliefs, sentiments, emotions, drives, needs, attitudes and ideas are not
values, but indicators that a value is in the process of becoming. Choice and
action are necessary elements of a value, but are not required in the above
factors which can be involved in but do not constitute a value (Kluckholn, 1951;
Raths et al., 1978).

According to Kluckholn's (1951) explication of the relationship between
morals and values, morals are derived from socially agreed upon values which
guide conduct. Because human life is a social life dependent upon cooperation,
it has to be a moral life (1951).

Kohlberg's (1973, 1975) cognitive moral development theory is based on
Dewey (1964) and Piaget's (1965) work on the stages and levels of development.
Kohlberg's model of moral development consist of three levels:
preconventional, conventional, and postconventional with two stages within
each level. According to Kohlberg, individuals move through the moral stages in
consistent, invariant sequences of hierarchical integration: A higher level
cannot be achieved without advancing through the stage preceding it; an
individual's thinking is consistently at a single stage regardless of the moral issue
involved; movement is forward; as each higher level is achieved, preceding
stages are integrated into the current moral stage in a more differentiated, comprehensive structure. Progress through the moral levels and stages is related to cognitive development. Level of moral reasoning depends on the individual’s stage of logical reasoning—logical reasoning stages as they correspond to Piaget’s three major stages of reasoning: intuitive, concrete operational, and formal operational (Kohlberg, 1973, 1975).

Kohlberg’s theory and values clarification theory differ in structure. Kohlberg’s theory is developmental and hierarchical. Values clarification is neither developmental nor hierarchical in structure.

Kohlberg’s cognitive moral development theory and values clarification theory are similar in their use of Socratic discussions to stimulate active thinking. Identification of moral stages in Kohlberg’s theory is determined by examination of responses to moral dilemmas. Ten universal moral values are involved in moral dilemmas to elicit ethical choices between two or more of these values which are in conflict. The focus of moral reasoning is on the following ten universal moral values: punishment, property, roles and concerns of affection, roles and concerns of authority, law, life, liberty, distributive justice, truth, and sex (Kohlberg, 1975).

The following conditions are proposed for moral discussions:

1. Exposure to the next higher stage of reasoning;

2. Exposure to situations posing problems and contradictions for the child’s current moral structure, leading to dissatisfaction with his [her] current level;

3. An atmosphere of interchange and dialogue combining the first two conditions in which conflicting moral views are compared in an open manner (p. 675).
In addition to moral discussions, Kohlberg’s (1975) planned moral education model requires consideration of the moral environment of school, home, and the larger society. A necessary condition for moral growth is participation in a democratic atmosphere which provides role-taking opportunities and a perceived higher level of justice (1975).

Kohlberg describes moral development as the reconstruction of role taking and conceptions of justice toward greater adequacy. The reconstructions occur in order to achieve a better match between the child’s own moral structures and the structures of the social and moral situations [she] he confronts. We divide these conditions of match into two kinds: those dealing with moral discussions and communication and those dealing with the total moral environment or atmosphere in which the child lives. (1975, p. 675)

Both values clarification theory and Kohlberg’s theory oppose indoctrination of values. The two theories differ, however, in their emphasis on affective learning. Values clarification stresses the importance of both affective and cognitive thinking. Kohlberg’s moral reasoning is directly related to logical reasoning. In praising Kohlberg’s cognitive development approach to school counseling, Ivey (1980) states a preference to seeing Kohlberg’s theoretical model broadened to include the affective domain. He suggests as one of the ways, integration with “the dynamic methods of Sidney Simon” (p. 568) which calls for a combination of cognitive and affective approaches.

Kohlberg (1975) specifically differentiates moral education from value education and affective education, and equates moral education with civic education. However, Kohlberg and Wasserman (1980) recognize the place of the affective domain in thinking when they acknowledge that the changes experienced in moral development “are ways of thinking about the self, interpersonal relations, and judgments about right and wrong, though they also include major emotional or affective components” (p. 559).
According to Kohlberg (1975), “the moral development approach restricts value education to that which is moral or, more specifically, to justice” (p. 674). Values clarification methodology is not restricted to any one specific value issue, but, rather, considers valid any value concerns raised by those engaged in the values clarification process.

Rokeach (Rokeach & Regan, 1980) has defined a value as an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence (p. 577). The Rokeach Value Survey, which was designed to measure human values, consists of eighteen terminal values (desirable end-states of existence), and eighteen instrumental values (desirable modes of behavior) (Rokeach, 1979). Respondents are instructed “to arrange them in order of their importance to You, as guiding principles in Your life” (p. 129).

The Value Survey identifies terminal and instrumental values as follows:

Terminal Values
A Comfortable Life (a prosperous life)
An Exciting Life (a stimulating, active life)
A Sense of Accomplishment (lasting contribution)
A World at Peace (free of war and conflict)
A World of Beauty (beauty of nature and the arts)
Equality (brotherhood, equal opportunity for all)
Family Security (taking care of loved ones)
Freedom (independence, free choice)
Happiness (contentedness)
Inner Harmony (freedom from inner conflict)
Mature Love (sexual and spiritual intimacy)
National Security (protection from attack)
Pleasure (an enjoyable, leisurely life)
Salvation (saved, eternal life)
Self-respect (self-esteem)
Social Recognition (respect, admiration)
True Friendship (close companionship)
Wisdom (a mature understanding of life)
Instrumental Values
Ambitious (hard-working, aspiring)
Broadminded (open-minded)
Capable (competent, effective)
Cheerful (lighthearted, joyful)
Clean (neat, tidy)
Courageous (standing up for your beliefs)
Forgiving (willing to pardon others)
Helpful (working for the welfare of others)
Honest (sincere, truthful)
Imaginative (daring, creative)
Independent (self-reliant, self-sufficient)
Intellectual (intelligent, reflective)
Logical (consistent, rational)
Loving (affectionate, tender)
Obedient (dutiful, respectful)
Polite (courteous, well-mannered)
Responsible (dependable, reliable)
Self-controlled (restrained, self-disciplined)
(Rokeach, 1979, pp. 133-134)

Rokeach and Regan (1980) contend that long-term changes in values and behavior can be brought about by providing information to an individual about inconsistencies in his or her value system. They state that self-awareness, produced with the help of the Value Survey, and always accompanied by comparison with others, can arouse self-dissatisfaction, with resultant value and behavior change (1980).

Rokeach (1979) suggests that the self-awareness-comparison-self-dissatisfaction model for value and behavior change can be used in schools to provide substantive educational values. He advocates the inculcation of educational values in the school (Rokeach 1973, 1979). According to Rokeach (1979), “The top four terminal values for education are a sense of accomplishment, self-respect, wisdom and freedom, and the top four instrumental values are being responsible, capable, broadminded, and intellectual” (p. 263).

Values clarification theory and the Rokeach value theory are alike in their desire to produce behavior change through value clarification and in their Socratic approach to examining values and discovering inconsistencies. They differ in their definition of values. Although values clarification theory involves value assessment and subsequent value identification, the focus is on the valuing process which involves personal data generated by the individual on any value of personal concern. The focus of the Rokeach Value theory is on the measurement of values through the use of a list of specific values which are
determined on the basis of research data. The two theories also differ on the issue of values inculcation in the schools: Rokeach is in favor of inculcation—values clarification theory is opposed.

Analysis of the differences and similarities of the value theories presented, indicate that in spite of differences the theories can work together compatibly in mutually reinforcing ways. The following examples illustrate some of the ways they have been used together effectively.

McKenzie (1980) used values clarification methodologies with moral dilemma discussions to judge the effects on stimulating moral reasoning in high school juniors. It was concluded that the experimental curriculum had a significant effect on overall moral reasoning development.

The Rokeach Value Survey has been used in pretest and posttest measures in studies of values clarification effectiveness (Cloyd, 1982; Hobstetter, 1980; Patrick, 1982). Patrick (1982) researched the effectiveness of values clarification activities on the terminal and instrumental values of eighth graders. The study suggested that values clarification might be useful in enabling students to clarify their terminal and instrumental values.

In a study of intrapersonal values conflicts, Kinnier (1984) describes the Values Conflict Resolution Assessment which is adapted to assess the quality of specific conflict resolutions and which “consists of 15 Likert-scaled items derived from theoretical criteria of value clarity and rational decision making” (p. 209). Kinnier refers to the works of Dewey, 1939; Maslow, 1971; Rokeach, 1973; Janis and Mann, 1977; Rogers, 1977; and Raths, Harmin, and Simon, 1978.
The variety of data and premises regarding values and the human condition sometimes contradict each other and at other times support and reinforce preceding theories. Research which includes partnerships of different values theories can produce significant insight to knowledge about values and human development.

Critiques of Values Clarification Theory

According to Shapiro (1985), humanistic education has been the target of “many current religious, political, economic, and philosophical assaults” (p. 94). Like others in the field of humanistic education, values clarification has had its share of criticism—and of support.

In judging the merits and the faults of values clarification, some critics have questioned the appropriateness of using values clarification in the school, and some have questioned the validity of the theory. Some of the faults that have been cited are as follows:

- Values clarification has religious connotations—separation of church and state (Baer, 1982).
- Students are being indoctrinated in the beliefs held by values clarification—hidden agenda (Baer, 1982; Stewart, 1975).
- Values clarification is relativistic (Baer, 1982; Boyd & Bogdan, 1984; Ervay et al., 1983; Harrison, 1980).
- Children are too young to be involved in moral issues (Heller, 1979).
- There is insufficient research to support claims of effectiveness (Lockwood, 1977; Loggins, 1976; Stewart, 1975).
- Research designs are of dubious quality (Feldmesser & Cline, 1982; Lockwood, 1980; Stewart, 1975).
• There are no objective measurements to assess criteria fulfillment (Kohlberg, 1972; Stewart, 1975).

• The right to privacy is threatened (Baer, 1982; Heller, 1979, Lockwood, 1977).

• Students are coerced to the mean/peer pressure (Baer, 1982, Stewart, 1975).

Some of the criticism of values clarification is refuted by those who hold the following positions:

• Humanistic education does not take a stand on religious movements (Martin, 1982).

• Teachers are not imposing any particular set of values on students except democratic values implicit in the valuing process (Kirschenbaum, 1977c).

• Values clarification is not a value indoctrination program (Toll, 1977).

• Values clarification is aimed at value discernment and formulation, not value indoctrination (Brummer, 1984).

• The criticism of relativism is unfounded. The values of freedom, justice, equality, and rationality are demonstrated in the valuing process (Brummer, 1984).

• Far from being relativistic, values clarification supports the values of liberty, freedom, justice, equality, personal autonomy (Kirschenbaum, 1977).

• Most of the values clarification research that Lockwood (1980) examined was with elementary and secondary school students. The strategies seem workable with school-age individuals. Boyer (1977) suggests that values clarification seems to be a sound one that can help children. She cautions to keep the cognitive view of development in mind and refers to adaptations referred to in the values clarification handbook by Simon et al., 1978.

• Simon et al. (1978) point out that strategies can be applied to any age level as
long as they are adapted appropriately. Examples for elementary, secondary
and adult age levels are offered.

- Directions of research findings tended to support Raths’ theory
  (Kirschenbaum, 1977b).
- Although designs are far from perfect, 80% of studies yielded positive results
  (Kirschenbaum et al., 1977).
- Kirschenbaum (1977c) acknowledges that some research designs are of
dubious quality, but others are quite sound from a technical point of view (p.
402).
- Stewart (1977) implies that Kirschenbaum (1973c) supports Stewart’s
criticism of dogmatism in the valuing criteria of acting and of his criticism of
the lack of objective measurements to assess criteria fulfillment. Stewart’s
interpretation of Kirschenbaum’s statements omits reference to
Kirschenbaum’s point that his objection is to using the word criteria rather
than process. Kirschenbaum states that, “The overall goal of values
clarification is to return the locus of evaluation to the person, so that [she] he
is the controller of his [her] own valuing process” (pp. 96-97).

The preceding faults and merits represent some opinions from individuals
who have examined values clarification from different perspectives, and with
varying degrees of objectivity and professionalism. Such critiques can serve to
prompt continued redefinition and refinement of values clarification theory and
practice.

Early values clarification research focused on students and on teachers in
traditional school settings. Raths et al. (1966, 1978) in Values and Teaching:
Working with Values in the Classroom, and Kirschenbaum (1977a) in Advanced
Value Clarification, present summary reviews of some of those studies.
In spite of an expansion of values clarification into adult populations outside of school settings, results of an ERIC search showed a sparsity of research reports about values clarification and women's identity issues. Studies related to values clarification techniques and identity issues were reviewed. Summaries of some of those studies follow.

Cobb (1977) conducted a study to investigate the influence of values clarification training on teacher self-concept and values and the extent to which length of training affected subjects. The study was carried out during a three week graduate level workshop course and an 18 week, one semester, graduate level course. A sample of 106 teachers was used consisting of four separate groups, two enrolled in education courses and two in psychology courses. The education courses served as the treatment group and the psychology course served as the control group.

All subjects were administered pretests and posttests. The Tennessee Self-Concept Scale (TSCS) was used as a measure of self-concept. The Gardner Analysis of Personality Survey (GAP) was used as a measure of values. The following conclusions were made as a result of the study: Values clarification training affects teacher self-concept and values; the three week workshop seems to be the most effective length for values clarification training; the TSCS and GAP are related in what they aim to measure; values clarification training was thought to be enjoyable and useful when compared to all other graduate courses taken by the treatment group (1977).

In a study of a voluntary sample of 40 freshman college students who were identified as underachievers from a population of 210 college freshman, Musgrave (1977) investigated the relative effects of values clarification and
academic skills therapy on selected personality variables. The students were randomly assigned to either a values clarification or skills therapy group.

The California Psychological Inventory was used to measure differences in personality variables. Four hypotheses were tested: There will be no significant differences between groups in measures of: 1. poise, ascendency, self-assurance, and interpersonal adequacy; 2. socialization, responsibility, interpersonal values, and character; 3. achievement potential and intellectual efficiency; 4. the intellectual and interest modes.

The results of the study indicated that adaptability and flexibility were higher for the values clarification group than the skills group after treatment. The skills therapy tended to influence the students to be more moderate and conventional in their attitudes and more effected by the experiences of others (1977).

In Tolliver's (1980) study of the effect of values clarification on the self-actualization of urban high school teachers, two intact groups of 11 social studies teachers and 11 science teachers were chosen from a population of 16 departments in the school. The social studies teachers, as the experimental group, received nine weekly, audio-taped values clarification workshops for a total of 18 workshop hours. The science teachers were chosen as the control group by a lottery system of selection which included five other departments also requesting values clarification training. Values clarification was a high priority for the social studies department; however, on the first day of the workshops, the facilitator questioned the reason for some disruptive behavior and learned that it had not been a unanimous department decision to have the workshops. Despite the lack of unanimity, all of the teachers in the two departments participated in the workshops.
The experimental group consisted of 4 females and 7 males, ages ranging from 3 between 20-29, 4 between 30-39, 1 between 40-49, and 3 between 50-59. There were 5 females and 6 males in the control group ranging in ages of 6 between 20-29, 0 between 30-39, 1 between 40-49, and 4 between 50-59.

Attendance declined from 100% the first day to three present at the seventh session. The seventh session was repeated on the eighth week. Nine attended the last session. The average weekly attendance was 68.68% for the nine weeks.

Shostrom's Personal Orientation Inventory, developed in consultation with Maslow to assess self-actualization was administered as a pretest and posttest to all subjects in both the experimental group and the control group. Further data were gathered from the experimental group: The Post Workshop Individual Evaluation Report and the Individual Evaluation Report were used to evaluate each session; the Post Workshop Questionnaire was used after the last workshop to determine the effects of the workshop on the experimental group.

Conclusions drawn from the data indicate that participants in the values clarification workshops did not differ significantly in self-actualization measurements from teachers in the control group; the experimental group tended to view the values clarification workshops as contributing to their personal growth; and the values clarification workshops tended to help in the exploration and sharing of values (Tolliver, 1980).

Woess (1975) conducted a study which was not experimental nor empirically based, but rather a prototypical study. Woess designed a values clarification workshop for teachers of adults. Necessary workshop facilitator competencies in adult education and values clarification are described.
Anticipated participant competencies and educational activities and assessment criteria related to each competency are detailed. The affective, cognitive and physical elements of the educational setting are explicated. The time schedule and sequencing of educational events are described and the rationale for the sequencing is explained. A formative evaluation method was developed for the workshops.

A four member jury was selected to provide professional feedback which would either ratify or disapprove the design of the workshop. Two of the jury members were experts in the field of adult education and two were experts in values clarification. Jury members received workshop plans and voted to either revise or retain various portions of the workshop, using a jury form to mark their decisions. Feedback included written comments from jury members as well as responses on the jury form. The workshop was revised to include explanatory notes regarding the technical jargon. The workshop was generally supported by the jury.

Woess suggests that values clarification workshops might be useful for special interest groups and recommended that workshops be designed for such groups (1975). Acting on Woess' recommendation, values clarification workshops were designed and presented by this researcher for second generation Armenian-American women who are children of survivors of the Armenian genocide by the Ottoman Turk.

**Relationship Between Values Clarification and Women's Identity Formation**

Part 1 of this paper discusses the problems that women face in the development of a self-defined identity. Where internalized prescribed values are found to be at the root of problems, values clarification offers a valuing
process whereby women, through careful exploration, can define values that are appropriate for their chosen life-style.

Freire (1970) suggests that imposed values which result in prescriptive behavior and reinforce oppression create a culture of silence. Victims of oppression are prevented from critical awareness and responses to the economical, social and political realities of their world (1968).

Greenspan's (1983) "hidden protest of depression" can be likened to Freire's (1970) "muted group"—oppressed groups who have internalized the beliefs and values of the dominant group and suppressed their feelings of anger and powerlessness. Freire suggests that by entering into dialogue with others and critically viewing one's world in the context of one's own experience, the contradictions in personal and social life become evident, enabling people to deal with them. Dignity and hope are born out of this particular learning experience. Individuals gain a sense of self, of their potential, and of the issues that affect their lives. Such an education is seen as an instrument by which individuals can learn to be critical and creative participants in a world they are empowered to change (1970).

Values clarification provides the opportunity for such a dialogical encounter—for women to examine values issues in their lives—to consider the source and the effect. As they identify and select those that they cherish, they can move toward authentic self-development which includes freely chosen values. They may also recognize values or beliefs which are based on sexual inequality, for which they pay the psychic cost. In so doing, they may choose to deal with them in a way that will move them closer to a self-empowering, authentic self. Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger and Tarule (1986) explain that as women gain an internal locus of control,
Along with the discovery of personal authority arises a sense of voice—in its earliest, a 'still small voice' to which a woman begins to attend rather than the long-familiar external voices that have directed her life. This interior voice has become, for us, the hallmark of women's emergent sense of self and sense of agency and control. (p. 68)

Values clarification strategies are meant to involve individuals in discussions about values-related issues in a non-threatening way—with supportive confidence and skill building activities. To alleviate anxiety about delving into sensitive issues, some strategies may be introduced in a playful way. In the process of examining issues, women can gain critical thinking, decision-making, and communication skills.

Each woman is encouraged to assume responsibility for determining and taking action on values which are congruent with her inner self. The valuing process contributes to the on-going process of developing a self-defined identity. Together, women can help to create an environment which incorporates the strengths which are attributed to women in the literature—caring, cooperation, affiliation and creativity—a setting which utilizes women's strengths to help themselves and to help other women.

Chapter I and preceding portions of this chapter state the importance of values as internal indicators of human behavior as documented in the literature. From among the many values clarification strategies that are presented in the literature on values clarification theory, learning events can be created to provide the opportunity to gain empowering self-knowledge and skills. It is suggested that strategies be adapted and changed to fit the times and the situation.

The appropriateness of values clarification methodology in helping women with the establishment of a sound, valued identity is illustrated in Table 1.
Table 1

Relationship Between Values Clarification Process and Women's Empowerment and Skill Development

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Values Clarification Process/Criteria</th>
<th>Psychic or Societal Problem for Women</th>
<th>Empowerment and Skill Development</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Choosing freely</td>
<td>Internalization of prescribed values</td>
<td>Autonomous decision-making; independence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Choosing from alternatives</td>
<td>Limited choices as result of subordinate position in society</td>
<td>Creative problem solving; ability to generate options</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Choosing after consideration of each alternative</td>
<td>Social sanctions; socioeconomic reality; fear of alienation</td>
<td>Responsible decision-making</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Prizing, cherishing, being happy with choice</td>
<td>Devaluation of women's values, strengths, needs, desires</td>
<td>Recognition of strengths; self-affirmation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Willing to affirm the choice publicly</td>
<td>“Culture of silence”</td>
<td>Speaking in one's own voice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Continued, next page
Table 1 (continued)

6. Acting, doing something with the choice
   Self-doubt
   Self directedness; assertiveness

7. Acting repeatedly, in some pattern of life
   Changes in societal values and in role expectations; double bind of multiple role, i.e., "Superwoman syndrome"
   Integration of actions and inner self; confidence

Each of the values clarification criteria addresses specific problematic conditions women face in determining their identity—major issues that have been raised in recent female development theories as discussed in Part 1 of this chapter.

Values clarification literature is replete with strategies that can be adapted for use in conjunction with each valuing criteria and problem presented in Table 1. Strategies in Simon's (1974) Meeting Yourself Halfway are recommended by this researcher as particularly appropriate.

The bridge between values clarification methodology and women's identity formation and second generation Armenian-American women rests on the use of values clarification methodology to raise the awareness of women about the values which affect their lives, specifically, women who are second generation Armenian-American who are children of survivors of genocide. Many of these
values are embedded in the sexist environment of Western culture in American society. And many contain the influence of the racist oppression and genocide experienced by the Armenian people under the governance of the Ottoman Turk. The aim of using values clarification is to generate movement toward enhanced self-concept by raising the awareness of how one acquires values, some of which are acquired in the process of internalizing prescribed values in cultures of oppression.

Chapter III presents the methodology used in this study to design values clarification workshops for a select group of second generation Armenian-American women who are children of survivors of the Armenian genocide by the Ottoman Turk. The methodology consists of a two-part approach which utilizes in-depth interviews in the first portion of the study to gather data for designing relevant values clarification workshops which comprise the second portion of the study.
CHAPTER III
METHODOLOGY

This was a two part intensive qualitative study which also utilized quantitative measures. The first part of the study consisted of an ethnographic field research approach to collecting data. Four informants were selected for in-depth, open-ended interviews. Analyses and interpretations of data from the preliminary interviews were used in the design of an educational intervention, values clarification workshops, which was conducted in the second part of the study. Sixteen participants were involved in the educational intervention. Participants engaged in a one month period of values clarification activities which included a day-long workshop at the beginning of the month; another at the end of the month; and a take-home values clarification workbook requiring entries every other day.

During the workshops, quantitative measures were used in the service of the qualitative design, thus allowing for additional data collection. Qualitative research is sometimes criticized for being unscientific or subjective. Nevertheless, several authors support the value of qualitative research in a study where the perspectives of individuals are sought. In the words of Lofland (1971),

"The strong suit of the qualitative researcher is [her] his ability to provide an orderly presentation of rich, descriptive detail. He [she] can move close to a social setting and bring back an accurate picture of patterns and phenomenological reality as they are really experienced by human beings in social capacities" (p. 59).

An underlying goal of the procedures followed in this study was to minimize bias in gathering and interpreting data. Patton (1980) explains the pursuance and spirit of this goal in his explanation of intellectual rigor:
There are no clear-cut rules about how to proceed. The task is to do one's best to make sense out of things. A qualitative analyst returns to the data over and over again to see if the constructs, categories, explanations, and interpretations make sense, if they really reflect the nature of the phenomena. Creativity, intellectual rigor, perseverance, insight—these are the intangibles that go beyond the routine application of scientific procedures (p. 339).

The potential danger of researcher and respondent bias in a study of this sort was a serious concern. Care was exercised throughout the research project to minimize bias in data collection methods and in the interpretation of data. The researcher's past training and experience in questioning and interviewing techniques as a certified values clarification trainer, as a teacher, a workshop leader, and community organizer, helped to elicit and interpret data which accurately represented participant views.

This chapter describes the specific qualitative and quantitative methodology used in this two-part study. The chapter is divided into two parts: Part 1, entitled, “Preliminary Interviews”, consists of the following sections: (a) Sample, (b) Interview Protocol, (c) Interview Procedures, and (d) Decisions Procedures. Part 2, entitled, “Educational Intervention: Values Clarification Workshops”, consists of the following sections: (a) Design of Values Clarification Workshops, (b) Sample, (c) Participant Selection, (d) Description of Participants, (e) Summary, and (f) Data Collection. The latter includes the following subsections: (a) Self Perception Inventory, (b) Participant Observation, (c) On-sight Surveys, and (d) Workshop Evaluation.

**Part 1: Preliminary Interviews**

Preliminary interviews were conducted with a select group of second generation Armenian-American women to explore their feelings, attitudes, and opinions about the influence of values on their lives as perceived by them.
retrospectively, concurrently, and prospectively. Interpretations of the data collected from the interviews were used (a) to design relevant values clarification workshops and a supplemental workbook based on values issues that concerned informants, (b) to add to the meager research on second generation Armenian-American women, and (c) to generate questions for future research.

Interviewing is an ethnographic research technique which provides "a framework within which respondents express their own understanding in their own terms" (Patton, 1980, p. 205), thus offering to the researcher, insight into the respondents' world views. A case study approach using interviewing was considered to be particularly appropriate for collecting data about the meaning that second generation Armenian-American women attach to experiences which are unique to their culture.

Sample

The initial sample consisted of four women from a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) in New England whose Armenian parents immigrated to the United States as a result of the Ottoman Turk's genocide of the Armenian people in 1915. Participant ages ranged from early 50s to early 60s. Four participants were deemed adequate based on the concept that "A study that probes into the characteristics of a small sample often provides more knowledge than a study that attacks the same problem by collecting only shallow information on a large sample" (Borg & Gall, 1983, p. 261).

Participants were not randomly selected. In keeping with the advice of Bogdan and Taylor (1975), participants were selected on the basis of their willingness to commit the necessary time. The ability to articulate perceptions and opinions clearly was also a consideration. Bogdan and Taylor suggest that:
People simply do not have an equal ability and willingness to make vivid the details and meaning of their lives. And while a good interviewer may be able to bring out the best in subjects, he or she cannot perform miracles on people who are not free with their words (p. 102).

Informants known to be second generation Armenian-American women who were children of survivors of genocide were sought out by word of mouth inquiry. They were raised in the same small-town Armenian-American community and later moved to the same near-by, middle-class, predominantly white, suburban community. Informants were selected who fell into one of each of the following categories: (a) unmarried, (b) married to a non-Armenian, (c) married to an Armenian with the same background in Armenian political and church affiliation and ideology, (d) married to an Armenian with a differing background in Armenian political and church affiliation and ideology.

As a member of the population under study, the role of the researcher as interviewer is supported in the literature. Douglas (1976) says,

Some of the best field research is done by people who are already members of the setting they study. In those cases...the beginning is not that much of a problem and they are able far more easily to tell what mixture of methods is likely to work best (p. 36).

According to Becker (1970),

It seems to me that since the subject matter...is the social life in which we are all involved, the ability to make imaginative use of personal experience will be important contributors to one’s technical skill (p. 22).

Because identification of, and accessibility to Armenian-American women outside of an Armenian-American community was difficult, the researcher chose a non-random sample of convenience within an experimentally accessible population as described above. Selection of research participants by this method precludes generalization of research findings to other second generation Armenian-American women who are children of survivors of genocide.
Interview Protocol

For this portion of the study, an interview guide with a combination of structured and open-ended questions was chosen as the most fruitful way to elicit information. Patton (1980) explains:

It is also possible to combine an interview guide approach with a standardized open-ended approach. Thus a number of basic questions may be worded precisely in a predetermined fashion, while permitting the interviewer more flexibility in probing and more decision-making flexibility in determining when it is appropriate to explore certain subjects in greater depth, or even to undertake whole new areas of inquiry that were not originally included in the interview instrument (p. 204).

A 27-question interview guide was constructed (see Appendix A). Questions were formulated from issues which emerged from a review of the literature which was discussed in Chapter 2 of this study. Most notably, the topics addressed in Avakian’s (1985) study were incorporated. Issues based on the researcher’s own experience, interests, and observations are also reflected in the interviewing instrument.

The interview guide consisted of questions about (a) specific issues directly related to Armenian heritage, such as language, church, politics, and genocide; (b) past messages and present perceptions about friends, job(s), education, dating, marriage, and sexuality; (c) specific characteristics, such as independence, expression of feelings, and decision-making skills; (d) personal strengths and weaknesses; and (e) open-ended questions about the past, present and the future.

According to Patton (1980), the standardized open-ended interview “...reduces the possibility of bias that comes from having different interviews for different people” (p. 198). Patton explains:
The advantage of an interview guide is that it makes sure that the interviewer/evaluator has carefully decided how best to use the limited time available in an interview situation. The interview guide helps make interviewing across a number of different people more systematic and comprehensive by delimiting the issues to be discussed in the interview. A guide keeps the interaction focused, but allows individual perspectives and experiences to emerge. Provides a framework within which the interviewer would develop questions, sequence those questions and make decisions about which information to pursue in greater depth (pp. 200-201).

The combined standardized, open-ended interview guide approach was chosen in an attempt to minimize bias and maximize flexibility within the given framework of eliciting participant perceptions about preselected and emergent issues.

Interview Procedures

Data collection began with pilot study which consisted of a self-interview by the researcher. This enabled the researcher to experience the flow of questions and check for unforeseen weaknesses in the interview guide. Small changes were made in the sequencing of questions, and a few probes were added. The researcher's experience with the self-interview was discussed with academic peers, academic advisors, and with Armenian-American women who lived in a different geographic location and were not involved in the research project. As a result, an open-ended question was included to elicit deeper exploration by research participants. The significant question added was, “What stands out for you about being an Armenian while growing up?”

Subsequent to the self-interview and revision of the interview guide, the researcher contacted each potential participant by telephone. Individual informal meetings were arranged in order to discuss the nature of the study and the willingness to participate. During the meetings, the researcher explained the
study, the role of participants, and answered questions. Confidentiality was assured. Participants were informed that transcripts of the taped interviews would be given to them for additions, deletions, or other changes. They were also informed that they were free to change their minds about inclusion in the study after such review. Following the informational meetings with the researcher, all potential participants who were contacted indicated interest in the study and agreed to participate. Because there was some concern that signed informed consent forms might breach confidentiality, oral consent was initially asked for and given with the stipulations noted in the paragraph above. In order to protect confidentiality, the researcher edited transcripts by blacking out references which would have identified participants. Additionally, participants were identified by code on tape labels, transcripts, records, and working copies of interview analyses. In compliance with a subsequent request from the University Human Subjects Review Committee, written participant consent was sought and documented (see Appendix B for copy of Human Subjects Consent Form—Interview).

All interviews took place in the participants' own homes, by their choice. All interviews were tape-recorded and varied in length from 1 1/2 hours to 4 hours. Periods of time were selected to minimize interruptions. All but one of the interviews were conducted free from outside interruptions. The minimal interruptions during the one interview included a phone call and a caller at the door—both were directed to other times.

Dialogue before taping served to further develop rapport that had begun during the first informal meetings with participants. In an attempt to put participants at ease, the interviews were begun with questions about what the
researcher considered to be a non-threatening topic—the Armenian language. Throughout the interviews, participants gave careful attention and thoughtful answers to questions.

The researcher made a minimal number of brief notes on the interview guide, reflecting both interviewer and informant reactions, non-verbal messages, and connections to other parts of the interview. Notes made during the interviews were kept to a minimum to reduce the possibility of distracting participants. After each interview, more extensive notes were made.

**Data Analysis Procedures**

In order to make decisions which would be useful in selecting relevant values clarification exercises, and in guiding the design of appropriate workshops and workbook for the second part of the study, a system of analysis was developed for the data collected in the four initial interviews. According to Patton (1980),

The analyses of qualitative data is a creative process. It is also a process of intellectual rigor and a great deal of hard work. Because different people manage their creativity, intellectual endeavors, and hard work in different ways, there is no right way to go about organizing, analyzing, and interpreting qualitative data....Each qualitative analyst must find his or her own process (p. 299).

Data were analyzed by both listening to the tape recorded interviews and reading the transcripts. Borg and Gall (1983) speak to the advantage of tape recording:

The use of tape recorders has several advantages in recording interview data for research. Most important perhaps is that it reduces the tendency of the interviewer to make an unconscious selection of data favoring his [her] biases. The tape-recorded data can be played back more than once and can be studied much more thoroughly than would be the case if data were limited to notes taken during the interview (p. 445).
Patton (1980) suggests that, “Transcriptions can be enormously useful in data analysis and later in replications or independent analyses of data” (p. 248).

Miles and Huberman (1984) suggest coding transcribed material and making preanalytic notes in the margins. In an initial reading of the transcripts, notes were made in the margins to reflect ideas, reactions, tentative interpretations, and connections to other parts of the interview. Salient comments were highlighted. Auxiliary notes were made on separate working papers.

In order to organize data for storage, analysis, and retrieval, separate files were created by collapsing the 27 interview guide questions into the following 18 categories:
(a) language, (b) church, (c) politics, (d) genocide, (e) friendships, (f) education, (g) dating, (h) marriage, (i) job(s), (j) strengths and weaknesses, (k) conflicts, (l) satisfaction with life, (m) expression of feelings, (n) sexuality, (o) decision-making and independence, (p) what is most important, (q) self-concept as Armenian-American women, and (r) new issues added.

With the classification system thus established, responses from each participant were summarized, organized and filed by category. Concurrently, tentative interpretations of themes and patterns were circled and recorded in auxiliary work papers. Each record included pertinent quotations, and source of information, that is, page numbers and coded participant identification. Patton (1980) explains that, “The purpose of classifying data in preparation for content analysis is to facilitate the search for patterns and themes within a particular setting or across cases” (p. 302).
Numerous issues had begun to surface in the iterative process of analyzing the data. Issues of importance and concern to the participants often overlapped or were embedded in more than one aspect of their lives and were often not crisply specified as being issues of concern or of significant importance. At this point in the organization of data, a decision was made about developing a format for data presentation.

The researcher chose the narrative format to present and organize data. The narrative format was judged to be an effective way to present and organize data because it allowed for the inclusion of pertinent details and quotations from the interviews which helped to capture the essence of participant views, and by extension, a glimpse of their lives. Patton (1980) contends that:

The case study should take the reader into...a person’s life, a group’s life....The descriptions of the case should be holistic and comprehensive...and will include a myriad of dimensions, factors, variables, and categories woven together into an idiographic framework (p. 305).

To prepare for the report of the interviews in narrative form, the previous 18 categories were reorganized according to the following eight conceptual issues based on the researcher’s insights and interpretations: (a) Armenian Heritage; (b) Choices; (c) Personal Traits and Characteristics; (d) Patterns of Behavior; (e) Changes Over Time; (f) Significant Values; (g) Intergenerational Similarities; and (h) Armenian Heritage, Pride, and Identity.

During the process of thematically reorganizing the categories from 18 to eight, the researcher continued the on-going process of identifying related issues which seemed salient to the respondents in order to develop a framework for issues that would be addressed in the values clarification educational intervention conducted in the second part of the study. Transcripts, records and
working papers were reviewed again to glean new insights or information that may have been inadvertently overlooked during previous reviews. Notes were made of additional issues, themes, patterns, commonalities, and differences which were detected.

Using the eight new categories as headings, data were recorded in narrative form. The narrative report of the interviews includes interpretation and discussion of the data and was used as a working paper from which decisions were made for the design and content of the values clarification workshops presented in the second part of the study.

**Part 2: Educational Intervention: Values Clarification Workshops**

In addition to examining the lives of second generation Armenian-American women, the purpose of this study was to also assess the effectiveness of values clarification methodology on self-concept. The design of the second part of the study, which consisted of values clarification educational activities, also generated informational products, some of which were research oriented. One such informational product pertained specifically to self-concept. Self-concept was measured on the adult Self-Concept form of the Self-Perception Inventory [SPI] (See Appendix M for copy of SPI).

The SPI is a forced-choice, semantic differential instrument containing 36 pairs of bipolar traits. Means for each of the 36 paired dimensions measured were used to chart a group profile.

The one group pretest-posttest design was used. According to Borg and Gall (1983), The one group pretest-posttest design is especially appropriate when the researcher is attempting to change a behavior pattern or internal process that is very stable. For example, attitudes are quite stable in most individuals by adulthood and are unlikely to change unless some significant effort is made. The one group design is also
justified when the behavior pattern or characteristic is...recalcitrant to change...it is unlikely that extraneous factors could be involved to account for the change (p. 659).

The educational intervention which was used in an attempt to affect self-concept consisted of two values clarification workshops conducted with a select group of 16 second generation Armenian-American women. Qualitative and quantitative methods were incorporated into the workshops for the purpose of (a) gathering information about values and values related issues in the lives of participants, (b) examining self-concept, and (c) assessing the effects of values clarification methodology on self-concept. Additionally, a supplementary take-home values clarification workbook was used as part of the workshop experience.

Proponents of values clarification theory contend that experiential exercises, and techniques which are used in the values clarification approach to education, provide opportunities to develop thinking skills while simultaneously moving toward values actualization (Kirschenbaum, 1973c, 1977a, 1977b; Raths et al., 1966, 1978). Because values clarification has been used in a variety of settings, focusing upon topics that often go beyond traditional subject matter taught in schools, values clarification methodology was chosen as an educational intervention to explore the many issues which impinge on the lives of second generation Armenian-American women.

In a prototypical study, Woess (1975) designed a values clarification workshop for teachers of adults. Woess describes the affective, cognitive, and physical elements which comprise the educational setting that she advocates. Woess suggests that values clarification workshops may be useful for special interest groups and recommends that workshops be designed for such groups (1975).
This researcher designed such an educational intervention with the intent of providing relevant educational activities which (a) were tailored to the interests of second generation Armenian-American women, (b) would provide an opportunity to collect data about their lives, and (c) would assess the effectiveness of values clarification methodology on self-concept. Because such an evolutionary, organic approach is inherently flexible, that is, sensitive and responsive to the learner, this type of educational intervention precludes firm and repeatable procedures for future researchers to replicate. However, the workshops, techniques, and humanistic education principles which comprise the educational intervention used in this study may be used as guidelines for similar educational interventions in the future.

This section describes the educational intervention, using the following format: (a) Design of Values Clarification Workshops; (b) Sample; (c) Participant Selection; (d) Description of Participants; (e) Summary (f) Data Collection (g) On-site Surveys; (h) Participant Observation; (i) Workshop Evaluation; (j) Self Perception Inventory; and (k) Triangulation.

Design of Values Clarification Workshops

Values clarification methodology is an educational approach which draws upon principles of humanistic education. Values clarification theory and humanistic education are described in greater detail in Chapter II, Part 3. Values clarification strategies which were used in the educational intervention part of this study, were selected to respond to themes, patterns, and issues of concern that emerged from the initial interviews in the first part of the study. (See Appendices J, K, and L for detailed descriptions of the workshop and workbook design and content, consisting of (J) workshop outline, (K) workshop strategies, and copy of (L) workbook)
Sample

The sample consisted of 16, second generation Armenian-American women, ages ranging from early 40s to late 60s, whose parents immigrated to the United States before 1930 as survivors of the Ottoman Turk’s 1915 genocide of the Armenian people. Most survivors of the genocide who immigrated to the United States had to deal with restrictive immigration quotas that existed during the World War I era. They entered a particular social milieu. In order to capture the nuances of a shared historical context, participants for this study were limited to daughters of those survivors of the genocide who immigrated to the United States during the 1915-1930 period. The experimentally accessible, convenience sample from one Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) in New England, was not randomly selected; therefore, generalization of research findings are limited to participants of this study, and do not necessarily apply to other second generation Armenian-American women who are children of survivors of genocide.

Participant Selection

Census data for 1980 reported that in the cities and towns which comprise this New England SMSA, 620 adults and children were identified as Armenian. Also, 16% of the women in this state were in the 45 to 74 age group, the age group that most closely represented the ages of children of survivors of the genocide. Extrapolation of these census data to calculate the number of Armenian-American women in the 45 to 74 age category in this greater metropolitan area produced an estimated total of 99 (.16 x 620 = 99). No statistics existed on how many of the statistically estimated 99 women were children of those survivors of genocide who immigrated to the United States.
between 1915 and 1930. Consequently, sample size was determined by the number of women who were identified as being in this category through the method described below, and who agreed to volunteer to be participants.

Potential research participants were identified by examining an Armenian Directory (St. John the Divine Armenian Church, 1979) published by one of the local Armenian churches in the designated greater metropolitan area. A committee of parishioners compiled the directory by using telephone directories and soliciting submissions for listing of Armenians living in the area. With the exception of one town, all cities and towns in the greater metropolitan area were included in the directory.

Using the directory, the researcher worked with the clergy of the existing two Armenian churches in the area, as well as with other knowledgeable individuals in the Armenian community to identify women who qualified for the study. In addition to following up on names listed in the directory, inquiries were made to insure that possible research candidates who were not listed in the directory were also contacted.

Using the above process, the search for potential research participants yielded 83 names and addresses of second generation Armenian-American women who fell within the age parameters of this study, and who may have had parents who survived the genocide and immigrated to the United States between 1915 and 1930. Letters of invitation to participate in the study were sent to the 83 women who were found through the above described search. (see Appendix E for copy of the letter).

In addition to using personal contacts and the Armenian directory in the search for potential research participants, announcements seeking research
participants were made in the two area Armenian churches. Articles
announcing the search for participants were also submitted to and published in
two Armenian-American newspapers (See Appendix D for copy of press
releases to newspapers). There were no responses to the church announcements
or newspaper releases; however, there were 36 responses to the letters of
invitation indicating interest and requesting additional information.

Additional information was sent to interested potential research
candidates. Signatures were requested on an enclosed Human Subjects Consent
Form to document (a) understanding of the study, (b) understanding of
participant rights and protection, and (c) agreement to participate. Four women
contacted the researcher to say that they did not qualify because their parents
immigrated to the United States either before 1915, or after 1930. Signed
Human Subjects Consent Forms were returned by 26 women.

Six respondents who had returned signed Human Subjects Consent Forms
subsequently withdrew because of conflicting schedules, transportation
problems, or illness. Of the remaining twenty women, four women dropped out
after the first workshop because of illness and scheduling conflicts, leaving a
final sample size of 16 participants for Part 2 of the study—the educational
intervention which consisted of values clarification workshops.

The four women who were informants in the initial interviews conducted
during the first part of the study were excluded from the second part of the
study. They were excluded because their intense involvement in the
interviewing process consisted of a dialogical exploration of values which
workshop participants did not experience, thereby creating the risk of
introducing a possible bias in the effects of values clarification workshops on
their self-concept and that of other participants during the educational intervention.

**Description of Participants**

Early into the final workshop, a questionnaire entitled “Participant Profile Questionnaire” (PPQ) was handed out for participants to complete (see Appendix N for copy of questionnaire). The PPQ, which consisted of closed questions plus one open question, was developed by this researcher. The purpose of the questionnaire was to collect demographic information about the participants that included data regarding factors associated with Armenian heritage, and information relevant to factors influencing participant involvement, such as, how participant was contacted, and possible confounding historical factors prior to, or during the period of the educational intervention.

In response to a question about experiencing any serious crises during the six months preceding the last workshop, only two participants reported experiencing crises: one participant noted a health problem, and another reported a death in the family.

Table 2 lists the place of parents’ birth, and the year of parents’ arrival in America. The table shows that in the majority of cases, males arrived in America before females.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>Near Yozgat, Turkey</td>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Near Yozgat, Turkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>Marash, Turkey</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Marash, Turkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>Sivas, Turkey</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Sivas, Turkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Chamaklou, a village outside of Gesaryai</td>
<td>1918</td>
<td>Chamaklou, a village outside of Gesaryai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915*</td>
<td>Dertyal</td>
<td>1915*</td>
<td>Istanbul, Turkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>Sepastia</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Avbounkarisar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Sivas, Turkey</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Erzeroum, Turkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Sivas, Turkey</td>
<td>1922</td>
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<td>Istanbul, Turkey</td>
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<td>1925</td>
<td>Sepastia</td>
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<td>1927</td>
<td>Tadem, Kharpet</td>
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<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>Samsoun, Turkey</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>Manisa, Turkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Approximate Date
With the exception of the data presented above, data were summarized by constructing a frequency distribution. Findings are presented in terms of percentages of total respondents.

Figure 1 illustrates participant familiarity with the Armenian language. A higher proficiency in understanding spoken Armenian and in speaking Armenian is indicated, compared to the ability to read or write the language. All participants reported some degree of understanding spoken Armenian. More than half of the participants reported the ability to speak Armenian to some degree.
Figure 1. Participant Familiarity with the Armenian Language
Figure 2 illustrates the educational background of participants. A majority of participants (10) indicated high school as the highest level of school completed. The remainder of participants went on to further schooling, such as vocational school (4) or community college (1), and completing a four-year college (1).
Figure 2. Participants' Level of Education

- High School: 59.9%
- Four-year College: 6.7%
- Community College: 6.7%
- Vocational School: 26.7%

N = 15
Religious affiliation of participants is illustrated in Figure 3. Most participants were raised in the Armenian faith. A high percentage of participants reported that current religious affiliation was Armenian.
Figure 3. Religious Affiliation of Participants
Membership in Armenian organizations, as illustrated in Figure 4, shows that close to two-thirds of the participants belonged to one or more Armenian organizations, with church organizations being the highest involvement.

Participants were questioned about the extent of their attendance at Armenian functions: a great deal, occasionally, hardly ever, or never. Half of the participants responded that they attended Armenian functions a great deal, and half responded that they attended Armenian functions occasionally.
Figure 4. Participants' Membership in Armenian Organizations
Figure 5 shows that three quarters of the participants had married, and that more than half of the participants had married an Armenian.
Figure 5. Marital Status of Participants
As shown in Figure 6, more than one third of the participants reported no personal Armenian political affiliation. An equal number indicated their political persuasion to be Tashnagsagan, with the remainder divided between Hunchagian, Ramgavar and other. Of the total number of participants, one quarter reported being married to a spouse of similar political persuasion, one quarter reported that both spouses were of no particular political leaning, and a small percentage were married to spouses of a different political persuasion.
Figure 6. Participants' Armenian Political Persuasion
Figure 7 illustrates employment status. A small percentage of participants reported being homemakers. One quarter of participants reported being employed full time, an equal number reported being employed part-time, and another quarter reported that they were retired.
Figure 7. Employment Status of Participants
Figure 8 illustrates that 50% of participants reported incomes under $10,000. Of that number, slightly more than one fifth reported incomes of less than $6,000. A small percentage (7.1%) reported incomes between $10,000 and $19,999. Slightly more than one quarter of participants reported incomes between $30,000 and $49,999. (Two participants did not report income).
Composition of family of origin is illustrated in Figure 9. A small percentage of participants reported being only children (6.3%). Slightly more than four fifths of participants reported having families which included one to five sisters. Slightly more than half of the participants reported family compositions which included one or two brothers.
Figure 9. Profile of Participants' Family of Origin
Figure 10 illustrates composition of family of procreation. Slightly less than half of all families consisted of both sons and daughters. Slightly less than one third of participants bore no children. In total, family size for family of origin was slightly larger than family of procreation.
Figure 10. Profile of Participants' Family of Procreation
Participant health status is illustrated in Figure 11. Half of the participants reported being in good health. Slightly less than one third reported being in excellent health. A small percentage reported being in fair health—one participant in this category reported being physically handicapped. No participant reported being in poor health.
Figure 11. Health Status of Participants

- Excellent Health: 31.3%
- Fair Health: 18.8%
- Good Health: 50%
Figure 12 illustrates participant ages. The largest percentage of participants were between 60 and 69 years of age, followed by two fifths of the participants who were in the 50 to 59 year old age group. A very small percentage were in the 40 to 49 year old age group.
Figure 12. Age of Participants
Figure 13 shows that more than 90% of participants lived their adult lives in the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area of this study.
Summary

The 16 research participants represented an estimated 16% of Armenian-American women between the ages of approximately 40 and 69 who lived in one of the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas in New England. The largest percentage of participants were between 60 and 69 years of age. More than 90% of the participants lived their adult lives in the area. A large percentage reported being in good to excellent health.

In total, family size in families of origin was slightly higher than families of procreation. The number of female children in families of origin was greater than the number of male children—1 1/2 females to each male. The number of female children in families of procreation was greater than the number of male children—close to 2 females to each male.

Incomes ranged from 50% who reported incomes of under $10,000, to slightly more than 25% who reported incomes between $30,000 and $49,999. A small percentage reported being homemakers. Most reported being employed part-time, full-time, or being retired.

Current church affiliation for a high percentage of participants was Armenian, with most being raised in an Armenian church. Close to two thirds of participants indicated membership in one or more Armenian organizations, with the highest involvement being in church organizations. Half of the participants reported that they attended Armenian functions a great deal, and half reported attending occasionally.

Slightly less than two thirds of participants identified with an Armenian political persuasion. One participant reported being married to a husband of different political persuasion. Responses of remaining participants who were
married to Armenians were equally divided: between both spouses being of the same political persuasion, and both spouses being of no particular political persuasion. Three quarters of participants had married. More than half had married an Armenian.

High school was the highest level of education reported by a majority of participants. The remainder went on to vocational school or community college, with a small percentage completing four year college educations.

All participants understood spoken Armenian to some degree, with most reporting a high proficiency. All but one reported being able to speak the language to some degree, with most reporting proficiency ranging from fairly well to very well. To a lesser degree, most participants had some familiarity with reading and writing the language.

The participant description presented above is in partial fulfillment of that part of this study which aims to document information about second generation Armenian-American women who are children of survivors of genocide. At the same time, it provides an extensive description of the sample for this study.

Data Collection

A variety of data collection procedures were used in this study. Stainback and Stainback (1988) contend, “Generally, any claims of credibility of a qualitative investigation rest on the use of a number of procedures to gather a wide variety of data” (p. 47). Qualitative and quantitative methodology were used to “provide a depth of perception....both methodologies can be used in concert, to complement each other” (p. 110).

Qualitative methods consisted of the in-depth interviews described in Part 1 of this study, and in Part 2: On-sight Surveys; Participant Observation; and
Workshop Evaluation, described below. Quantitative data was collected through the use of the Self-Perception Inventory also described below.

**On-sight Surveys**

During the course of the two, day-long workshops, the researcher conducted a number of surveys about topics that were the focus of the values clarification exercises. The researcher presented questions to the group orally and used three methods to record responses:

1. Responses were recorded on newsprint for all to see as participants called out answers.
2. Participants wrote answers on index cards which were collected by the researcher.
3. Results of participant responses by show of hands were noted in researcher records.

The three methods used to record responses to survey questions provided opportunities for participants to alternately publicly affirm and privately explore their values. The option to pass on any of the questions was maintained.

**Participant Observation**

Stainback and Stainback (1988) regard in-depth interviewing and participant observation as the two most common types of data collection used in qualitative research. In-depth interviewing was used in the first part of this study, as described in Part 1 of this chapter. Participant observation was selected as one of a variety of data collection procedures used in Part 2 of this study: the Participant Profile Questionnaire and the adult form of the Self Perception Inventory described above, and the on-sight surveys and the workshop evaluation described below.
Stainbach and Stainbach (1988) explain, "While the participant observer tries to become a natural, integral part of the setting, he or she also engages in a number of activities that are inherently different from the activities of a natural participant in a setting" (p. 49). As workshop facilitator, the researcher of this study had the opportunity to observe the behaviors and interactions which took place during the educational intervention. In regards to participant observation, Stainback and Stainback (1988) state,

"Evidence and understanding of the naturally occurring variables influencing those under study can be gained....The purpose is for the researcher to be able to describe in detail the setting that was observed, the activities that took place in the setting, the people who participated in these activities, and the meaning(s) of the activities and settings as perceived by those people being observed" (p. 48).

The structure of the workshops provided ample time to record observations—during breaks and while participants were engaged in small group discussions or writing assignments.

**Workshop Evaluation**

At the end of the first workshop, participants were asked to fill out a Workshop Evaluation form (see Appendix O). They were informed that the purpose of the form was to help the researcher in assessing the needs of the participants in order to make any necessary changes in the next workshop. The form was designed by the researcher with the intent of gathering data that would help in conducting an educational intervention which was responsive to participant needs.

**Self-Perception Inventory**

The Self-Perception Inventory (SPI) is designed to measure self-concept from a variety of perspectives. The adult Self Concept form used in this study
measured how the individual perceives self (see Appendix N for copy of SPI).
The format consisted of 36 pairs of dichotomous traits.

The SPI was designed for inter-form comparison of the sum of scores on a
scale ranging from -2 to +2 with no option for the neutral respond of zero. The
designers of the SPI offer a variety of self-inventories for comparisons. Some of
the adult forms of the SPI are: Self-Concept (how one views oneself), Ideal Self
(the view of self to which one aspires), and Reflected Self (the view of oneself
which one believes others hold, such as one's peers, parents, teachers).

The aim of using the adult form of the Self-Concept SPI in this study was
to measure and compare pretest-posttest participant self-assessment on the 36
bi-polar traits. An equal interval scale was needed in order to obtain a more
accurate measure near the middle of the scale. For purposes of this study, the
original scale was changed to the needed equal interval scale by using intervals
from -1.5 to +1.5 rather than the -2 to +2 intervals which were intended for use
in inter-form comparisons. The Semantic Differential was used to self-rate the
bi-polar adjectives along a continuum, thereby providing “both direction and
intensity of response” (Soares & Soares, 1985, p. 1).

Based on information presented by Soares and Soares (1985) in The
Self-Perception Adult Forms Test Manual, this researcher selected the SPI as an
appropriate instrument for this study for the following reasons:

1. Adult females in various social settings have been included in studies
   using the SPI.

2. It has been translated and used in cross-cultural research in 23
countries, indicating compatibility to ethnic differences.

3. It was revised in 1980, updating the instrument to integrate new
   research findings.
4. It is easily completed in a short period of time—5 to 20 minutes.

6. Reliability measured .79 to .94 for internal consistency.

7. In regard to validity, the adult Self Concept form correlates .72 with the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory. (1985)

In a review of the SPI in The Ninth Mental Measurement Yearbook, Riggs (1985) reports, “Although evidence for the validity of the SPI is incomplete, the data that are reported are fairly convincing” (p. 1351). Riggs also reports that norm comparison is problematic because sufficient information does not accompany descriptive statistics which are presented relating to normative groups which were tested. Riggs suggests confining the use of the SPI to research settings. (1985)

A seven to eight week test-retest time-frame has sometimes been used in administering the SPI (Soares & Soares, 1985). The possibility of response effect from one test form to subsequent test form was difficult to control because of time constraints on the part of the researcher and workshop participants who found it difficult to schedule and commit more than one month between pretest and posttest. The researcher for this study selected the one month period of time to accommodate the time constraints with the anticipation of minimal response effect.

The possibility of confounding factors such as history and mortality were considered. Ray and Ravizza (1985) define the confounding factor of history as “events that take place between measurements in an experiment and that are not related to the independent variable” (p. 142); and mortality, “occurs when subjects drop out” (p. 146). The confounding factor of history was addressed by including a question in the Participant Profile Questionnaire about any serious
crises experienced during the six months preceding the last workshop. Mortality was controlled by excluding four workshop drop-outs from the study, thereby, reducing the total number of participants to only those who had engaged in the entire educational intervention experience. The actions described above were taken to minimize and account for the possible confounds of uncontrollable events outside of the realm of the experiment and loss of participants over a period of time.

In discussing the use of the SPI, Soares and Soares (1985) caution that, "Interpretations have to be considered in a reasonable and judicious manner. They should not be used as conclusive foundations for categorizing either individuals or groups" (p. 9). Shortcomings in the SPI may not impact heavily on this study because of the nongeneralizable, one-group design of the study. The use of the SPI for data collection was deemed practicable in view of the data it is capable of generating, and the cautions that were exercised.

Triangulation

Patton (1980) describes triangulation as follows:

There are basically two kinds of triangulation that contribute to verification and validation of qualitative analysis: (1) checking out the consistency of findings generated by different data-collection methods and (2) checking out the consistency of different data sources within the same method....Triangulating data sources...means comparing and cross-checking consistency of information derived at different times and by different means within qualitative methods. It means (1) comparing observational data with interview data; (2) comparing what people say in public with what they say in private; (3) checking out the consistency of what people in a situation say about this situation over time; and (4) comparing the perspectives of people from different points of view (pp. 329-331).

In this study, information collected from qualitative and quantitative measures used during the workshops, and information from respondents in the
initial interviews were compared for commonalties, differences, and consistency. In keeping with Patton’s suggestion, parenthetical remarks regarding verification and validation of data will accompany research findings as they are presented.

This chapter described the methodology used in the two-part study to explore the values of second generation Armenian-American women who were children of survivors of genocide. The first part of the study consisted of interviews conducted with four participants. The second part of the study consisted of sixteen participants involved in an educational intervention which consisted of values clarification workshops. Pretest and posttest SPIs were administered to assess the effectiveness of values clarification methodology on self concept. Chapter IV presents the findings of the study.
CHAPTER IV
PRESENTATION OF DATA

Part 1: Preliminary Interviews

The primary purpose of the preliminary interviews was to elicit information from participants about pre-determined topics regarding values issues in their lives. Based on information obtained from the interviews, relevant values clarification workshops and a workbook were designed for the educational intervention conducted in Part 2 of the study. Themes, patterns, and issues that emerged from the interviews and which were incorporated in the design of the educational intervention are presented at the end of this chapter under the section entitled “Implications of Interview Data for Values Clarification Workshops”.

This chapter describes, analyzes, and interprets the data collected in the interviews. The researcher's interpretative commentary is included in the report of the findings based on the suggestions of Stainback and Stainback (1988) to provide depth and breadth to the presentation of data by combining a description of what occurred, the researcher's assertions, and the rationale for such assertions. Direct respondent quotes, connection to relevant literature, and the researcher's thoughts and perceptions are woven throughout the presentation of data to reflect and support the evolution of analyses and interpretations. Findings are presented in a format using the following headings and sub-headings: (a) Armenian Heritage: Language, Church, Politics, Genocide, Friendships, Integration of Armenian-American Duality; (b) Choices: Education, Dating and Marriage, Jobs, Aspirations; (c) Personal Traits and Characteristics: Appearance; Sexuality and Intimacy; Expression of
Feelings; Dependency and Independency; (d) Patterns of Behavior: Self-Blame and Self-Minimization; Avoidance, Procrastination, and Reactivity; Regretfulness; Privacy; (e) Changes Over Time: Expression of Feelings; Independence and Decision-Making; Education and Jobs; Marriage and Role of Women; Armenian Way of Life; (f) Significant Values; (g) Armenian Heritage, Pride, and Identity; (h) Intergenerational Similarities; (i) Summary; and (j) Implications of Interview Data for Values Clarification Workshops.

**Armenian Heritage**

The underlying theme of Armenian heritage is inherent in the nature of this study. Research participants spoke of the influence that Armenian beliefs and values had on many aspects of their lives. The Armenian language, Armenian church, Armenian politics, the 1915 genocide, and Armenian friendships were important elements of their Armenian-American identity—an identity which reflected an integration of co-existing, and sometimes conflicting Armenian and American values. In an attempt to gain insight about these major areas in their lives from their point of view, the following narrative includes respondent quotations in their own words to reflect their thoughts.

**Language**

Respondents viewed the Armenian language as important for the preservation of their heritage. All four respondents reported that they spoke and understood the Armenian language, and with varying degrees of fluency, could read and write Armenian. Respondents spoke of the personal pleasure they received from knowing and speaking the language. One respondent said that she found the Armenian language a warmer vehicle for expressing love to children than the English language. Knowing and speaking Armenian tended to be a connection to growing up years, as well as a connection to heritage.
The importance of the Armenian language to these women parallels the literature (O'Grady, 1981; Blumer, 1969; Spradley, 1979, 1980) which points out the importance of symbols such as language in the meaning-making process of self-definition. It was clear that their familiarity with the Armenian language was a touchstone to the ethnic identity of these women.

**Church**

Although the extent of involvement in the Armenian church varied for each respondent, the church had played an important part in their lives. Respondents indicated that the Armenian church was linked to social and cultural ties. Discussions revealed the conflict that some respondents experienced in their attempts to fulfill religious needs by being involved in a church which was tied to family and ethnic loyalties.

According to one respondent, the Armenian church was, “extremely important in my life, socially, religiously, and in any shape, form...it’s a very important part of my life” In response to the question of what she sees in the future in terms of her involvement with the Armenian church, she laughingly replied, “A lot of work” And then more seriously, “I will always be involved in it....Absolutely” The same respondent told of being raised in the Armenian church and later joining a non-Armenian church which gave her satisfaction for many years. After her mother died, feelings of guilt caused her so much anguish that she returned to the Armenian church.

Another respondent who was raised in the Armenian church said,

I don’t go as often as I should, and that’s because I’ve been real lazy. I do feel so good when I do go....Even though I don’t understand all the Armenian words, it still is a familiar language, the music and the words are familiar...I guess that seed is there, and you just can’t get rid of it.
Echoing enjoyment of Armenian church music and lessened church attendance, another respondent said,

The Armenian church, I'm ashamed to say, isn't an integral part of my life, even though I maintain my church contact, and I do attend church. But my involvement is not as deep and as serious as it has been in the past....The church used to be a big part of my life, perhaps because it was a big part of all my friends' lives and my family. But as my family dwindled...as my friends have dwindled in the church...I don't find the need to go to church...I don't seek it out as much as I should.

Another respondent said that although she was not overly religious and not a regular churchgoer, she believed in church. She attended a Protestant church while she was growing up because no local Armenian church of her parents' persuasion was available. When one was established in later years, she occasionally attended Armenian church with her parents. She felt strongly that the Women's Guild of the Armenian church played an important role in continuing the church and had a part in activities such as fund-raising. An undercurrent of personal conflict accompanied respondent descriptions of the pleasure that they received from the Armenian church and their recognition of the importance that the church had in their lives.

Lessened church attendance reflected the effects of living in a heterogeneous society with its array of choices that included physical distance to the suburbs, away from the few Armenian churches which were founded near the Armenian-American communities of the immigrant years; intermarriage with its pull to consider one's husband's religious preference; and employment and social activities which presented time constraints that conflicted with church attendance (Avakian, 1985; Nelson, 1954; O'Grady, 1981; Phillips, 1978). For these women, ties to the Armenian church went beyond religious nurturance. All respondents indicated that it was often a struggle to maintain their
connection with the church and at the same time be full participants in a life which pulled them away from full church involvement. These women gave the impression that deeply instilled in their consciousness was a need to be involved with the Armenian church—which was understandable, given the symbolic importance of the church in relation to their Armenian heritage, and its function as a vehicle for connectedness to their Armenian friends and relatives.

Movement away from church involvement, that is, involvement in the Armenian church which represented an important aspect of their personal and national identity, left these women with mixed emotions—yearning for connection to this powerful symbol of their identity—and emotional pain when they attempted to make changes which distanced them from the Armenian church. Respondents' descriptions of these mixed emotions parallel Gordon's (1964) Assimilation in American Life which points out the difficulties that immigrants and their children had in preserving their ethnic identity in the process of assimilation.

As they spoke of the difficulties that they encountered when distanced from the Armenian church, vestiges of internalized parental and cultural values surfaced: "I guess that seed is there, and you just can't get rid of it"—leaving feelings of guilt, shame, and self-blame: "I've been real lazy"—"I'm ashamed". These feelings may be indicative of the tension that is inherent in the evolution of a person from one culture of embeddedness to another as suggested by Kegan (1982) in his description of the psychosocial environment in which human development takes place. According to Kegan, each culture of embeddedness tends "to evolve out of each other, each one including...the last" (p. 260).
In spite of the positive feelings which discussion of church evoked, respondents expressed a burden of responsibility that accompanied their ties to the church, and a sense of sadness when they spoke of letting go of this strong link to their heritage. This is in keeping with the literature which points out the importance of the church to the Armenian people's sense of identity (Mirak, 1983; O'Grady, 1981; Phillips, 1978).

Politics

Whether they were members of the church or not, and whether they attended regularly or sporadically, respondents indicated that they were affected by the political-religious split in the Armenian community. According to one respondent,

The church had a lot to do with all this separation....That's so sad....It would have been all one family....We just never really...get together because of the church. The church is keeping us apart.

Commenting on the division between the two Armenian churches which were enmeshed in political schism, one respondent said that the church had influenced the disconnectedness she feels from some of the Armenian friends she had while growing up. She had never attended a function sponsored by the Armenian church with which she was not affiliated, but thought that the two local Armenian priests should try to do something to combine the two churches and to organize the youth. Having seen some Armenians attending each others' church functions, she expressed a desire to see more reciprocity.

Involvement in Armenian politics varied among respondents. Descriptions of involvement ranged from having "absolutely" no part in the life of one participant, to being very much a part of the life of another. Loyalty to parents' political affiliation seemed to be deeply ingrained in respondents' feelings about
Armenian politics. One woman said that she had never been interested in any Armenian political activities, but that her parents' political affiliation influenced the Armenian church in which she later became involved.

Another woman described her parents' influence on her feelings concerning the political split in the Armenian community by saying,

_We were brainwashed....I still refer to them as the other side, like they're the enemy. And it's really so sad because there's so few of us...it would be so nice if we could forget whatever it was that split us._

She explained that she had totally dropped out of political activities when she married. Because one of her children had indicated an interest in an Armenian political organization, she considered getting involved again. Her statement that, "Those feelings are still there", revealed that ties to past Armenian political beliefs still existed. As this respondent expressed her sadness over the political split and her possible re-involvement in the Armenian political scene, remnants of past parental influence emerged.

One of the difficulties that respondents faced was loyalty to parents' political affiliation which perpetuated divisiveness among the Armenians. All participants were unanimous in professing a desire for unity with other Armenians. Taking action to bring about unity presented the dilemma of choosing to remain loyal to one's parents and for some respondents, one's own political affiliation and continuing the divisiveness, or severing ties to past political persuasions to make room for unity among Armenians.

Again, respondents revealed the dilemma of being pulled by conflicting beliefs and desires: on the one hand was loyalty to one's parents, on the other hand was the desire for unity with other Armenians. Compounding the dilemma was the inability or the resistance to initiate or take action on resolution of the
conflict. Resolution of the conflict was relegated to wishful thinking, or as in one case to action by the clergy.

This inability or resistance to conflict resolution may be related to what the feminist literature refers to as fear of alienation. For the Armenian-American women in these interviews, is there room for considering what it is that they really want if the choice is between loyalty to their parents' beliefs or alienation from other Armenians—when what they profess is connectedness to their Armenian people?

Armenian-American women share many of the conflicts and ambiguities that other women in America experience. For the women in these interviews, values surrounding parental respect, church, and political persuasion are intertwined—creating tension in efforts towards self-definition that sometimes seeks a breaking away from the internalized prescribed values that these important issues represent.

Genocide

When the subject of the genocide was raised, respondents exhibited anger, sadness, guilt, and avoidance as they struggled to make meaning of the catastrophic event which was embedded in their personal history. As daughters of survivors of genocide, they were left with feelings of uncertainty about the personal and global repercussions of the cataclysm—about what they could or should do about the violence it had wrought. A sense of grieving accompanied each respondent's story.

Some of what respondents learned about the genocide came indirectly, as a result of overhearing discussions that their parents had between themselves about the genocide, or discussions that their parents had with Armenian friends.
and relatives who had survived the genocide. Respondents spoke of learning about the genocide in bits and pieces in their earlier years as they overheard these discussions, recalling tears and sadness by the adults when they talked about the genocide. In some cases, care was taken to protect the children from the sadness.

Some respondents remembered a sense of secrecy surrounding the issue of the genocide—the feeling that it was something to be kept secret. One respondent recalled adults telling her, "We do not speak about those things". The respondents' parents came from an old country environment of extreme oppression under the rule of the Ottoman Turk. Within that environment, the Armenian culture stressed suppression of feelings. This was the background of these people who immigrated to America, only to again be members of a minority group whose oppression, while not as extreme as that in Ottoman Turkey, nonetheless, continued the dynamics of oppression in their lives. It is not surprising that a parent from such a background would tell their child, "We do not speak about those things".

Freire (1970) describes oppressed groups who have internalized beliefs and values of the dominant group and who have suppressed their feelings of anger and powerlessness as the "muted group". He speaks of a culture of silence. The respondents in this study were recipients of implicit and explicit messages which reinforced silence about a cataclysmic, historical episode in their personal lives which screamed for articulation.

Feminist writers speak of the muted voice of women. Armenian writers tell of the silence that is instilled in the Armenian culture. As females without voice in a male dominated society, and as children of survivors of genocide,
respondents experienced reinforcement of prescriptive silence. In both their American and their ethnic world, they were members of a muted group.

Two of the four respondents specifically mentioned, being protected from sadness when adults discussed the genocide. In contrast, one respondent described how as a teenager, she used to cry when her mother had long talks with her about what happened during the genocide. Her mother told her that if she continued to cry, she would not tell her about it. During the genocide, both parents of this participant lost family members: parents, children, and both spouses. Saying that she could not put her feelings about the genocide into words, she said, “It's horrendous. It's horrendous. And it's still going on”.

Statements such as this, and those which indicated that attempts were made to protect respondents from painful stories about the genocide illustrate the extent to which suppression of feelings was practiced.

Respondents explained that as they grew older they questioned their parents about the genocide and were told of their parents' experiences, and that of others. Parents' earlier reticence in speaking about the genocide seemed to be a combination of parental protection of the children, and difficulty in articulating what was for a long time, unspeakable.

One respondent said that her parents talked about the genocide, but that they never talked about what she called the ordeals and the gruesome parts. She thought that it was hard for them to talk about it. Most of what she heard came from her father. She had not been able to read the memoirs he left which include his experience during the genocide, because it was difficult for her to read anything about the genocide. She said that when she did read her father's writings, she would edit it before she decided if she wanted her young daughter
to see it—her daughter had indicated interest in the genocide. It seemed that just as her parents had protected her from certain details of the genocide, she too, wanted to protect her daughter.

This respondent was angry because she had grown up without aunts and uncles. She explained that her mother’s siblings had been killed during the genocide; however, her paternal grandfather had survived and lived with the respondent’s family while she was growing up. She spoke of her strong feelings against the Turks, saying that she would rather see her children marry anyone except a Turk, and that her children knew it.

She explained that another tragedy her family suffered was that as a result of the genocidal turmoil, the location of her mother’s parents’ remains were unknown. On Memorial Day, in memory of her parents, the respondent’s mother used to place flowers on the graves of people whom she knew had no family. The respondent continued her deceased mother’s tradition and tried to instill in her own children, the tradition of honoring the dead—a tradition born out of her mother’s tragic experience with the genocide.

In her own way, this respondent had selected a ritual emphasizing the loss of loved ones as her way of transmitting symbolic historical messages to the next generation. As Phillips (1978) explains, a selective process takes place in symbolizing history and has a strong influence on collective identity. This respondent’s way of dealing with the tragedy of genocide as it affected her life can be linked to Phillip’s contention that a theme of Armenian culture is the emphasis on collective suffering and survival. Because there were no graves for those who had died in the genocide, this respondent created a symbolic act of survival in passing on to her children, the tradition of honoring the memory of those who had died without family.
Another respondent spoke of her mother living with the memory of being driven from her home and losing her parents and other relatives in 1915. She said that because her mother never forgot it and spoke of it,

We grew up with hatred against the Turkish government. It’s very much a part of my feelings. It’s with me every day. It’s not just once a year commemorating it on April 24th [date of annual commemoration of genocide]. I talk about [the genocide] every occasion that I can enlighten a young person. I like to be able to impart whatever I know about the history of the genocide.

This respondent regretted that oral histories of the genocide survivors by researchers were not started when survivors were younger. She also regretted not recording stories of the genocide as they were told to her: “I feel very, very badly...almost guilty because I myself didn’t write her stories down. And it’s something that I’ll live with the rest of my life and regret”. Feeling badly, “almost guilty”, can be understood when one considers that women’s ways of being include caring and responsibility (Gilligan, 1982; Miller, 1976), and that this respondent felt that she had failed her mother and the greater good by not recording what she had heard about the genocide from a survivor. The dilemma for this respondent and other individuals who have been affected by genocide is that there is no precedence which provided information on how to appropriately deal with the aftermath of genocide.

The ramifications of the genocide took on different shapes and form in the lives of survivors and their children. Respondents sensed that parental depression, anger, silence, faith, and attempts to preserve familial and cultural integrity were linked to the genocide. Respondents’ stories indicated that their own lives had been deeply affected as a result of the effects of the genocide on their parents, and because they themselves were members of a race that had
been the target of genocide. There was no indication that their own feelings of guilt, anger, frustration, and sadness concerning the genocide had been resolved.

As was expected, discussions about the genocide evoked strong feelings. In order to provide some respite from the deep feelings that talking about the genocide generated, the researcher introduced a less emotionally charged topic, that of friendships.

**Friendships**

Respondents were asked about the role that friendships played in their lives. For some respondents, Armenian friends provided a link to staying connected to their Armenian lives, and American friendships seemed to serve as a way to go beyond the boundaries of Armenian life.

One respondent stressed the warmth and comfort that Armenian friends brought to her life, and also pointed out the importance of non-Armenian friends. She did not feel that she had to be with her Armenian friends constantly. Explaining that she had other interests, she summed up her feelings by saying,

I can't imagine my life without them [Armenian friends], or too far away from them....They have a certain niche in my life. The Armenians have their place, and my other friends, non-Armenians, have their place. And I enjoy the two cultures very much.

The majority of respondents spoke of the special place that Armenian friends had in their lives. One respondent mentioned having strong ties with Armenian friends that went back to grade school. Armenian friendships tended to serve as important connections to respondents' Armenian heritage.
Non-Armenian friends were also important. One respondent said that she felt closer to her non-Armenian friends. Another said that her best friends were non-Armenian. What stood out in these discussions about friendships was that while respondents were aware of the richness that both their Armenian and American friends brought to their lives, a sense of kinship was linked to Armenian friendships, just as Avakian (1985), Nelson (1954), and O'Grady (1981) found was indicated by the subjects in their studies.

Integration of Armenian-American Duality

Despite some acknowledged conflicts, most participants spoke with warmth about an idealized upbringing when asked, “What stood out for you about being an Armenian while growing up?” The initial response was usually to claim that there were no adverse episodes in their lives as a result of being Armenian. Later on in the interview, and sometimes with the tape recorder off, respondents shared bits and pieces of memories which showed a different side of their lives.

The following observation by a respondent about the next generation of Armenian-American women indicates that conflicts that sometimes were experienced concerning an Armenian-American upbringing were not always fully acknowledged:

They fall in with the present society. I think there isn’t that awkward merging. It’s that they’re part of it. They don’t have to—[pause]—not that we struggled. Maybe in the early formative years. But they don’t have to prove anything. They’re Americans first, and then they’re Armenians, and as long as they’re intelligent enough to be proud of their Armenian heritage, and they should be, and not forget it.

The researcher saw in this respondent’s halting description of Armenian-American womanhood, a resistance and confusion concerning any
possible negativity about her Armenian-American life—a confusion that the second generation struggles with under the pressure of conflicting loyalties and conflicting demands (Keyishian, 1964).

For most respondents, there seemed to be some ambivalence about the Armenian aspects of their lives while growing up: a preponderance of happy memories, with a trace of not-so-happy memories. One respondent said that her Armenian first name never bothered her, but she remembered that people made fun of it; consequently, she gave her children American first names, and Armenian middle names. Another respondent recalled being embarrassed in her younger years when she had to translate for her mother. Despite the pleasure that their knowledge of the Armenian language gave them, there was a sense of shame surrounding their parents' poor command of the English language. Despite their acceptance of their Armenian names, that too was an embarrassment for some, as Avakian (1985) also revealed. Respondents dealt with the embarrassments which their ethnicity presented, each in their own way: some giving their children names that represented their Armenian-American heritage—American first names, Armenian middle names—a significant compromise; and some enduring the embarrassment that they faced when translating for their parents. In discussing what being an Armenian meant, respondents revealed some of the difficulties that they encountered. It was not always easy.

One of the participants spoke with strong feeling about the preference for male children by her parents’ generation:

I think they loved us all equally. I never felt they favored one over another. But it was just that when they talked about other people’s children, it was always like they favored the boys over the girls, so you always felt....I don’t know.
She remembered that when she gave birth to a daughter, her doctor told her that he was partial to boys—“I was elated, and...he burst my balloon”. She learned that Armenians were not the only ones who indicated a preference for boys. The devaluation of women in a patriarchal society takes many forms (Flax, 1980).

The preference of the older Armenian generation for fair-haired, fair-skinned, blue-eyed children was also recalled: “Growing up, I used to think, oh, wouldn’t it be nice if I...had fair hair, and blue eyes, and fair skin....Wouldn’t my parents be proud of me?” This respondent remembered Armenians, “Making comments about the fair ones, like they were chosen”.

She went on to explain that in addition to the dark coloring of skin, hair and eyes, she had been self-conscious about being hirsute: “That, I didn’t like about myself. And...still to this day” As an adult, she deals with it through electrolysis. Another participant revealed similar feelings that she and other Armenian girls had while growing up about being hirsute.

Faced with pressures to be what American society communicates women should be, two of the respondents pointed out that they were aware that physical attributes of the dominant American culture were valued by Armenians as well as Americans. They aspired to those ideals of womanhood –ideals that often called for alteration of physical attributes which were characteristic of their ethnic background—in a sense, a denial of their identity.

“Knowing your own place” was a restrictive message that one respondent remembered when asked how being Armenian enhanced or hindered her life. However, she had difficulty in acknowledging it as something that existed in her family. She first spoke of it as a hindrance in her life, and then haltingly
explained that she did not think it existed in her family. She then went on to explain that being an Armenian was not a hindrance, but an enhancement in her life.

Most respondents were hesitant about articulating negative aspects of their Armenian lives, but they were clear about the part that their Armenian heritage played in their identity. As one respondent explained,

I am what I am because I was Armenian....I'm satisfied with what I am....Under the circumstances in which we grew up, it's all I really knew....We just knew we were Armenian, and it was important that we were Armenian. It seemed to be important that our friends be Armenian, and we spoke Armenian at home. I guess it did have some kind of effect.

Although respondents were often reluctant to consider in any depth possible conflicts which a dichotomy of Armenian values and American values might have presented, they were aware of the influence that their Armenian upbringing had on them and stressed the positive side of that influence.

**Choices**

Respondents were clear about the influence of Armenian heritage on their lives in terms of language, the church, Armenian politics, the genocide, and Armenian friendships. This section describes respondents' views on how attitudes, beliefs, and values which emanated from their Armenian background played a part in their choices regarding education, jobs, dating, marriage, and fulfillment of aspirations.

**Education**

Respondents indicated that while growing up, it was understood that college was not really for girls. College was seen by some families as a waste of money because females were expected to get married and be taken care of by a husband. Attending business school, teachers' college, or nursing school were
mentioned as possibilities; however, going to school out of town was considered to be improper for a female.

One respondent who had wanted to go to an out-of-town college said that her parents would not allow it. Years later, her own daughter wanted to go to an out-of-town college. The respondent and her husband convinced their daughter to go to a local college. The respondent explained, “That again is a little bit of my upbringing rubbing off” Despite her own disappointment in not being allowed to attend an out-of-town college, this respondent recognized the tenacity of internalized prescribed values.

Two of the respondents stated that they not been interested in college while growing up. One of these respondents said that in retrospect, she believed she had handicapped herself by not going on to college. Another respondent had wanted to pursue a creative career. She and the respondent who had wanted to attend an out-of-town college were discouraged by their parents to pursue their areas of interest. Most respondents tended to feel that intellectual pursuits were inappropriate for them. This is not surprising given the messages of the times which discouraged higher education for women (Friedan, 1983), and given the belief held by some Armenians in the old country of their parents’ upbringing that education for women was detrimental to family life (Villa & Matossian, 1982).

**Dating and Marriage**

Parental approval and family pride tended to be strong factors in dating practices and in choice of spouse. Some of the dating restrictions that respondents mentioned were: (a) no dating at an early age (one respondent did not date until her early 20’s, despite being approached for dates at her place of
work); (b) dating only Armenian boys; (c) not dating too much; (d) going only to
certain appropriate places; and (e) screening of potential dates by family
members for approval. In speaking of family restrictions which made dating
difficult, one respondent said, “I wouldn’t even think of dating a non-Armenian”

Although one respondent was allowed to date at an earlier age than the
other respondents and was not restricted to dating only Armenians, she said that
it was made clear that she was expected to marry an Armenian. According to
one respondent, “Not only did they have to be Armenian, they had to...go to the
same church....Then it was, well where did their parents come from? They had
to come from the same [Armenian] village....So limited....Nobody was ever good
enough”

The response of respondents to family restrictions concerning dating
practices varied. One respondent described her way of dating someone of whom
her family did not approve:

Not openly. Maybe surreptitiously....I had just enough gumption and
rebelliousness to do it anyhow....not to do anything bad....I can honestly say
I was a good girl....and I think a lot of it was fear, the fear that my mother
put in me, and also I did have [siblings]....And so I was very
conscientious...and I was a sensible girl....But I really wouldn’t do anything
to hurt myself or the family image.

This respondent’s description of how she dealt with the issue of dating
when family approval was denied depicts the complexity of issues that dating
presented: the power of family standards in dating practices—enforced by fear
and by the responsibility to protect the family image; the avoidance of
confrontation to assert one’s choice of dating partner; the duty “not to do
anything bad” –“I was a good girl”. One may also detect the Outcome Control
power of mothers that Proudian (1983) describes. This respondent’s behavior
may be related to Tavris and Wade's (1984) point that, "Many [women] have learned ways to appear obedient while behaving independently....Wiles are what any group uses to get along with a more powerful group" (p. 18).

Dating limitations did not leave much room for assertiveness, autonomy, nor opportunities to believe one had the right to experience feelings of intimacy. Alienation from family was a high price to pay for not submitting to rules which defined Armenian womanhood (and American womanhood)—rules which kept women in the role of child—of being "a good girl".

Although dating was limited, three of the respondents spoke of having a happy social life through their membership in an Armenian youth organization. According to one respondent, "It was like a brother-sister relationship of the model boys and girls together". Respondents described it as an accepted way for Armenian boys and girls to meet and socialize. On the one hand it served to provide a closed social environment for meeting potential Armenian marriage partners. It also was an example of the sense of kinship that Armenians felt for one another (Avakian, 1985; Nelson, 1954; O'Grady, 1981), what Phillips describes as "this sense of being part of a scattered kin group" (p. 275).

Explicit and implicit messages were understood about expectations that respondents would marry, and that they would marry Armenians. There was considerable discussion by respondents implying that they had wanted the freedom to marry a non-Armenian if they so chose; however, conditioning made it difficult to imagine marrying someone who was not Armenian. One respondent explained that she felt more comfortable marrying an Armenian, thinking that she would not be happy if she married a non-Armenian.
The influence of parental values was evidenced in the comments of a respondent who waited close to five years before she married her non-Armenian husband so that she could convince her parents that he was right for her: “I didn’t want to make them unhappy....I waited until I could do it with their blessing” She said that although she had no regrets about her own marriage, the thought had crossed her mind that it would be nice if her children married Armenians. It seemed that for this respondent, her parents’ blessings represented acceptance of her decision to marry outside of her ethnic group. She waited until she received that acceptance or approval of her choice.

The ambivalence she experienced about the strongly held cultural value of marrying an Armenian was evidenced in her fleeting thought about the pleasure it would give her if her children married Armenians, despite her own marriage to a non-Armenian. Letting go of deeply ingrained values did not come easily.

The issue of choice surfaced while discussing the differences between respondent marriages and that of their parents. Respondents spoke of marrying for love and having a choice in the selection of marital mate, as opposed to their parents’ marriages, which were mostly arranged marriages, or marriages of convenience.

One respondent’s mother had married at the early age of 15 in an arranged marriage. Another respondent told of her parents marrying each other to start a new family after loosing spouses and children during the genocide. Respondents were aware that even though their own marriages had an element of choice in contrast to their parents’ marriages, there was a certain limitation born out of the conditioning to choose Armenian mates.
For some respondents, in addition to cultural pressures to marry Armenians, the choice of who one’s eventual mate would be was attributed to forces outside of one’s self. One respondent spoke of fate. Another spoke of her romanticized notion: “I had the illusions of being swept off my feet by a Prince Charming.” For most respondents, an external locus of control seemed to surround many of their life choices.

Jobs

All of the respondents indicated that they were not raised to seek career jobs or professions for the same reason that they were not encouraged to seek higher education: They were expected to eventually marry and be taken care of by their husbands, thereby fulfilling the gender-defined social role of wife (Avakian, 1985; Beauvoir, 1952; Friedan, 1983; Greenspan, 1983; HCWSC, 1983; Lerner, 1986; Miller, 1976; Tavris & Wade, 1984; Williams, 1983).

One respondent explained that there were jobs which her family considered to be respectable for women and jobs that were not considered to be respectable. She cited cocktail waitress and working on a tobacco farm as examples of inappropriate jobs for women. During the era in which she was raised, local teenage boys and girls often worked on nearby tobacco farms. One respondent told of working at a factory job for a short period of time and then going on to an office job. Office jobs were deemed to be more favorable work for women than factory jobs. The majority of respondents had worked at office jobs at one time or another. Married respondents worked for a short while after marriage—until they started having children—and again when their children were grown. Apparently, the women in these interviews had conformed to societal and cultural delineations of what was and what not appropriate for women working outside of the home.
Aspirations

In response to the question of whether or not she had any other aspirations for herself while growing up besides marriage, one respondent replied, “Aspirations? No. Isn’t that sad? No. I was completely content with the way my life was going. Absolutely...I was content. I didn’t look for—to be anything special. I was happy” Her use of the word “sad” and the phrase, “I didn’t look...to be anything special” may be indicative of some recognition of circumscribed aspirations, a condition of womanhood that feminist writers elucidate.

When asked about any conflicts they may have had while growing up about who they wanted to be and who they felt they should be, married respondents talked at length about being completely fulfilled in being married—in being a homemaker and mother. One respondent summed it up by saying, “We were brought up, you were a girl, you went to school, you got a job, you got married, you had kids, you had a home. I’m happy with that”

Part of the satisfaction that respondents expressed may be due to what Marcia (1967) and Marcia and Friedman (1970) describe as identity foreclosure—an identity status that may serve as an adaptive status for women—one in which high self-esteem and low anxiety may be achieved by adhering to parents’ expectations. This adherence may be a manifestation of fulfilling yet another characteristic assigned to women—that of submissiveness.

Personal Traits and Characteristics

Discussions concerning respondents’ self-concept included their views about personal strengths and weaknesses. Respondents referred repeatedly to their mothers’ influence on their lives. According to one respondent: “I remind
myself a lot of her...I find myself sounding more and more like her”. They described their mothers as strong women, and credited some of their own strengths to their mothers’ influence. One respondent described herself as a strong woman who did not fall apart—who could deal with any challenge. This is not surprising given the role models of parents who survived genocide and the challenges of resettlement in a new country.

Some other strengths that respondents attributed to themselves were: dependable, loyal, hard worker, caring, good mother, good friend, good sister, sincere, high moral standards, patient, good listener, and honest. One respondent said that she was an easy person to get along with—that it took a lot to get her mad. Another said that one of her strengths was that she kept her house in fairly good order. For one respondent, an admirable trait was that she would not do anything to others that she would not want done to her. Many of the strengths that respondents identified with were similar to stereotypically desirable feminine traits as described in human development theories, feminist literature and those pointed out in the 1972 Broverman et al. study.

Identifying their own strengths did not come easily to most respondents. Respondents often minimized positive attributes with qualifiers. The difficulty which some respondents exhibited in recognizing and articulating personal strengths led the researcher to wonder if these women were responding from a sense of modesty. One respondent had mentioned that she was taught to be modest. Internalization of societal and cultural views about modesty as a desirable trait for women, and devaluation of women’s strengths may have made recognition and articulation of one’s own strengths problematic.
Examples of weaknesses that some respondents ascribed to themselves are: not being exceptional, not being overly pretty, not being a leader, and not being talented. These self-assessments may be an expression of modesty, an internalization of societal views which devalue women's abilities, or a disassociation of traits which would depict one as less feminine.

**Appearance**

Two respondents commented on their appearance, mentioning that they were pleased that they did not look their age. One respondent said, “I like what I see when I look in the mirror when I'm all dressed up. Not the way I look right now, but for my age, I think I look pretty good” According to the other respondent, “I've always looked more youthful than my actual age...[it] just makes it easier to face the day....I'm in relatively good shape, and I'm still conscious of my clothes and my appearance” These statements may be related to the internalization of societal values which emphasize personal appearance and a struggle to adapt to increased age as described by Parson's (1949)—values which persist as the 1980s enter a new decade.

In terms of appearance as it relates to sexuality and power, one respondent offered the following insight:

All my life I've been told I have a good figure. And that I wasn't conscious of until I was in my teens...I wasn't told that in the home....They may have been aware of it, but it wasn't a point that anyone made in the house....not even in school....As far as having a beautiful figure or anything like that, I wasn't that aware of or conscious of. But...when I started to work, I received compliments, and men made me aware of it just by their actions. And I guess I dressed well, and it wasn't just the clothes that attracted attention, it was my figure....It was complimentary, but it made me very self-conscious. And even though I dress well, and I suppose consciously or unconsciously, women dress to attract attention, I was still innocent of the fact that the attention I was attracting or drawing was not just to the clothes, but to my whole being. And it was difficult for me to respond to
complimentary gestures...I knew how to choose clothes well and wear them well, and even though outwardly that looked like a come-on, I didn’t know how to react to it...I didn’t realize the power that, you know, this overall thing had—appearance.

Although this respondent states that she had no conscious knowledge of the power associated with her appearance, Greenspan (1983) explains the reason for women’s preoccupation with cosmetics and fashions: “We know that our bodies are our only power and we take them...seriously....Woman in contemporary patriarchal society is fundamentally identified with her body. Her body is her power” (pp. 163-164).

**Sexuality and Intimacy**

The researcher had expected and experienced some resistance from respondents about discussing sexuality in any depth. Some respondents were reluctant to portray their sexuality in anything less than favorable terms, as illustrated by one woman who said,

They [parents] were very strict....which I don’t think hampered me in any way....I would just say that I was a late bloomer. I don’t think it bothered me, and I don’t think it bothers me now....I led a sheltered life....I don’t think the way I was brought up had any effect at all...I was married....And I was able to handle it...by now of course, you don’t have to feel guilty about anything because you’re married.

When asked what messages she received about sexuality while growing up, another respondent abruptly answered, “Nothing” When probed further, she replied that she received no messages about sexuality while growing up, and added, “It was just more how we conducted ourselves as a lady or a gentleman, as the case may be. But nothing on the sexual aspect” When asked if she could remember her own feelings of sexuality and what she did or did not do about it, she talked for a while about how important it was to her that she and her mother were close and could talk about anything—and then communicated to the researcher non-verbally by tone of voice and look, that the subject was closed.
With the tape recorder turned off, another respondent half-jokingly told of the “horror stories” her mother would tell her about sex. During the taped interview, in explaining messages she received while growing up regarding sexuality, this respondent spoke of the emphasis on modesty for women:

At home I had to be extremely careful....I couldn’t run around without clothes, not even a slip between my room and the bathroom. I had to be either fully clothed, or with a robe on. And I was very careful, and particularly when I had my period, the family never knew, or were not supposed to know that I was having my period....I was very careful, and so was my mother.

She went on to say,

I think my sexuality was latent....was probably there, but didn’t manifest itself. It was dormant because I didn’t know what to do with it...I had crushes...I fell in love with movie actors, and enjoyed watching love scenes in movies....I had all the feelings, but because...there was no outward exposure to that type of thing at home, or encouraged, and we were taught to be careful and to keep our virginity, and that type of thing,...our sexuality wasn’t exposed....If I flirted, and it attracted someone, then if they wanted to go one step further, I wouldn’t know what to do with it. I was brave as long as...there was great distance between me and the young man I was flirting with....I flirted from a distance.

One respondent said that sex was not discussed in the home. Any such thoughts or feelings were discussed with girlfriends—they tried to educate each other. Like the women in the Avakian (1985) study, all of the respondents in this study reported that the subject of sexuality was taboo in their Armenian homes. There were clear indications of the internalization of Armenian values and the Victorian era heritage which admonished the suppression of one’s sexuality.

Expression of Feelings

When asked how comfortable they were in expressing their feelings, one respondent replied that she never saw her parents kissing or hugging, or heard
them arguing. She said, “There really was never any emotions, angry or love, and I think that rubs off.” She described herself as not being overly affectionate with siblings, their spouses, and in-laws, and explained, “That’s the way we were brought up. Emotions were something you didn’t show. I do cry easy though...I think I’m very sensitive.”

In contrast to the other respondents who stated that expression of their feelings was difficult in some areas, one respondent said, “I think that I’m able to express them all...angry....happy....depressed.... loving, and also very receptive of love. I can be nasty. I think I run the spectrum of emotions. I can be anything, everything”. Saying that she needed to be loved, she added, “I don’t always show it, but I’m a warm person. I can also be cold...but...I’ve been told that I’m warm”.

This respondent vacillated between glimmers of awareness and some denial when she discussed how she dealt with her emotions and the impact that it had on her life. She said that she felt good about receiving love and warmth and being needed when children were involved, but questioned the level of comfort she felt with adults, saying that she was more comfortable when she could keep some distance in her relationships.

After reviewing the transcript of her taped interview, this respondent who had said that she was able to express the full gamut of emotions, revised her comments, and spoke of some difficulties: She explained that as a result of restrictions put on Armenian women, she was unable to express love or feelings of sexuality when she fell in love. She gave poignant examples in her life. The comments that these women made regarding discomfort in expressing their feelings paralleled the literature about the Armenian value in the old country of
suppressing any open display of emotions (Villa & Matossian, 1982), and the inheritance of that value by second-generation Armenian-American women (Avakian, 1985).

Dependency and Independency

In discussing the issue of dependency and independency, respondents identified family influence as a factor which contributed to their feelings of dependency. One respondent expressed her dependence on family and the importance she gave to family approval:

I'm not a very strong person. I'm dependent in some ways....dependent on family—have always been. And also [their] approval, in a lot of things I did....I was never a good decision-maker, and I did need a lot of nudging of family, and sometimes relied on their help to make the decisions. Important decisions. Perhaps things that were less important I could.

She exhibited some uncertainty when she described herself in terms of dependency and independency. Although she said that she never considered herself to be an independent person, she considered herself to be independent in some ways:

I was independent, but I didn't realize it. To some extent I was. I did things independently of my friends. I didn't follow them....Even though my Armenian girlfriends were very, very close...my whole life wasn't tuned in to just Armenian things....So even though I thought I wasn't independent, apparently there was some.

Another respondent said that in her younger days, it always seemed that she was dependent upon male relatives, including her husband. When she first got married, some big decisions were made for her and her husband as a result of help from parents and other relatives—such as where they lived when they first married—in housing owned by her parents, and where they later lived—in a home built on property gifted to them by relatives. This attempt by parents and
extended family to retain control over their children's lives by keeping them close to home can be related to Avakian's (1985) study which reports similar behavior that enabled dependency.

**Patterns of Behavior**

A tendency towards patterns of behavior such as self-blame, self-minimization, avoidance, procrastination, and reactivity emerged as respondents described various life situations. Some respondents revealed difficulty in dealing with conflict resolution and anger. Issues surrounding regretfulness and privacy also surfaced. The following sections discuss these situations.

**Self-Blame and Self-Minimization**

Respondents often engaged in self-blame and self-minimizing descriptions in trying to interpret certain actions they had taken or not taken. Negative self-descriptive adjectives were sometimes used when often positive self-descriptive adjectives may have been appropriate by viewing situations from a different perspective—that of acting from an external locus of control or recognizing positions of powerlessness. For example, as discussed below, respondents tended to view themselves as selfish rather than assertive; lazy rather than powerless; and stubborn rather than persevering.

One respondent, when asked what she would change about herself if she could, replied, “It would be that I should pay less attention to things that don’t matter, and go on to...the things that are really my first love” She blamed herself for not having self-discipline, and for not pursuing what meant the most to her. She also blamed herself for a life decision that she now regrets: “Maybe it was selfishness on my part, and just thinking of me” Women who do not behave in
culturally defined feminine ways such as submissiveness, risk personal conflict resulting in self-devaluation, guilt, and a self-limiting approach to aspirations (Greenspan, 1983; Miller, 1976). This respondent seemed to have difficulty in reconciling decisions that she had made which conflicted with family values—blaming herself when she acted against them—experiencing regret when she submitted and surrendered her own happiness.

A number of times earlier in the interview, this respondent had expressed the important role that family approval and preservation of family image had played in her decisions. In conversations while the tape recorder was off, the researcher learned that the decisions this respondent regretted were influenced by certain ethnic values and family pressures which presented formidable sanctions and obstacles.

Another respondent viewed her discomfort of going into non-Armenian groups as a shortcoming in herself. She described herself as being lazy for not making the effort to find fulfillment in her life, and for not overcoming her failing to get outside of herself to find, “my little niche....somewhere that I could fit in”. For this respondent, finding a niche where she “fit in” entailed a getting “outside of herself”. Armenians tend to have a more collective orientation than that of Western individualism (O’Grady, 1981; Philipps, 1978). The laziness that this respondent attributed to herself may be interpreted as a resistance to emotional pain resulting from distancing herself from the ethnic group which was fused to her personal identity. Finding a balance between two worlds creates many conflicts in the lives of individuals with bi-cultural backgrounds (Danielian, 1972; Gordon, 1964). In the wake of trying to sort out the discomfort she felt about this dilemma, this respondent turned inward to
self-blame—a common behavior for many women who strain against confining cultural boundaries (Greenspan, 1983; Miller, 1976; Tavris & Wade, 1984).

Another respondent evidenced similar self-criticism in interpreting a different life situation. She had been told that she had talent in a creative activity that gave her great personal satisfaction; however, she had been discouraged from pursuing this activity. She gave lack of self-discipline and laziness as reasons why she had not further pursued the satisfying and creative talent that she had. Rather than recognizing the part that an unsupportive environment played in such life decisions, she engaged in the typical female pattern of self-blame.

Stubbornness was an aspect of their personalities that some respondents discussed with mixed emotions. On the one hand, it was seen as a way to express independence; on the other hand, there was some concern that it was not an admirable trait. The following comments are illustrative of how respondents described themselves when pursuing needs or desires which were unacceptable to others—critical of themselves, rather than recognizing the courage it took to act in the face of disapproval. “If I feel very strongly that I’m right about something, I’m very stubborn....maybe that’s not such a good characteristic to have” Another respondent used the Armenian word “enahd”, meaning stubborn, to describe how she felt about acting against her family’s wishes: “Sometimes, as I say, I rebelled or was stubborn”

Similar to self-blame was the behavior of self-minimization, illustrated in a respondent’s description of what she considered to be a strength: Although she did not have a college education, she said that people often assumed that she did because of the knowledge she had acquired as a result of reading and
travelling; her enjoyment of the classics in literature and music; and her enjoyment of fine things. She then minimized the knowledge and abilities that she had acquired and developed through life experiences and denigrated herself by adding: “Perhaps I’m a good actress....I can pass if I keep my mouth shut.” This may also be indicative of what feminist literature refers to as the “Imposter Syndrome” – the feeling that one’s abilities are fake.

Avoidance, Procrastination, and Reactivity

Respondents talked about the different times in their lives when what they wanted seemed to slip away from them or seemed out of reach. They often reacted to situations or to others by avoidance or procrastination rather than initiating action to pursue what they wanted. One respondent described how she dealt with the situation when her parents did not allow her to go to an out-of-town college: “I thought, well maybe they’ll change their minds...and I thought, come September, maybe I’ll do something else....So it was kind of spiteful that I didn’t go [to college], because I didn’t want to go to [local college]” Her parents did not change their minds – she did something else: She worked in an office and eventually married. She let the opportunity to attend college slip away that time – and again later in her life.

She reflected on the feelings she had upon going to work after her last child entered school, saying, “Back when I first started...I thought of going back to school, and I thought, it’s too late. Now when I look back, it wasn’t. Now I think it’s too late, but I would have been through by now”

This respondent reacted to her parents’ withholding of their approval to her choice of college by passively waiting for them to change their minds. She put off taking action for a college education later in her life, at the time her
children entered school. As a result of these actions taken, or more accurately actions not taken, she succeeded in avoiding confrontation with her parents, and also the risk of success in achieving a college education.

Confrontational conflict resolution and the risk of success are areas of especial vulnerability to women. Engaging in confrontational conflict resolution presents the possibility of alienation—a high price to pay for women whose sense of self centers on relationships (Gilligan, 1982; Greenspan, 1983; Miller, 1976; Tavris & Wade, 1984). Avoidance, procrastination, and reactivity serve as protective mechanisms against fear of success. For women, fear of success derives from fear of violating societal definitions of femininity which equate “achievement (especially intellectual achievement) [as] aggressive, and therefore masculine” (Tavris & Wade, 1984, p. 245). Miller (1976) points out the lengths that some women go to maintain socially defined femininity when she candidly asks, “How many women have pretended to be dumb!” (p. 7).

In addition to the above influences, this respondent was exposed to messages from her ethnic culture which discouraged education for women. The bottom line for her seemed to be that pursuing a college education of her choice risked alienation from her family when she was younger, and the risk of being considered unfeminine should she aspire to and achieve a college education.

Another respondent, who felt dissatisfaction about being complacent with her life, and who wished that she were more outgoing, indicated that she had resigned herself to her situation for the time being, and seemed to take comfort in the idea that things would take care of themselves. She said, “I haven’t found the little niche that I belong in yet. And I feel that it’s coming someday”
The tendency to wait for things to work themselves out sometime in the future is illustrated in how this respondent dealt with a personal tragedy that had occurred nearly five years ago:

I really don’t feel as though I really faced it then, because I didn’t have the time, and I’m beginning to get the aftermath now....But this too shall pass....It’s maybe like licking your wounds a little bit yet. It will pass. I’m sure it will pass....I just don’t want to make the effort yet....And I don’t know how involved I want to get, or how much of myself I want to give to anything that I get into....And I haven’t crossed that bridge yet. And I’m still within myself...doing exactly what I want to do and not anymore. Which is sad in a way. But that will pass. It will.

A seemingly stoic acceptance of what life had dealt, with trust that somehow things would work out, gave way to sadness about not being ready to initiate action to move on with her life—while still trusting that, “This too shall pass” This respondent, like other respondents in this interview seemed to fall into a pattern of passivity when faced with situations in which they felt powerless—a common reaction for individuals who are members of a subordinate group (Greenspan, 1983; Miller, 1976;).

Avoidance, denial and a passive stance played a part in one respondent’s assessment of her health. She said that having her health was one of the reasons for her satisfaction with life. When the researcher followed that comment with a question asking what was most important to her, the respondent replied, “My health. That God forbid, I shouldn’t get to the point...where I would become a burden on my children....That bothers me” The respondent was referring to a health problem that caused her pain and limited her activities. She later explained that she tended to deal with the problem by trying to avoid, ignore, and endure it as much as she could.
Couched in these discussions which emphasized self-blame, self-minimization, avoidance, procrastination, and reactivity, was a strong sense that respondents often felt that their lives were guided by external forces. Such feelings may have created obstacles to accurate self-perception resulting in self-limiting attitudes and behavior, creating a cyclical pattern which hindered the development of aspirations and efforts to achieve desired goals. This can be likened to Tavris and Wade's (1984) description of the affects of an external locus of control:

Some women feel that their lives are externally controlled only when it comes to success: when they fail, they suddenly turn internal. Sooner or later a woman in this situation is bound to decide that if at first she doesn't succeed, she might as well forget it. (p. 68)

Avoidance, which emerged as a pattern in dealing with the life situations described above, emerged as a pattern in dealing with anger. Avoidance in confronting anger often manifested itself in unforgiveness. Two respondents spoke of estrangements from relatives as a result of unresolved disputes. At one time or another, all respondents had engaged in broken off relationships with friends or relatives as a result of unresolved anger or hurt feelings.

Regretfulness

Regret was a theme that surfaced as respondents discussed certain aspects of their lives. Unresolved conflict, often the result of avoidance, left many feelings of regret. A respondent who was not on speaking terms with family members said about the breach in family harmony, "I wish that had not happened ....I think that's sad that that happened....I wish that could change" Commenting on discord in her family, another respondent explained,

I think it would be nice if there was a lot more harmony in the family. There probably never will be, but I don't dwell on it....But if I were to
It would be nice if things had turned out differently....Today they're so distant....And that's not the way we were brought up....It would be nice if we were a closer knit family....right now I feel my family is my immediate family.

Women avoid anger because they fear abandonment and isolation (Gilligan, 1982; Greenspan, 1983; Miller, 1976; Tavris & Wade, 1984). Unable to deal with conflict in a constructive manner, the respondents in these interviews reported that unresolved conflict had left them with regret and sadness. As Miller (1976) puts it:

Destructive conflict calls forth the conviction that one cannot possibly “win” or, more accurately, that nothing can really change....It often involves a feeling that one must move away from one’s deeply felt motives, that one is losing the connection with one’s most importantly held desires and needs....Adults don’t seem to know how to enter into it [productive conflict] with integrity and respect and with some degree of confidence and hope. It is hardly surprising then that many conflicts turn out badly, leaving adults with anguish and fear of conflict (p. 129).

Some regrets were also expressed about issues surrounding Armenian heritage. Respondents with children expressed their own regrets and that of their children for not teaching the children the Armenian language. As the older generation died, the opportunity to speak Armenian began to dwindle. Also, as the older generation died, the opportunity to record oral histories began to be lost. One respondent regretted not recording stories of the genocide as they were told to her: “It’s something that I’ll live with the rest of my life and regret” What stands out in these examples is the tendency of respondents to blame themselves for not fulfilling their expected role of culture-bearer—a role that, for Armenian women, carries with it a moral obligation to preserve the culture of their people who were victims of genocide.
This contention of a moral imperative may be better understood in relation to Gilligan's (1982) perspectives on the interpretation of women's experience: “The concept of identity expands to include the experience of interconnection. The moral domain...by the inclusion of responsibility and care in relationships....the...ideal of knowledge...to the...conception of knowing as a process of human relationships” (p. 173). According to Tavris and Wade (1984), women “tend to emphasize the ethics of care, human attachments, the balancing of conflicting responsibilities” (p. 77).

Respondents' comments indicated an acceptance of their expected role as care-takers of their ethnic heritage. The role of culture-bearer was assigned to the women in these interviews who are children of survivors of a genocide not yet acknowledged by the perpetrators nor the world community. Underscoring the nature of this role are feelings of guilt for not adequately fulfilling the unrelentingly difficult responsibilities that it entails.

Privacy

The issue of privacy was raised by a respondent who described herself as a private person. She explained that she shared only what she wanted to share with family, friends, and other people. Another respondent described herself as basically a loner, even though she said that she liked people.

One respondent spoke of a measured relationship that she kept with neighbors: “Not that I’m unfriendly, but I don’t run in and out of neighbors’ homes. I’m kind of lucky that everybody around here works...But I just never did...and my mother never did either” About her mother, she said, “She never could be bothered really socializing” The other respondents indicated that their mothers tended to be more sociable. Although respondents articulated that they
liked people, most indicated that they wanted to maintain a certain amount of distance.

One respondent described herself as a people person. She liked being with people—but not to lean on or to depend on them. She said that she did not like being alone. This respondent’s distinction of liking to be with people but not using people to lean on or to depend on may have a connection to other respondents’ feelings of liking people, but desiring a certain distance.

Respondents may have been reflecting the influence of their upbringing whereby a certain measure of distance was kept by their parents as a way of not exposing weaknesses or deficiencies to others (Phillips, 1978)—a caution that may have had its genesis in a background of living as “tolerated infidels” in Muslim Turkey (Strom & Parsons, 1982).

Changes Over Time

When questioned about their growing up years, respondents tended to focus on perceived personal shortcomings and self-blame. When asked questions about themselves which dealt with the present, most respondents described changed behavior which reflected an increased inner locus of control, recognition of their strengths, and ongoing changes which seemed to contribute to an increased positive self-concept. The following portion of this study presents changes over time in the lives of respondents concerning: Expression of Feelings, Independence, and Decision-making; Education and Jobs; Marriage and Role of Women; and Armenian Way of Life.

Expression of Feelings, Independence, and Decision-Making

When asked about their feelings in later years concerning their sexuality, respondents exhibited a vague sense of discomfort. One respondent said, “It’s
not something that I really think about. I'm very comfortable with it....You just come to grips with it, I think as you mature and grow older” Although she disclaimed discomfort, her use of the phrase, “You just come to grips with it”, indicated a less than comfortable feeling. Another respondent also revealed some sense of discomfort when she said that with marriage, she felt less guilty about her sexuality.

Being raised in families that protected their own reputations by protecting female virginity (Avakian, 1985; Mirak, 1980; Nelson, 1954) may have had some lasting effects on respondents’ attitudes regarding their sexuality. In an American society which presented its own taboos regarding female sexuality (Greenspan, 1983; Miller, 1976; Tavris & Wade, 1984; Williams, 1983), coupled with explicit messages of sexual freedom (Friedan, 1983), the discomfort that the respondents exhibited may have also been related to contradicting messages of what constituted appropriate expressions of female sexuality. Although respondents had experienced changes in their ability to express certain feelings, little change was revealed in their attitudes regarding sexuality.

One respondent thought that maturity was the reason for changes in the way she now expressed her emotions:

As you get older, you speak out more and more as you mature...When you're younger, you hold back for whatever reasons. But then as you get older, you think, well, I'm not going to take that, and I'm not going to keep it in, and I'm going to tell them how I feel, and I'm going to get it out. I think it comes with maturity....You start to change.

Another respondent described changes in how she expressed her feelings as she grew older:

As I have grown older, my negative feelings have been more verbal, which I used to sit on a little bit....If I have something negative to say, I hopefully say it tactfully, but I say it. But I am very emotional. I am very up front with my feelings. And I don't care who knows it.
Some ambivalence was expressed by one respondent about following in her mother's footsteps in terms of verbalizing disagreement. She explained that in her parents' relationship, her mother, who was a very dedicated person, never openly disagreed with her husband, especially in front of the children. About herself, the respondent said,

If I don't agree, I let it be known....That might be because she was the way she was that I don't want to be that way....You've got a life of your own and a mind of your own.

And then she added:

I try, when the kids are around...if I do disagree with something, not to mention it. And....I don't like it if he [her husband] disagrees with me in front of the children. And that's probably because I never saw it....That's the way I'd like it to be if it were at all possible. But then again, if it were, I'd be just like she was.

Conscious of her parents' influence on the way she expressed her feelings, she tried to express her feelings in her own way. Despite her claim that her parents' lack of showing emotions had rubbed off on her, she said that she hugged and kissed her children, and told them that she loved them. Following a discussion about a breach in family relationships, she made it clear that she did not hold anything back: "I think I'm open. I try to be. I don't...beat around the bush. If I'm unhappy with something, I let them know it"

She dealt with daily mishaps differently:

[On] days when things don't go as well as others...you roll with the tide....Some people dwell on...that type of thing, and blow it way out of proportion, and I try not to. That's probably why I don't remember some things, because you kind of put them in the back of your mind.

"Identity is never static" (Marcia, 1976, p. 153). Life experiences bring about changes that are continuously integrated into a constantly changing vision of one's life (Miller, 1976). The changes reported above by the respondents in
these interviews parallel Miller's (1976) explanation of the process of self-definition:

The very ways we find to conceptualize experience are in large measure given to us by the culture in which we learn 'how to think and feel'....People are...continually straining against the boundaries of their culture—against the limiting categories given by that culture—and seeking the means to understand and to express the many experiences for which it does not suffice. This is true for all people. For women today it is a preeminent factor (p. 112).

That some respondents were “straining against the boundaries of their culture—against the limiting categories given by that culture” [bi-cultural], is exhibited in such comments as, “I’m not going to keep it in...I’m going to tell them how I feel” —“If I have something negative to say...I say it....I don’t care who knows it” —“If I don’t agree, I let it be known.... You’ve got a life of your own and a mind of your own” —“I don’t beat around the bush. If I’m unhappy with something, I let them know it”. It seemed that some feelings were easier to express than others: love to children was easier to show than to adults; day-to-day mishaps were sometimes conveniently forgotten. At mid-life and older, respondents indicated that they were beginning to find their voices.

Changes were also reported in the area of dependency. Most respondents indicated that as they grew older, they became more independent. One respondent explained that because of the long hours that her husband had worked, she had needed to be independent earlier. Respondents who described themselves as independent, said that they made decisions primarily by weighing the pros and cons and deciding what was best for them.

One respondent explained that in her younger days she seemed to be dependent on male relatives, including her husband. She said,
As I got older, I thought...you have to be responsible for yourself. I think maybe I came to that conclusion when a lot of friends' marriages either ended in divorce, or...one very good friend died [leaving ] four kids....She brought them up and maintained her home...and put her kids through college. And I thought, could I have done that?...Ten years ago I probably couldn't have, but today, I think I can.

As respondents interpreted their life experiences, there were some regrets, and there were some things to be grateful for. The process of meaning-making continued—and brought about changes—changes in behavior, values, and self-concept.

Education and Jobs

Although none of the respondents had gone on to college, three of the respondents were involved in the field of education through their jobs (as college secretary, librarian, and teacher’s assistant) and expressed great satisfaction with their work. Whether they had wanted college for themselves or not, respondents felt that college was important. Those with children expressed a strong desire for both their daughters and their sons to have a college education. One respondent spoke of the satisfaction that a challenging new career had brought to her at a time in her life “when I should be thinking of retirement”. She enthusiastically explained, “It’s probably the most interesting job of any job that I have held in my life...to think it’s so late in my life...I’m working at something that I’m enjoying thoroughly”.

One respondent had not worked until she went to work in the family business during the latter part of her married life. She said that she liked it because it filled her days and gave her insight into the outside world. Other married respondents worked for a short while after marriage, until they started to have children. Once their children were older, they worked at part-time jobs.
Statements by respondents that they took part-time jobs rather than full-time employment after their children entered school indicated that, for the most part, respondents tended to fulfill their prescribed role of primary care-taker.

Many women hold low-ranking jobs as a result of conforming to socialization of such traits as dependency, noncompetiveness, and fear of success—traits "that limit their aspirations and their abilities" (Tavris & Wade, 1984, p. 249). Whereas one [unmarried] respondent found her work challenging, two respondents said that not having responsibilities was one of the reasons that they liked their jobs. All respondents thought that their parents would approve of the jobs that they held—all of which were within the range of acceptable jobs for women.

Marriage and Role of Women

Respondents were in agreement that divorce was not an option in their parents' generation regardless of how unhappy they might have been. Like their parents' generation, respondents valued marriage; however, some changes were taking place. Respondents saw their mothers as being very dedicated to their marriages and their role of family caretaker. One respondent described her feelings about her mother's role:

Her husband, her home, her children...her whole world revolved around that....That's what they were put on earth for....I don't want that for myself. That's not the kind of life I would want for myself or my children.

Another respondent described similar feelings during her discussion about her parents' relationship and the relationship of males and females in her husband's household:

My mother used to wait on my father hand and foot....and I think she enjoyed doing it. She'd complain about it sometimes, oh, she wouldn't complain that much. I think she just enjoyed doing everything herself.
Whereas I’m not like that. As soon as I got married...right from the beginning, I used to think, well I’m not going to be like my mother. She waits on my father hand and foot. And my husband was brought up with that same type of atmosphere....My mother-in-law waited on her husband and too, my husband has a brother...they would sit there, and she would bring them water. When I would go...when I was dating then, he’d ask for a glass of water and his sister or his mother would get him water. And I would be infuriated. And I would say to him, ‘there’s no way’.

When asked how her husband felt about that, she laughingly said that he adjusted without difficulty: “He just realized that what his mother did, his wife wasn’t going to do” These women, products of Friedan’s (1983) “Feminine Mystique”, and products of an ethnic background that prescribed women’s role as caretakers, indicated a changing self-definition for married women that excluded subservience.

Armenian Way of Life

Although bi-cultural individuals in America find comfort in their ethnic enclaves, acculturation to American life often results in distancing from ethnic culture (Gordon, 1964). Some respondents expressed a desire to move outside of their Armenian way of life. One woman said that while growing up, she found it fulfilling to be involved in her little [Armenian] group, without outside influences. As an adult, she found it fulfilling to a point: “It was fine for me then, and it’s fulfilling now....but I want something outside of that now” As they grew older, for some respondents, a lifetime of cohabitation in an Armenian-American way of life presented an attraction for the larger society—replete with the push and pull of both cultures.

Significant Values

Nuclear households and extended families shaped the lives of respondents’ parents in the old country (Villa & Matossian, 1982). In the new world, for the
most part, women’s lives continued to be family bound (Avakian, 1985; Kherdian, 1981; Nelson, 1954). Women’s identity is structured around relationships and affiliation (Gilligan, 1982; Greenspan, 1983; Miller, 1976; Tavris & Wade, 1984; Williams, 1983). Given these patterns of socialization and psychic structuring, it is not surprising that in discussing how being Armenian had enhanced their lives, respondents spoke of close-knit homes—emphasizing the importance of family, happy childhoods, and loving parents.

All of the respondents mentioned family when asked what was most important to them. Health was most important for two respondents. One included her family by saying, “My number one priority I think is health. That is what I would want for myself and my family.”

Respondents indicated that children had a special place in their lives. A widowed respondent spoke of her children as a source of strength in adjusting to her changed life. An unmarried respondent spoke of the love that she had for her niece's child. Children were mentioned numerous times as sources of satisfaction. For Armenians, children and family represented a link to the past, and most importantly, a link to survival as a people.

Armenian Heritage, Pride, and Identity

The generational aspect of instilling pride in one’s Armenian heritage was illustrated by a respondent who said that her pride in being Armenian came from her parents and that she had passed it down to her children. When asked what message she would give to the next generation of Armenian-American women, another respondent said, “Don’t ever forget who you are and where you came from” When the other respondents were asked the same question, the same answer was given almost verbatim. One respondent added, “They should
do their part to make sure that it [Armenian heritage] does continue.” Another respondent said, “[I] would like them to be as proud of their heritage as we are.... Remember all this and be proud of it so that our ancestors did not die in vain”

Pride in Armenian heritage brought with it the role of culture-bearer which respondents carried out in a variety of ways. One respondent collected Armenian books, literature, poetry—anything pertaining to Armenian culture, and particularly anything on the genocide. She said,

We are all emissaries. And depending on what kind of a foot we put forward...whatever kind of impression you made...was the one that those people remembered. And that was the lasting impression they had of an Armenian....If you’re proud of your heritage, and that’s what you emote, then that’s the feeling that they have of you and other Armenians.

Each respondent, in her way, carried out her responsibility as culture-bearer. Respondents spoke of continuing traditions that their mothers had passed on to them as a way of fulfilling their role as culture-bearer.

Respondents understood that their self-concept was affected by their parents' influence and by their Armenian way of life. Armenian names was an identity issue that represented family and ethnic heritage. Although Armenian names sometimes caused embarrassment (Avakian, 1985; Waldstreicher, 1989), they understood that Armenian names were part of one’s personal identity, as well as a way to preserve one’s Armenian heritage in America. Mixed feelings were expressed about preserving Armenian identity through Armenian names.

One respondent said that she had felt hurt, but said nothing, when one of her children who had an American first name and an Armenian middle name, planned to use only a middle initial on the diploma at school graduation. When the respondent saw the diploma, a change of heart had taken place. She was
happy to see both first and middle name written out in full—an illustration that part of one’s identity as an Armenian had to do with perpetuating one’s Armenian heritage—in this case, preserving for another generation, a name that was distinctly Armenian.

One respondent spoke about changing times and changing values, with some concern about the affects on the new generation. Good values was mentioned as part of what being Armenian meant to respondents. Despite acknowledged changes, respondents spoke with pride about their Armenian lives.

Intergenerational Similarities

Respondents indicated that some of the values that their parents held were still very much part of their lives. Some had changed completely, and others were either adapted to American ways, or were in the process of change. Whatever the level of change, respondents revealed an almost unconscious undercurrent of hanging on in some way to the beliefs and values of their past.

Like other second generation Armenian-Americans (Avakian, 1985; Nelson, 1954; O'Grady, 1981), respondents struggled to hold on to their parents' values regarding intermarriage—trying to accept the influence of American society on their children’s choice of spouse, while at the same time, harboring remnants of endogamy. Although respondents said that they would accept their children’s choice if they married non-Armenians, they held an underlying preference for them to marry Armenians, and told their children of these feelings. One respondent summed it up by saying,

For my own children...I always said...’It would be wonderful if you could marry an Armenian. I would be thrilled. But foremost I want you to be happy.’ I would like to see them marry an Armenian. If it happens, fine. I that’s a double plus. But if it doesn’t...I’m more broad-minded than my parents were and would accept it.
That women tend to identify with their mothers (HCWSC, 1983; Williams, 1983) was illustrated in comments by some respondents about being close to their mothers. Although not always in agreement with their mothers' way of life, respondents tended to admire them for living by the values they held. Mothers were clearly the primary influence in the lives of these women.

They described their mothers as strong women who served as role models for the development of their own strengths. Some found deep satisfaction in emulating their mother's attitudes, beliefs, and values, as evidenced by one respondent who attributed her involvement in the Armenian church to her mother's influence:

My mother has been the very, very, strong force in my life because of her outlook. And hers came from God. She believed that all came from God. And I think I have accepted that. Because she was a very strong force in my life and that is the way she believed, that God would help us in time of need. And I found that...it did give me comfort to know that He was there for me. I am not alone.

Respondents' parents had demonstrated the importance of religion in their lives by their involvement in the Armenian church. As might be expected, all respondents connected their religious choices to parental influences. Three respondents had been raised in an Armenian church. The Armenian church continued as the centuries old stronghold of Armenian nationalistic survival (Mirak, 1983).

One respondent explained that because there was no Armenian church in the community where she was raised, her parents sent her to a Congregational church; but when an Armenian church was available later, she was encouraged to attend. She became involved with an Armenian church later in her life. To varying degrees, respondents maintained their ties to the Armenian church.
Summary

Full lives were depicted as respondents answered interview questions. Time was passing and there was a future to consider. According to one respondent:

When you’re 20 you think, my God, I’m immortal. I’m going to live forever....You reach 50 and then you think...life is passing by and what have I done....There’s so much you want to do. What have I accomplished?...You worry.

Respondents expressed satisfaction with their lives. Expressions of satisfaction included statements such as, “for the most part, at this point in time” and “I’m perfectly happy with who I am and what I’ve accomplished....I’m especially proud of what my children have accomplished”

The genocide had left its mark on these women: sadness over the personal losses and tragedies, anger, guilt, and uncertainty about what their role should be in the aftermath. Respondents expressed the richness that their Armenian way of life brought to them with its history, friends, family, church, and traditions. They sometimes felt the pull to move outside of their close-knit Armenian community. And when they did, they seemed to feel the pull to return.

One respondent made an observation about Armenian youth who went through a period of distance from their Armenian heritage and then returned: “At some point, they almost seek refuge in...their Armenian ancestry. They find a comfortable niche...they look for their heritage, their background....They feel a need...to get back to, or get close to again” The use of the word “niche” a number of times in the interviews by different respondents in referring to a place in life where they could be themselves, indicates a fusion to their Armenian identity that was deeply ingrained.
This was illustrated by a respondent who described the place that Armenian friends and an Armenian way of life held for her after many years of involvement with American neighbors and American organizations. As a result of a personal tragedy, her life had changed drastically. She explained, “All my friends happen to be Armenian....most of my social life comes through the [Armenian] church, and through my own family. And that’s it” Former non-Armenian social contacts and neighborhood relationships have “gone down the wayside”

These women had been asked to talk about things that some of them had not reflected on much, and about some things that they were not used to sharing. Many times respondents pushed themselves to think about and to articulate their thoughts on these things—in a voice that often carried with it, their mothers’ unheard stories—stories that shed light on who they themselves were—stories that the interviews had begun to uncover in a process of self-discovery.

Armenian history contains the tradition of prescribed silence for women (Villa & Matossian, 1982). Additionally, as the first nation to accept Christianity, centuries of the Christian belief to accept oppression in silence imparted the message of silent suffering to future generations of Armenians (Mirak, 1983). As subordinates in male-dominated American society, women continue to be exposed to socialization that reinforces women’s muted voices, as were the women in this study. Despite the formidable influence of their background which prescribed silence, the women in these interviews demonstrated their desire and their ability to speak in their own voices.

The information that these women shared shaped the values clarification workshops which comprised the educational intervention conducted in Part 2 of
this study. Pertinent issues which emerged from the interviews were used in the
design and content of the workshops. The process of self-discovery was
continued in the workshops by sixteen other second-generation
Armenian-American women who were children of survivors of the 1915
genocide by the Ottoman Turk. The next section, entitled “Implications of
Interview Data for Values Clarification Workshops”, presents an analysis of the
interview data as they pertain to the workshops.

**Implications of Interview Data for Values Clarification Workshops**

The primary purpose of the interviews described above was to collect
information that could be used to design relevant values clarification workshops
for second generation Armenian-American women. The researcher does not
mean to imply that information about the four, second generation
Armenian-American women in the interviews can be generalized to all second
generation Armenian-American women. However, because all of the women in
this study (including the 16 workshop participants) are in the same age category,
most of them having lived in the same geographic area for the majority of their
lives with similar upbringing in Armenian households, it seemed reasonable to
expect that they would share some common issues of interest and concern.

Data from the interviews provided insight into the lives of these women.
Two important themes emerged: one was that the identity of these women was
very much fused to their Armenian heritage; and secondly, a tension existed
between the push and pull of their two worlds—their Armenian world and their
American world. Underlying these two themes was the issue of internalized
values which manifested itself in five patterns of behavior, and three significant
issues. The five patterns of behavior which were detected are: suppression of
feelings, avoidance, self-blame/self minimization, sadness and regretfulness, and reactivity/passivity. The three significant issues which emerged are: choices, genocide, and Armenian heritage.

Because underlying themes, patterns of behavior and significant issues often intertwined or overlapped one another, many of the strategies addressed elements of different issues. Different strategies were used to explore issues from a variety of perspectives.

Some strategies were intended to serve more than one purpose. For example, most of the workshop participants had no experience with workshops that involved self exploration; therefore for the first strategy of the workshops, "An Admired Armenian Woman" was designed and presented as an affirming, nonthreatening way to introduce the participants to what they could expect and to what was expected of them. It was a strategy that was also intended to provide a way to raise their awareness about some of the role models in their lives, and also to collect data about some of the values that had shaped their lives.

Recognizing that the fusion of their identity to their Armenian heritage and the tension between their two worlds affected many aspects of the lives of interview respondents, the workshop was designed to address elements of workshop participants' lives that may have been affected by these two major themes. The first strategy addressed the issue of identity and Armenian heritage by exploring admired qualities in Armenian women. A strategy questioning feelings about one's Armenian name also explored the issue of identity and Armenian heritage, as did the strategy, "The Successful Woman" presented in the take-home values clarification workbook.
The issue of internalized values was addressed with three different strategies. One was, “Who Are All Those Others?” Another was the “Growing Up With Values Grid”. These two were presented in the workshops. The third, entitled, “Values Chart” was presented in the workbook.

Suppression of feelings in regards to sexuality was addressed with a strategy that involved thinking about one’s sexuality using a guideline of questions presented by the facilitator. Participants then discussed their thoughts in small groups. Then, with the larger group, they were asked to share ways to express and satisfy feelings of sexuality. This strategy was intended to provide an opportunity to give voice to feelings in an atmosphere of support. In order to enlighten participants about how they dealt with intimacy and expression of their feelings, a strategy entitled “Circles of Privacy” was presented in the workbook as a way of exploring with whom one shared feelings and intimate details of one’s life. “Am I Someone Who” in the workbook also addressed expression of feelings.

Many of the workshop strategies were intended to provide participants with the experience of voicing their beliefs and their feelings. It was a way of not only examining one’s values according to the valuing process of public affirmation, but also if one chose, to break the prescription of silence that many women have internalized.

There was some indication in the interviews that avoidance was a pattern of behavior that was manifested in unresolved conflicts that sometimes resulted in unforgiveness. The issue of forgiveness was addressed specifically in a strategy entitled, “Perspectives on Forgiveness”.

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Health was an issue of concern for some of the women in the interviews, one of whom dealt with a health problem through avoidance. A strategy in the workbook entitled, “A Letter to Me” addressed the issue of health. “Am I Someone Who”, in the workbook, was also a strategy that addressed avoidance and health.

Because self-blame and self-minimization emerged as patterns of behavior in the interviews, and is recognized in the literature as a common behavior pattern for many women, it was addressed in the workshops through strategies that emphasized affirmation of one’s strengths. “Epitaph” and “Priorities”, which were presented in the workbook were such strategies. Also, “Life Inventory” presented in the workshops included a question about things that one did well.

The issue of choices was addressed in the following strategies: “Provocative Question”, “Priorities”, “Twenty Things I Love to Do”, “My Least Favorite Things”, and “List of Basic Human Rights” (which also addressed expression of feelings), all of which were presented in the workbook.

“Priorities” also addressed the issue of reactivity/procrastination, as did “Am I Someone Who” and “Twenty Things I Love to Do” in the workbook, and “What’s Important to Me”, presented in the workshops.

The issues of sadness and regretfulness, and reactivity/passivity were examined through the strategies of “Lifeline” and “Life Inventory”. The “Genocide Value Sheet” was used to explore the issue of genocide. The “Planning Board” strategy was one that addressed multiple issues and patterns of behavior, such as health, choices, reactivity and passivity, and Armenian heritage.
In addition to using data collected from the interviews to select relevant strategies, information from the interviews was used to help create a safe learning environment. For example, interview respondents had indicated that their knowledge of the Armenian language was a source of great satisfaction. Based on that information, the researcher/facilitator used Armenian words and phrases occasionally during the workshops to establish rapport. Self disclosure by the facilitator also seemed to help establish an atmosphere of trust as it had in pre-interview discussions with interview respondents.

Workshop outline, workshop strategies, and take-home workbook entitled, "Being What You Value: Value Who Are You Are" which were discussed above can be found in the appendices. The next section of this chapter entitled, Part 2: Educational Intervention: Values Clarification Workshops, presents the findings of the second part of this study.

Part 2: Educational Intervention: Values Clarification Workshops

The second part of this two-part study consisted primarily of an educational intervention which used values clarification exercises in a workshop format. The researcher served as workshop facilitator. The educational intervention served two purposes: first, to greater define the key values of second generation Armenian-American women who were children of survivors of genocide by generating and collecting data about their lives through the use of values clarification methodology; and secondly, to assess the effects of values clarification methodology on the self-concept of workshop participants as measured on the Self Perception Inventory (SPI). During the course of the educational intervention—the values clarification workshops—qualitative and quantitative measures were used to collect a variety of information which is
presented as descriptive data in this study. This chapter presents data from the following sources: (a) participant responses to on-sight surveys, (b) results of the adult Self-Concept form of the SPI, and (c) results of the Workshop Evaluation. Data were also collected by the researcher in the role of participant observer as explained below.

**Participant Observation**

During the workshops, participant behaviors and comments were unobtrusively observed and noted with the intent of capturing salient participant attitudes and feelings. In keeping with the strategy of triangulation, data thus gathered were used to reconcile data collected in the study through other methods or sources. Pertinent observational data will be linked to other data in this study as a means of verifying and validating such data as they are analyzed, interpreted and discussed.

**On-Sight Surveys**

In addition to using questionnaires, three other methods of surveying were used to collect data: (a) The researcher posed questions and recorded participants’ oral responses on newsprint which was displayed for all to see; (b) The researcher posed questions to which participants responded by recording their answers on index cards which had been distributed and which participants returned upon completion, and (c) The researcher posed questions and recorded polled responses which were communicated by a show of hands. These three survey methods were used to question participants about the following topics: (a) qualities which they admired in first generation Armenian-American women, (b) what was most important to participants, (c) how they felt about their first names while growing up and at the present time, (d) feelings about the
genocide, (e) their feelings regarding their sexuality, and (f) to what extent they would consider being involved in efforts towards unity in the Armenian-American community.

The first of these on-sight surveys was conducted on the morning of the first workshop as part of the first exercise. Participants had been asked to pair up and discuss qualities which they had admired in Armenian women of their mothers' generation. Following the discussions, participants were asked to call out the qualities which they admired. Responses were recorded on newsprint as they were called out. Results of the survey are listed in Table 3.
Table 3
Qualities of First Generation Armenian-American Women Which Second Generation Armenian-American Women Admired

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>True friend</th>
<th>Trust-worthy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unselfish</td>
<td>Generous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependable</td>
<td>Dedicated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>Suffered in silence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patient</td>
<td>Practiced Christian faith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reliable</td>
<td>Very kind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warm and concerning</td>
<td>Compassionate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warm and cordial</td>
<td>Stable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-denial</td>
<td>Well-groomed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good cook</td>
<td>Serving the community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sensitive</td>
<td>Respected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honest</td>
<td>Story-telling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motherly</td>
<td>Sense of humor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Confidant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong self-identity</td>
<td>Interesting conversationalist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courageous (example: sons in service)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Able to cope with hardships (depression, etc.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saw good side of people (let good over-ride the bad)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creative (could sing or get up in front of people)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great foresight (more to life than food and shelter: emotions important)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baked American cakes, pies, etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alert to American life (example: politics)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Of the 38 qualities that were mentioned, 16 were traits associated with stereotypically desirable feminine traits: unselfish, religious, patient, suffered in silence, serving the community, baked cakes, pies, etc., very kind, motherly, warm and cordial, self-denial, sensitive, good cook, compassionate, well-groomed, warm and concerning, practiced Christian faith. During interviews conducted in Part 1 of this study, respondents identified strengths which they possessed. Some of the strengths that they reported are similar to ones that some workshop participants reported as admirable traits. Self-descriptive traits that interview respondents reported which were similar are as follows: strong, dependable, loyal, caring, good mother, good friend, good listener, and honest. With the exception of viewing both generations of women as strong, which is a trait that has been attributed to Armenian women (Avakian, 1985; Nelson, 1954; Proudian, 1983), a preponderance of traits reported by both groups of second generation Armenian-American women may be characterized as traditional female traits.

The second survey was conducted during the afternoon session of the first workshop after the conclusion of the first exercise at the end of the morning session. Participants were asked to list and then rank order the most important things in their lives, that is, people, ideas, things, principles or any combination of things. Participants then called out the three most important things. Responses were noted on newsprint as they were called out. Results of the survey are listed in Table 4.
Table 4 *What is Most Important to Second Generation Armenian-American Women*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What is Most Important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-understanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendship (for life)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future for the handicapped</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health for family and friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Happiness for family and friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowing Armenian language and being</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armenian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being dependable (to others)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Striving to be best person you can be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honesty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feeling presence of God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good feelings about self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World peace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compassion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect for nature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To be needed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Participant responses mostly tended to be other-oriented issues of caring and relationships—issues traditionally associated with women as described in Chapter II, Part 1: family, justice, friends, future for the handicapped, being dependable, children, feeling the presence of God, world peace, community service, compassion, and to be needed. That participants reported justice and world peace may be related to a global perspective that developed as a result of their understanding of the genocide.

Again, interview respondents and workshop participants reported similarly on what was important to them. Women in both groups identified health, family, friendships, knowing the Armenian language and being Armenian, being dependable, children, and feeling the presence of God as being very important to them.

Workshop participants also reported self-understanding and striving to be the best person you can be as most important. Statements such as these parallel the literature that elucidates the inherent dynamism of human development towards self actualization.

Reporting financial security as a most important issue may be a reflection of the fragile financial status of women in America as reported by the United States Department of Labor (1982). Financial insecurity is a situation that is most acute with older women—one that is sadly affirmed in Figure 8 which reports the participants’ financial status: one half of participants reported incomes under $10,000—approximately one fifth reported incomes of less than $6,000.

The morning session of the second workshop began with an exercise which consisted of queries regarding Armenian first names. Participants were asked to
join with another participant to discuss how they felt about their Armenian first names while growing up, and how they felt about it at the present time. If they did not have Armenian first names, they were asked to discuss how they felt about that. Index cards were handed out at the end of the discussions for participants to record how they felt about their first names while they were growing up and at the present time. Of the 16 participants, 15 returned completed index cards. Participant responses are summarized as follows:

1. Six participants reported that they had experienced discomfort with Armenian first names while growing up. The reasons given were: because it was different; because teachers and peers had difficulty pronouncing it; and because they were picked on by teachers and classmates because of it. These participants all reported having changed feelings about their Armenian first names, using such expressions as, "love it" and "proud of it". Some participants explained that they had developed a liking for their Armenian name because it was different—as one participant said, "Now I love it. We seemed to have melted in with other ethnic names, instead of 'Marys' and 'Susies'". Another participant explained her changed feelings by saying, "Now I feel my mother's strokes and how I should have been indebted to her for such a name and how she felt about me" Another participant reported that her changed feelings had moved her to use both her American and her Armenian name on all her mail in the past year. She said, "I feel it is part of me, and I'm proud"

2. Four participants reported that their Armenian first names did not bother them while they were growing up. The reason given by one participant was that her Armenian name was also an American name. Another participant had eventually dropped her Armenian first name. She said that only her mother
used it. Another participant liked the sound of her Armenian first name, and further explained that because her last name was more important to her, she kept it after she married. One participant said that others had problems with her name. Both Armenians and non-Armenians had difficulty pronouncing her name; and she sometimes received mail addressed to “Mr”, because people confused it with a male name. Regardless of these problems, she said that she loved her first name because, “It is my grandmother’s name. She was tortured to death in a Turkish prison for keeping her Christian faith. Her last words were, ‘Tell my son to always be charitable’”.

3. Two participants reported having non-Armenian first names. One participant said that because she was dark complexioned, her non-Armenian first name “was a mentally safe haven from ridicule” while growing up. She added, “Today, my values are not involved in how my name sounds to others. I have grown up”.

Another participant thought that her older siblings who went to school with Armenian first names had difficulty because of it: “It set them apart in our very waspy town” She said that because she and a younger brother had non-Armenian first names, they had more self-confidence and fit in.

4. Two participants with Armenian first names reported that they went by non-Armenian first names. They used their Armenian first names only with relatives or Armenian friends—with one participant saying that her American friends did not know her Armenian name. Another participant had a non-Armenian first name. It was the name on her birth certificate and the name by which her parents called her; however, she said that some of her parents’ friends called her by an Armenian derivative of the name.
Armenian names represented one’s unique identity and connection with one’s ethnic heritage (Apranian, 1982; Avakian, 1985). It was not easy to deal with the embarrassment over the difficulty people sometimes had with pronouncing a foreign name (Avakian, 1985). Prejudice also played a part in difficulties encountered over one’s Armenian name (Waldsteicher, 1989). For many Armenians, pride in the family name outweighed the difficulties (Nelson, 1954). Participant responses in regards to their feelings about Armenian names identified these same issues, as did the comments of interview respondents. Workshop participants indicated a growing pride and affection for their Armenian names as they grew older, which was also evidenced in the interviews. It was evident that this connection to their Armenian heritage became more precious to the women in this study as time went by.

In the third on-sight survey, participants were asked about their reactions to excerpts from interviews of second generation Armenian-American women regarding the genocide. The questions posed to participants dealt with remembrance, forgiveness, and consideration of implications that the excerpts might have in regard to the lives of participants (See Appendix K, “Value Sheet”, for a copy of the exercise which contains the excerpts). Participant responses fell into four categories: (a) belief in forgiveness; (b) rejection of forgiveness; (c) efforts to educate non-Armenians about the genocide on a personal and public level; and (d) awareness of global oppression. The following statements, extracted from survey results, illustrates participant sentiments regarding the genocide:

1. One participant who indicated a belief in forgiveness said, “I cannot live with a continual hatred toward any nation....I was not drilled to hate, but to
Another participant voiced similar sentiments by saying, “We must make more use of the golden rule—also, not to live with hate.”

2. A participant who rejected the idea of forgiveness said, “I know the Christian way is to forgive and forget; however, I will never forget. And I find it very hard to forgive, and probably never will as long as I live.”

3. Most participants commented on their personal efforts to educate non-Armenians about the genocide in such ways as, passing on the story of the genocide personally; attending April 24th commemorations of the genocide; supporting efforts to pass a United States congressional bill that would acknowledge the genocide. Two participants stated that because the United States was an ally of Turkey with American bases located in Turkey, it was difficult to have a bill passed which would “record the reality of the genocide.” One participant advocated the support of efforts to have Armenian history taught in schools.

4. Some participants extended their feelings about the genocide to concern about the oppression of other peoples. One participant mentioned Africa and Central America. Another participant said, “The Armenians were not alone chosen for genocide. Germany did [it] to the Jews; Russia to her own; Russia to Austria, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia; America to Japan; Japan to China; North Korea to South Korea.”

Participant responses indicated the sentiment of participants from a number of perspectives. A sense of what many of the participants seemed to be feeling was captured in the words of a participant who said, 

We should not be passive. We should stand together and write to our political leaders to pass the resolution in congress. The Turkish government is rewriting history, erasing all accounts of the Armenian massacre. To this day, many encyclopedias and books make no mention of
the genocide. When the older generation of people who went through the genocide are gone, and we who were told of it are gone, who will remember?

Armenians have been advised to keep the memory of the genocide alive as a lesson to the world about the consequences of oppression (Nersoyan, 1985). Like the women in the interviews, workshop participants indicated their feelings of duty and responsibility to inform the world community about the genocide—through personal contacts, as advocates for inclusion of Armenian history in the schools, and as advocates of political recognition of the genocide by the United States government. Mixed feelings were expressed about the issue of forgiveness in regards to the genocide—some adhering to the value of forgiveness, and others adamantly refusing to acknowledge any possibility of forgiveness.

The fourth on-sight survey followed exercises and discussions about the subject of sexuality. Participants were asked whether messages they received about sex while they were growing up were positive or negative. Results of the poll were: Positive messages = 0; Negative messages = 16. The issue of sexuality in the lives of second generation Armenian-American women and women of their mothers' generation was one that was either not discussed, or one that for the most part, evoked negative messages which included suppression of one's sexuality (Avakian, 1985; Villa & Matossian, 1982). The women in the interviews and workshop participants were in agreement about this issue.

The last on-sight survey was conducted at the end of the second workshop. Participants were polled about their commitment to unity in the Armenian-American community. They were asked to respond by a show of
hands. When asked how many were in favor of unity, all participants raised their hands. When asked if they would be willing to devote time to unity efforts, three participants raised their hands in a tentative manner. Comments by other participants indicated that they refrained from raising their hands because of time constraints—involvement in church activities was mentioned by some as an example. Comments by the women in the interviews indicated similar mixed feelings about wanting unity, but resisting personal involvement.

During the afternoon session of the first workshop, an exercise was presented in which participants were asked to complete the following sentence stem in writing and to then explain the reasons for their views: “I think the political/religious split among Armenian-Americans is..” They were then asked to write a letter addressed to other Armenian-Americans in which they explained how they felt about the split; what they would like to see the Armenian-American community look like; and how they saw that happening. They were then asked to form small groups to discuss their letters. After the small group discussions, volunteers were asked to read their letters to the larger group.

The small group discussions and the letters revealed that participants had a deep desire for unity in the Armenian-American community. Participants also were aware of the emotional pain that the split had caused in the past. For these women, personal commitment to unity efforts presented multiple problems, such as, the risk of confrontational possibilities that might result in further isolation and separation; strong feelings of loyalty to their parents’ political/religious persuasions; and the limitations that the burden of additional time and energy would place on other activities. There was a sense of resigned but painful acceptance of a personal and collective dilemma.
Workshop Evaluations

At the end of the first workshop, participants were asked to evaluate the workshop by completing a questionnaire designed by the researcher (See Appendix O for copy of Workshop Evaluation questionnaire). The primary purpose of the questionnaire was to receive participant feedback about the workshop so that suggestions could be incorporated into the second workshop to make it more meaningful to participants. Participant responses to the questions served a secondary purpose: participants offered information about the benefits that they received as a result of their initial involvement in the educational intervention. Because their comments may shed light on the usefulness of values clarification methodology in future educational endeavors, salient responses are presented below in summary form.

To the question, “What could be done differently to make the workshop more satisfying for you?”, three participants suggested that the workshop be a little shorter in length. The remainder of the participants indicated satisfaction with the workshops as presented, and most of them suggested that no changes be made. In response to the question, “What did you find to be the most helpful for you in today’s workshop?”, approximately one-third of the participants commented favorably about technical aspects of the workshop, which included references to the facilitator’s part in the educational intervention. The following excerpts of participant comments specify what it was that some participants found to be helpful: clear, concise instructions; clarity in presentation; gentle control over project, keeping program moving; written exercises were particularly helpful; and listing all the information on the bulletin board and explaining in detail.
Most participants stated that what they found to be the most helpful was the small group discussions with people they did not know well. Participants also mentioned: talking with my peers, camaraderie, similarities of values, and sharing of thoughts. According to one participant, “Coming together and discussing our points of view helped me to understand our lives in a better way” Another participant said, “Writing down my thoughts made me really think of myself and my life in general. Comparing ideas with my fellow friends was most enlightening”

One participant stated briefly, what many said throughout the workshops, “I learned a lot today” Two participants commented on the difficulty that the workshop experience presented to them. For one, the difficulty was in “making decisions close to my heart” For the other, the difficulty was in “Thinking about my future from this day on as we charted it”

Self-Perception Inventory

The Adult Form of the Self-Perception Inventory (SPI) was administered pretest and posttest to 16 participants who were involved in a one-group design experiment—an educational intervention which consisted of values clarification workshops. (See Appendices J, K, and L respectively, for Workshop Outline, Workshop Strategies, and Workbook). Participants are described in detail in Chapter III.

Table 5 summarizes the distribution of pretest and posttest scores on 36 self-rated dichotomous traits. At a significance level of .05, no significant differences were found in a positive direction between pretest and posttest means. Significant differences were found in a negative direction for items 7, 13, 15, and 16, that is, posttest scores were lower for the following dimensions:
1. item 7, depressed–cheerful;
2. item 13, quick-tempered–easy-going;
3. item 15, moody–even-tempered; and
4. item 16, critical–good-natured.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>PRETEST Mean (Std Dev)</th>
<th>POSTTEST Mean (Std Dev)</th>
<th>Difference Mean</th>
<th>Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Masculine^ - Feminine</td>
<td>1.06 (.63)</td>
<td>1.06 (.51)</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Rejected - Accepted</td>
<td>.63 (.64)</td>
<td>.77 (.70)</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Rigid - Adaptable</td>
<td>.75 (.93)</td>
<td>.88 (.72)</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Absent-minded - Alert</td>
<td>.88 (1.03)</td>
<td>.50 (.63)</td>
<td>-.38</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Submissive - Assertive</td>
<td>.31 (.91)</td>
<td>.25 (.86)</td>
<td>-.06</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Restless - Calm</td>
<td>.57 (.88)</td>
<td>.83 (.49)</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Depressed - Cheerful</td>
<td>1.00 (.63)</td>
<td>.69 (.54)</td>
<td>-.31</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Selfish - Considerate</td>
<td>1.13 (.62)</td>
<td>1.00 (.63)</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Worried - Contented</td>
<td>.43 (.80)</td>
<td>.63 (.64)</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Anti-social - Cooperative</td>
<td>1.19 (.60)</td>
<td>.94 (.63)</td>
<td>-.25</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Conforming - Creative</td>
<td>.03 (.92)</td>
<td>.17 (.82)</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Impulsive - Deliberate</td>
<td>.37 (.64)</td>
<td>.17 (.82)</td>
<td>-.20</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The negative trait is listed first.

2 NS = not significant; ** = significant at .05 level
Table 5. Results of Self-Perception Inventory: Pretest and Posttest Means (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>PRETEST Average (Std Dev)</th>
<th>POSTTEST Average (Std Dev)</th>
<th>POSTTEST Difference</th>
<th>Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13. Quick-tempered</td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>.77</td>
<td>-.33</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easy-going</td>
<td>(.63)</td>
<td>(.59)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Indifferent</td>
<td>.81</td>
<td>.63</td>
<td>-.19</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enthusiastic</td>
<td>(.79)</td>
<td>(.72)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Moody</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>.88</td>
<td>-.25</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Even-tempered</td>
<td>(.62)</td>
<td>(.62)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Critical</td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>.83</td>
<td>-.27</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good-natured</td>
<td>(.63)</td>
<td>(.62)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Anxious</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>+.37</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hopeful</td>
<td>(1.15)</td>
<td>(1.03)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Dependent</td>
<td>.44</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>+.06</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>(.93)</td>
<td>(.82)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Immature</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mature</td>
<td>(.78)</td>
<td>(.68)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Pessimistic</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Optimistic</td>
<td>(.97)</td>
<td>(.82)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Withdrawn</td>
<td>.56</td>
<td>.63</td>
<td>+.06</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Out-going</td>
<td>(.85)</td>
<td>(.72)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Impatient</td>
<td>.90</td>
<td>.77</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patient</td>
<td>(.63)</td>
<td>(.70)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Quitting</td>
<td>.69</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td>+.06</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persevering</td>
<td>(.66)</td>
<td>(.58)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Awkward</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>.56</td>
<td>+.06</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poised</td>
<td>(.63)</td>
<td>(.77)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Nervous</td>
<td>.63</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relaxed</td>
<td>(.72)</td>
<td>(.82)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 The negative trait is listed first.

4 NS = not significant; ** = significant at .05 level
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>PRETEST Average (Std Dev)</th>
<th>POSTTEST Difference Average (Std Dev)</th>
<th>Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26. Frivolous (^5) - Responsible</td>
<td>.90 ((.83))</td>
<td>1.03 ((.64))</td>
<td>+.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Self-pitying - Satisfied</td>
<td>1.03 ((.64))</td>
<td>.90 ((.63))</td>
<td>-.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Insecure - Self-confident</td>
<td>.69 ((.66))</td>
<td>.50 ((.82))</td>
<td>-.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Emotional - Self-controlled</td>
<td>.69 ((.66))</td>
<td>.63 ((.72))</td>
<td>-.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Easily Influenced - Self-sufficient</td>
<td>.50 ((.89))</td>
<td>.44 ((1.00))</td>
<td>-.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Shy - Sociable</td>
<td>.75 ((.78))</td>
<td>.63 ((.89))</td>
<td>-.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Fault-finding - Tolerant</td>
<td>.97 ((.74))</td>
<td>.83 ((.62))</td>
<td>-.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Sensitive - Tough</td>
<td>-.31 ((.75))</td>
<td>-.50 ((.82))</td>
<td>-.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Suspicious - Trusting</td>
<td>.63 ((.64))</td>
<td>.77 ((.70))</td>
<td>+.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Poorly Adjusted - Well Adjusted</td>
<td>1.13 ((.62))</td>
<td>1.00 ((.52))</td>
<td>-.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. Unworthy - Worthy</td>
<td>1.19 ((.60))</td>
<td>1.00 ((.63))</td>
<td>-.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>23.79 ((12.93))</td>
<td>22.43 ((15.35))</td>
<td>-1.36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^5\) The negative trait is listed first.

\(^6\) NS = not significant; ** = significant at .05 level
The direction of statistically significant change was not in a positive direction as anticipated. The results which indicate changes toward less cheerful, easy-going, even-tempered, and good-natured, coincide with the literature which reports that anxiety and resistance are sometimes generated when one's sense of self is questioned. Feelings of being less cheerful, less easy-going, less even-tempered, and less good-natured may have been an indication of elements of anxiety being aroused.

For the most part, the in-depth exploration of oneself that the educational intervention of this study involved was a new experience for workshop participants. As mature adults ranging in age from 42 to 66, the women of this study had spent a life-time organizing and processing their experiences and establishing a self-image. Piaget points out that integrating new information into existing understandings involves a balancing process which results in either psychological equilibrium or psychological disequilibrium. The pretest-posttest results of the SPI which shows an increase in the perception of self as less cheerful, less easy-going, less even-tempered, and less good-natured may be a reflection of participant efforts to integrate new information with what Piaget (1967) calls existing schemata. In other words, the psychological disequilibrium that is associated with the process of adaptation to the environment may have been in operation as a result of attempting to organize newly gained information concerning long-held values and beliefs.

Frankl (1959) and other humanists alert us that the search for values and meaning in one's life may arouse anxiety. The dynamic process of re-creating a more accurate perception of oneself requires a clear understanding of oneself and one's relationship to others and to the world. Using values clarification
strategies to seek such a clear understanding may have aroused the anxiety that is spoken of by Frankl and other clinical sources.

Marcia and Friedman (1970) report that in the establishment of identity, women in the status of foreclosure, who break away from family expectations, report more anxiety. Women experience less anxiety when they adhere to parents’ expectations and submit to authority. The findings in this study may indicate the presence of elements of anxiety after the month-long experience of values clarification which engaged participants in questioning values that were the foundation of their parents’ expectations.

Another explanation of the changes in a negative direction may be attributable to the resistance which Rogers (1969) associates with learning that may involve a change in the perception of oneself—a change that may be threatening. That participants reported movement toward the negative poles of depressed, quick-tempered, moody, and critical may represent elements of such resistance.

The negative direction of change may be understood in the context of the complex dynamics which self-exploration generates. As Kegan (1982) explains, the evolution towards the creation of the individual consists of periods of stability and periods of instability. The process of identity development requires a periodically necessary tension that is continually negotiated in attempts to achieve new balance at each stage of development (1982). One may reasonably expand Kegan’s proposition to interpret the negative changes depicted in the SPI results as manifestations of some psychological discomfort that was experienced during a period of tension created by the educational intervention which attempted to affect personal growth.
A rival hypothesis for the changes in a negative direction may be that the cumulative effect of month-long values clarification experience provided participants with a safe environment which elicited more open and honest posttest responses about negative traits than pretest responses which may have contained within them socially acceptable responses. Borg and Gail (1983) warn “of the potentially dangerous disadvantages of personality inventories...based on self-report....Unless rapport is established with the subjects, some may...distort their answers....Self-report measures are subject to....social desirability...to present oneself in a favorable light” (pp. 336-337). A truer picture of participant self-concept may have been depicted posttest as a result of rapport that had been established during the month-long period of trust building and sharing which took place in the workshops.

It is interesting to note the traits with which participants associated themselves more closely and the traits with which participants associated themselves less. Items with pretest mean scores between 1.19 and 1.03 indicate traits with which participants more strongly identified themselves:

1. cooperative (M = 1.19)
2. worthy (M = 1.19)
3. well-adjusted (M = 1.13)
4. considerate (M = 1.13)
5. even-tempered (M = 1.13)
6. good-natured (M = 1.10)
7. easy-going (M = 1.10)
8. feminine (M = 1.06)
9. satisfied (M = 1.03)
Conversely, items with pretest mean scores between +.50 and -.31 indicate traits with which participants less strongly identified themselves:

1. optimistic ($M = .50$)
2. poised ($M = .50$)
3. self-sufficient ($M = .50$)
4. independent ($M = .44$)
5. contented ($M = .43$)
6. deliberate ($M = .37$)
7. assertive ($M = .31$)
8. hopeful ($M = .13$)
9. creative ($M = .03$)
10. tough ($M = -.31$)

The results noted above indicate that participants tended to view themselves as possessing to a higher degree, more traits which the literature indicates as stereotypically feminine, that is, being more cooperative, considerate, even-tempered, good-natured, and easy-going, than the opposite pole of these traits. Participant perception of themselves as being more like many of the traits which women are expected to possess coincided with their feelings of being more worthy, well-adjusted, feminine, and satisfied.

Conversely, those traits which participants viewed themselves as possessing less are traits that tend to be viewed as stereotypical masculine traits. Participants identified themselves less as tough, creative, assertive, deliberate, independent, and self-sufficient. Participant perception of themselves as possessing these traits less coincided with identifying themselves less with being hopeful, contented, poised, and optimistic. This may be an indication of the
double bind that women are faced with: Many traits that are stereotypically masculine are viewed as the ideal—women who possess them are viewed as unfeminine—and yet, not to possess them is to be less than ideal. In identifying less with stereotypically masculine traits and identifying more with feelings of being less hopeful, contented, poised, and optimistic, participants may have been communicating feelings of dissatisfaction about not possessing traits which are considered to be the ideal. Pretest results discussed above may indicate a tendency toward socially desirable responses.

In addition to the statistically significant changes which occurred in the four pairs of bi-polar traits discussed above, changes were also reflected in other traits which although not statistically significant, warrant some discussion. Changes with significance levels between .10 and .20 may indicate trends. Changes with significance levels over .50 are more likely due to chance. Although these differences in scores are not significant at a .05 level, when clustered with other traits, they may indicate trends in a positive direction. Analysis of the differences in the SPI pretest-posttest scores of the following traits revealed patterns which are worth noting: (significance levels are in parentheses)

1. anxious—hopeful = +.37 (.23)
2. restless—calm = +.27 (.22)
3. worried—contented = +.20 (.33)
4. suspicious—trust ing = +.14 (.43)
5. conforming—creative = +.14 (.50)
6. rejected—accepted = +.13 (.43)
7. rigid–adaptable = +.13 (.43)
8. frivolous–responsible = +.13 (.43)

Viewing oneself after the educational intervention as being more hopeful, calm, and contented than before the educational intervention may suggest the beginnings of movement towards an enhanced self-concept as a result of participation in the values clarification strategies.

Changes in assessing oneself after the educational intervention as more responsible and more adaptable may suggest movement toward the development of critical thinking skills which is inherent in the exercise of the valuing processes according to proponents of values clarification theory—skills developed in the course of considering alternatives (adaptability) and in considering the consequences of each alternative (responsibility). Along these same lines, the change from conforming to creative may suggest movement towards self-generated ideas—a prerequisite for critical thinking.

Trends in a negative direction may be indicated in the following changes, which although not significant at a .05 level, warrant some discussion:

(significance levels are in parentheses)
1. alert–absent-minded = -.38 (.08)
2. cooperative–anti-social = -.25 (.10)
3. deliberate–impulsive = -.20 (.42)
4. worthy–unworthy = -.19 (.19)
5. tough–sensitive = -.19 (.42)
6. self-confident–insecure = -.19 (.27)
7. enthusiastic–indifferent = -.19 (.19)
8. considerate–selfish = -.13 (.16)
9. patient–impatient = -.13 (.43)
10. relaxed–nervous = -.13 (.33)
11. satisfied–self-pitying = -.13 (.43)
12. tolerant–fault-finding = -.13 (.43)

Changes toward more absent-minded, insecure, indifferent, and nervous may suggest a pattern of resistance and discomfort in questioning long-held values. While one may plausibly interpret the trends toward less cooperative and less patient as components of this pattern of resistance and discomfort, another interpretation may extend the pattern further. These changes may indicate a letting go of prescribed behaviors as preliminary moves (less cooperative, less patient with old values and old ways) towards considering new ways to be. In the same way, the changes toward selfish and impulsive may be mechanisms to pave the way for considering new ways to be. As described above, the data suggests that this study which provided a process for in-depth self-exploration was an unsettling experience for some participants.

The valuing process may have provided insight to some participants about the desire or the need to make some changes. Such heightened awareness may have changed the feelings of some participants toward the negative traits of unworthy, self-pitying, nervous, and fault-finding. The educational intervention may have also provided the opportunity for participants to feel more comfortable about viewing themselves with less than positive traits—in more honest ways which were closer to reality—as reflected in movement towards more trusting and accepted.

It is interesting to note that participant self-perception changed toward more sensitive (pretest M = -.31 to posttest M = -.50). Just as other women in
American society, Armenian-American women are expected to be sensitive, which on the SPI is on the negative pole. Again, this suggests the dilemma that women face: Broverman et al. (1972) point out that many traits which are perceived as being stereotypically feminine are considered undesirable traits to possess.

Data from initial interviews conducted in Part 1 of this study indicate that respondents typically viewed themselves as being sensitive. During the workshops, there were many opportunities for participants to demonstrate their sensitivity while listening to each other's stories. This may have heightened their awareness to their sensitivity. It may be that the movement from tough toward sensitive, coupled with the change toward trusting from suspicious, and toward accepted from rejected, indicates a pattern of change which allowed the emergence of sensitivity from a position of trust and acceptance in order to achieve a clearer self concept.

Although this study consisted of a small sample size of 16 participants, the changes described above warrant discussion. The trends which were reported may be suggestive of what might emerge with a larger sample.

The trends discussed above suggest a model of change that involves the development of critical thinking skills; a clearer reality; and movement toward a re-definition of self that is congruent with one's values. The dynamic model is propelled by the interplay of psychological tension and release that is generated during the search and discovery of new self-understanding based on examination of one's values. Such a model may be depicted as follows:

Values queries >>>

Psychological tension >>>

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Critical thinking skills

Understanding

Clearer reality

Re-definition of self.

In addition to analyses of the means, standard deviations were compared in order to detect and analyze similarities, differences and changes in variation among the women in the group. For the most part, pretest-posttest data indicates little variation in the measures of dispersion in the different traits. Pretest-posttest standard deviation scores indicate that the group moved closer together in the following traits: rigid—adaptable, from .93 to .72; absent-minded—alert, from 1.03 to .63; restless—calm, from .88 to .49.

Part 2 of this chapter presented and discussed the findings of On-Sight Surveys, Workshop Evaluations, and the SPI which were used as data collection methods in the educational intervention consisting of values clarification strategies. The major issues which results of the data presented are summarized in the following chapter. Implications for future research and suggestions for practical applications are also discussed.
CHAPTER V
SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

Summary

The purpose of this two-part study was the exploration of two primary questions:

1. How do second generation Armenian-American women who were children of survivors of the Armenian genocide by the Ottoman Turk in 1915 define themselves?

2. What impact does a set of relevant values clarification exercises have upon the self-concept of these women?

Part 1 of the study consisted of interviews with four respondents. Part 2 consisted of 16 participants being involved in a month-long educational intervention which used a sequence of values clarification activities: a day-long workshop at the beginning of the month, another at the end of the month, and entries in a take-home values clarification workbook between workshops. All participants gave written, informed consent to be part of the study. Participants were not randomly selected, but rather were chosen because they were experimentally accessible; therefore, results of the study are not generalizable.

For the preliminary interviews, the researcher used an interview guide with a combination of structured and open-ended questions as an organized yet flexible way to explore pre-determined issues. Interview questions were formulated from issues that emerged from relevant literature and the researcher's own experience, interests and observations - like the other participants in the study, the researcher was a second generation Armenian-American woman who was the daughter of survivors of the genocide.
Interviews, which varied in length from 1 1/2 to 4 hours, were tape recorded and subsequently transcribed. Data were organized into eight categories in preparation for further analysis and interpretation. The eight categories were: (a) Armenian Heritage, (b) Choices, (c) Personal Traits and Characteristics, (d) Patterns of Behavior, (e) Changes Over Time, (f) Significant Values, (g) Intergenerational Similarities, and (h) Armenian Heritage, Pride, and Identity.

The presentation of the data was in narrative form and included interpretation and discussion of the findings. Patterns, themes, and issues that emerged from the interviews were identified and used as the basis for the design of relevant values clarification workshops. Two important themes emerged from the interviews:

1. The fusion of personal identity to Armenian heritage.
2. The tension in the push and pull of two worlds—the American world and the Armenian world.

Underlying these two themes was a sub-theme of internalized values which manifested itself in five patterns of behavior and three significant issues. The five patterns of behavior were: (a) suppression of feelings, (b) avoidance, (c) self-blame and self-minimization (d) sadness and regretfulness, and (e) reactivity and passivity. The three significant issues were: (a) choices, (b) genocide, and (c) Armenian heritage. The educational intervention presented values clarification activities that addressed the salient themes and issues which emerged from the interviews.

The workshop participants represented an estimated 16% of Armenian-American women between the approximate ages of 40 and 69 who
lived in one of the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas in New England. More than 90% of the participants had lived their adult lives in the area. A large percentage of participants reported being in good to excellent health. Family size in families of origin was slightly higher than families of procreation. In both families of origin and families of procreation, the number of female children was greater than the number of male children. In terms of employment, a small percentage of participants reported being homemakers. Most were employed part-time, full-time, or were retired. Fifty per cent reported incomes of under $10,000.

Only one participant had completed a four-year college education. High school was the highest level of education reported by slightly more than fifty percent of the participants. Slightly more than twenty-five percent went on to vocational school or community college.

More than fifty percent understood spoken Armenian very well. Slightly more than one third had a high proficiency in speaking the Armenian language. Fifty percent reported speaking Armenian fairly well. All but one participant had some familiarity with reading and writing the language.

Most participants were raised in an Armenian church, with a high percentage currently involved in an Armenian church. A high percentage of participants were members of an Armenian organization with the highest involvement being in church organizations. Half of the participants attended Armenian functions often, and half attended occasionally.

Fewer than two thirds of the participants identified with an Armenian political persuasion. One participant reported being married to a husband of a different political persuasion. Remaining participants were equally divided
between being married to spouses of the same persuasion or both spouses were of no particular political persuasion. Three quarters of participants had married. More than half had married Armenians. During the workshops, quantitative and qualitative measures were used to collect data. Quantitative methods used were: On-Sight surveys, Participant Observation, and Workshop Evaluation. The adult form of the Self Perception Inventory (SPI) was used to collect data quantitatively. The SPI was designed for inter-form comparison of the different forms of the SPI, using a scale ranging from -2 to +2, with no option for the neutral response of zero. In this study, pretest-posttest responses on the same form (the adult form of the Self-Concept SPI) were measured and compared. Because an equal interval scale was needed to obtain a more accurate measure near the middle of the scale, the original scale was changed from -2 to +2 intervals, to an equal intervals scale of -1.5 to +1.5.

The results of the On-sight Surveys, Participant Observation, and Workshop Evaluation are as follows:

1. Participants reported 38 traits that they admired in first generation Armenian-American women. Sixteen of the traits are associated with stereotypically desirable feminine traits.

2. Participants were asked what was most important to them. Responses mostly tended to be other-oriented issues of nurturing and relationships. A global perspective was indicated in the reporting of justice and world peace as most important issues.

3. Of the participants with Armenian names, six reported experiencing discomfort with their Armenian first names while growing up because they were different, or people had difficulty pronouncing them, or teachers and peers
ridiculed them. They all reported changed feelings of liking and being proud of their names. Four participants reported that their Armenian names did not bother them while growing up. One participant who had a non-Armenian first name reported that because of her dark complexion, her name was a haven from ridicule while growing up. Some participants with Armenian first names used non-Armenian first names which were sometimes derivatives of their Armenian names.

4. Participant responses regarding statements about the genocide fell into the categories of (a) belief in forgiveness, (b) rejection of forgiveness, (c) efforts to educate non-Armenians about the genocide on a personal and public level, and (d) awareness of global oppression.

5. All participants reported that messages they received about sexuality while growing up were negative.

6. In regard to the political/religious divisiveness that existed in the Armenian-American community, participants indicated a strong desire for unity. Time constraints, divided loyalties, and possibilities of confrontational conflict resolution presented obstacles to personal involvement in unity efforts.

7. The majority of participants reported satisfaction with the workshops as presented, but three suggested that workshops be of shorter length. Participants reported that the following aspects of the workshops were the most helpful: clear, concise instructions, clarity in presentation, gentle control over project, keeping the program moving, listing all the information on the bulletin board [recording on newsprint], explaining in detail, and the written exercises. Most participants found small group discussions with people that they did not know well was most helpful. Participants also mentioned camaraderie, similarities of
values, and sharing of thoughts. Comparing ideas with others was found to be enlightening as was writing down one’s thoughts. Difficulty was expressed in “making decisions close to my heart” and “thinking about my future from this day on as we charted it”. Throughout the workshops, participants commented on how much they were learning—about themselves and life in general.

In addition to data above that was collected by qualitative measures, data were collected quantitatively. The (SPI) is a quantitative instrument that measures self concept. It was administered in a one-group pretest-posttest design to assess the effects of values clarification methodology on self concept. The SPI is a forced choice, semantic differential instrument containing 36 bi-polar traits. Means for each of the 36 paired dimensions measured were used to chart a group profile.

On the SPI measure of 36 pairs of traits, there was no statistically significant change in over-all self-concept as a result of values clarification methodology. No statistically significant differences at a .05 level were found in a positive direction between pretest and posttest means. Significant differences were found in a negative direction for four dimensions: (a) depressed—cheerful; (b) quick-tempered—easy-going; (c) moody—even-tempered; and (d) critical—good-natured.

These changes in a negative direction may be related to anxiety that is experienced when one’s sense of self is questioned. These changes may also be a reflection of a more open and honest depiction of self-concept as a result of feelings of trust and safety that developed during the month-long experience of values clarification activities.
Pretest SPI findings showed that participants viewed themselves as possessing to a higher degree more stereotypically desirable feminine traits, that is, more cooperative than anti-social, more considerate than selfish, more even-tempered than moody, more good-natured than critical, and more easy-going than quick-tempered. They also viewed themselves as being more worthy than unworthy, more well-adjusted than poorly adjusted, more feminine than masculine, and more satisfied than self-pitying. Participants' perceptions of themselves as being more like many of the traits which women are expected to possess may be related to their perceptions of themselves as being more worthy, well-adjusted, feminine, and satisfied.

Traits that participants viewed themselves as possessing to a lesser degree were those that are stereotypically masculine traits. Participants rated themselves less tough, less creative, less assertive, less deliberate, less independent, and less self-sufficient than the opposite pole of these traits. Participants also viewed themselves as less hopeful, less contented, less poised, and less optimistic. In identifying less with stereotypically masculine traits and more with feelings of being less hopeful, contented, poised, and optimistic, participants may have been communicating discomfort about possessing to a lesser degree traits that are considered to be the ideal, illustrating the double bind that women face—to possess masculine traits which are the ideal and to be considered less feminine, or not to possess those traits and to fall short of the ideal. Pretest results discussed above may also indicate a tendency toward selecting socially desirable responses.

In addition to statistically significant changes, changes in individual trait dimensions not statistically significant, may, when clustered with other traits,
indicate some trends. Changes in a positive direction in a cluster of some traits, that is, more hopeful, calm, and contented, suggests movement towards enhanced self concept. Changes in a positive direction in a cluster of other traits, such as, more responsible, adaptable, and creative, suggests movement toward the development of critical thinking skills.

Engagement in the valuing process may have increased participants' awareness of their desire or need to make some changes—changes that involve the consideration of letting go of some long-held values. Changes in a negative direction towards the traits of unworthy, self-pitying, and fault-finding suggest a pattern of discomfort and resistance to such changes, as do the changes toward less cooperative and less patient. The change in the latter two traits, coupled with changes in a negative direction toward selfish and impulsive suggest a trend of preliminary moves towards considering new ways to be.

An interesting observation is the change in self-perception toward more sensitive. Although the societal and cultural expectation is for women to be sensitive rather than tough, sensitive is on the negative pole of the SPI. Again, this illustrates the double bind that women too often face—as described in the review of literature on “Women’s Identity Formation”—when to be perceived as feminine is to possess undesirable traits.

For the most part, pretest-posttest data indicate little variation in the measures of dispersion in the different traits. The group moved closer together in the following traits: rigid—adaptable, restless—calm and absent-minded—alert.

Based on both the statistically significant changes that occurred and those that were not statistically significant, a model of change emerged that involves
critical thinking skills, a clearer vision of reality, and movement toward a re-definition of self that is congruent with one's values. The results of the SPI suggests the following model of change: values queries > psychological tension > critical thinking skills > understanding > clearer reality > re-definition of self.

The qualitative and quantitative measures used in this study served two purposes:

1. Data was collected about the lives of second generation Armenian-American women in regard to how they define themselves; and

2. The effectiveness of values clarification methodology on self-concept was examined. Values clarification methodology was used in an attempt to affect self-concept in a positive direction, and to aid in generating data about second generation Armenian-American women who were children of survivors of the genocide by the Ottoman Turk in 1915.

The above summary highlights findings that lead to some interesting observations and conclusions. One might reasonably expect similarities in the women of this study as a result of their being raised in Armenian households, their having attended Armenian social, political, and religious functions which exposed them to various aspects of their culture, and their having lived their adult lives in the same geographic area. Consequently, many of the findings of this study may apply to these women collectively and individually.

Many significant issues emerged from the study concerning the preservation of Armenian heritage. One centered on language. The participants reported proficiency in the Armenian language and expressed pleasure in being able to speak and understand it. The language was important to them and
enriched their lives. Unfortunately, opportunities to use the Armenian language have decreased. This raises the question of how the language will be preserved in the modern Armenian-American world of the participants and their families. Another finding revealed that a high percentage of participants were involved in the Armenian church and in Armenian organizations. Like the Armenian language, these ties to their heritage were very important to participants. And yet, indications of tension and stress were reported as a result of participants' efforts to maintain these ties at the expense of less involvement in activities outside the boundaries of their Armenian world. The resultant dilemma: Deep involvement in Armenian activities with the necessary expenditure of time and energy, or participation in non-Armenian activities and subsequent submission to the pressures of assimilation. Lastly, threats to preservation of Armenian heritage was also indicated in the area of endogamy in the findings that families of procreation were comprised of fewer male children than families of origin. With this lessened availability of Armenian males, it will be difficult for third generation women who are so inclined, to fulfill their parents' hopes that they marry an Armenian male. These observations point to some of the dilemmas faced by individuals raised in a bi-cultural world.

Findings also revealed that the women of this study tended to perceive themselves as possessing traits and behavioral patterns stereotypically attributed to females. Participants' perceptions of themselves as being caring and other-oriented may be viewed positively by interpreting these characteristics as strengths—strengths that may enable these women, who value the principles of justice and peace, to act on their beliefs, not only to the betterment of their personal lives, but also to global betterment in the spirit of "world peace begins at home".
Participants also tended to view themselves as possessing to a higher degree the following stereotypically female characteristics: more cooperative than anti-social, more considerate than selfish, more even-tempered than moody, more good-natured than critical, and more easy-going than quick-tempered. However, some participants also reported that they had been raised to suppress their feelings. One may question if the above self-perceptions were the result of the denial of feelings that were considered to be inappropriate, or the inability to authentically express such feelings. In any case, the self-reports tended to illustrate the tenacity of stereotypically desirable female traits.

Although there were no statistically significant differences at a .05 level in a positive direction between the pretest-posttest means of the SPI, changes had occurred. A model of change which emerged suggested that the valuing process involved critical thinking skills that moved one toward a re-definition of self. Self-definition is continually recreated in the ever-changing experiences of the life process. This study used values clarification methodology as an educational intervention which aimed to move participants to a clearer vision of themselves and of their relation to the world. The observations and conclusions discussed above may warrant further study.

**Implications**

In the pluralistic, Western culture of American society, members of diverse subcultures face unique problems in establishing autonomous, authentic identity based on sometimes conflicting standards of ideal adulthood. Prescribed values emanating from both cultures deprive individuals of values that are based on an inner locus of control. The women in this study indicated
the influence of their ethnic culture in contributing to their identity—a
collection that often enriched their lives, and one that sometimes limited
their lives. They also revealed the delicate balance of skirting the boundaries of
their two worlds as they experienced both cultures—the classic dilemma of the
hyphenated woman or man, or the marginal man or woman—women and men
who do not live fully in either world. Beyond being members of a subculture
within a culture, participants’ lives depicted the conflicts of subcultures within
subcultures: as members of an ethnic group among many others; as children of
survivors of genocide within a culture that has little knowledge of their
cataclysmic history, among other groups of survivors of genocide; and as
members of a subordinate group (women in a male dominant society), among
other subordinate and oppressed groups in American society. Values
clarification methodology offered participants in this study the opportunity to
examine the values that shaped their lives. In providing a method of critical
thinking that addresses both the affective and cognitive domain, the valuing
process tended to move participants to a clearer perception of their reality.
These first steps suggest the possibilities of empowerment that exist in freely
choosing one’s values and integrating them into one’s life by using a process that
develops decision-making skills which emanate from an inner locus of control.
This study generated suggestions for possible future research and practical
application. It may prove to be useful to conduct a similar study with the
following subjects:

1. the same population in a different geographic area;
2. third generation Armenian-American women;
3. special interest groups who may want to consider issues relevant to their
needs, such as clergy, teachers, counselors, therapists, nurses, doctors, case-workers, managers, supervisors and administrators;

4. older women of diverse backgrounds;
5. second generation American women from other ethnic backgrounds;
6. second generation Armenian-American males;
7. third generation Armenian-American males; and
8. males in other populations than those suggested above.

The following recommendations for future research also emerged as a result of this study:

1. The quality of sexuality and its relation to second generation Armenian-American women should be explored.
2. Second generation Armenian-American family structure and function should be examined.
3. A follow-up retest should be conducted after a period of time following the workshops to examine any changes in the traits measured.
4. A different instrument should be used to measure self-concept.
5. A different time period for workshops should be used—a longer period of time or one that presents workshops closer together, or a combination of both.
6. The needs of the research participants should be identified prior to the educational intervention.
7. A larger number of subjects should be used.
8. An instrument should be developed that will be reliable in measuring the effects of values clarification on self concept.
9. A more detailed workshop evaluation should be conducted to examine participant feelings about the workshops.
In addition to the recommendations made above for future research, the findings of this study also suggests that values clarification workshops may prove to be useful in practical applications in the following settings:

1. In a feminist approach to counseling and therapy that understands women’s issues in the context of their reality, that is, the limiting psychic and social structuring of women.

2. In clinical settings with clients other than women who would benefit by a clearer understanding of self that is congruent with reality.

3. In workshop settings with older women who need to share with their peers, the similar experience of older women in America, such as financial deprivation, isolation, and other limiting aspects of ageism and sexism.

4. In workshop settings with women of diverse ethnic backgrounds to foster understanding about each other.

5. In workshops with minority women who would benefit by sharing similar experiences.

6. In workshop or clinical settings with survivors of, or children of survivors of cataclysms such as genocide or the holocaust where attempts were made to annihilate one’s culture.

7. In increased use in school settings in order to teach the skills of the valuing process at an earlier age.

8. In family counseling.

The women in this study illustrated the struggle to balance the values of today with those from the past and those to pass on to future generations. New questions about values are continually forced upon individuals, groups of people, and society in a rapidly changing world. Values clarification can foster
self-understanding and understanding of the self in relation to others and in relation to the world. As a component of humanistic/psychological education, values clarification methodology does not approach personal growth from an orientation of psychological disorders that need adjusting to prevailing values and expectations, but rather from the perspective of helping individuals move toward authentically being all that they can and want to be.

It is imperative that people learn how to find a suitable balance between the human craving for connectedness with others and the desire for autonomous and distinctive self-development. Personal empowerment and responsible citizenship is espoused in a democratic society—both of which require sound decision making abilities. Teaching the valuing process in a variety of settings is strongly recommended as a way of developing decision making skills and to nurture and enhance personal growth for the ultimate benefit of individual and public good.
INTERVIEW GUIDE

The purpose of this interview is to gain insight, from your point of view, about the ways that being an Armenian-American woman has affected your life.

1. How important is it to you to be able to speak Armenian?
   - With whom do you speak Armenian?
   - Can you read or write Armenian?
   - Do you have the opportunity to read or write Armenian? When?
   - Where did you learn to speak Armenian? To read Armenian? To write Armenian?
   - If you went to Armenian School, for how long? (no. of years) How often?
   - What do you think about future Armenian-Americans being literate in Armenian?

2. What part does the Armenian church have in your life today?
   - While you were growing up?
   - What part do you expect it to have in the future?

3. What part does Armenian politics have in your life today?
   - While you were growing up?
   - How do you see Armenian politics as part of your life in the future?

4. What part do Armenian organizations have in your life today? Membership? Activities?
   - How do you see involvement in Armenian organizations being part of your life in the future? Membership? Activities?
5. What did you hear about the genocide as you were growing up? From your parents? From others?

6. What are your feelings about the genocide?

7. How much of your life is involved with Armenian friends?
   - Could you describe your friendships?

8. How much of your life is involved with non-Armenian friends?
   - Could you describe your friendships?

9. What messages did you receive while growing up about education for you?
   - How did you feel about that?
   - How do you feel about that now?
   - What effect do you think it had on your life?

10. Could you tell me about your dating years? The messages you received?
    What you did? How you felt?
    - In looking back, how do you feel about it now?
    - What effect do you think it had on your life then? Today?

11. What messages did you receive about marriage? How did you feel about that?
    - How did it affect your life?
    - How do you feel about that now?

If married:

12. How would you compare your marriage to that of your parents?
    - What was or is different?
    - What was or is the same?
13. How do you feel about your job?
   - How do you think your parents would feel about the work you do today?
14. What do you consider to be your strengths? What do you feel best about yourself?
15. What would you change about yourself if you could?
16. Could you describe to me any conflicts you felt while growing up, about who you wanted to be and who you felt you should be?
17. What would you like to have different in your life?
18. How comfortable are you in expressing your feelings? Love, anger, frustration, joy, fear—negative feelings—positive feelings?
19. What messages did you receive while growing up about your sexuality?
   - How do you feel about expressing your sexuality as an adult?
20. Could you tell me how you go about making decisions?
   - With whom do you consult?
21. Do you consider yourself to be an independent person?
   - What does that mean to you?
22. Would you tell me about how satisfied you are with your life at this point in time?
   - What is the most important thing to you?
23. What are your feelings about being an Armenian-American woman?
   - How has it hindered you?
   - How has it enhanced your life?
24. What stands out for you about being an Armenian while growing up?

25. Would you like to tell me anything else?

26. Do you have any questions for me?

27. What messages would you give to the next generation of Armenian-American women?
HUMAN SUBJECTS CONSENT FORM

The purpose of this form is to document your verbal agreement to voluntarily participate in the study by Shirley Y. Setian, of the values of second-generation Armenian-American women. Your signature on this form confirms the following:

- You understand that information you provided in taped interviews conducted by the researcher will be used to design values clarification workshops which address issues of interest to second-generation Armenian-American women. And that it will contribute to the meager body of knowledge that exists regarding second-generation Armenian-American women, daughters of survivors of genocide.

- Taped interviews have been reviewed by you for any changes you wished to make. A copy of the transcript has been given to you to keep. You have given researcher permission to use transcript with any changes you deemed necessary.

- Confidentiality has been protected by deleting from the transcript, names and other information which might reveal identity.

- You have the right to discontinue participation at any time.

- You may contact the researcher at 64 Brainard Road, Wilbraham, MA 01095, phone number-(413) 596-6689), for answers to pertinent questions about the research and your rights.

Signed_________________________________________ Date____
APPENDIX C

HUMAN SUBJECTS CONSENT FORM WORKSHOPS
Your signature on this form documents your agreement to voluntarily participate in a study which will use values clarification methodology to explore the values of second-generation Armenian-American women. The study will be conducted by Shirley Yaylaian Setian, Doctoral Candidate, School of Education, University of Massachusetts, Amherst. The purpose of the study is three-fold:

(1) To evaluate the effectiveness of values clarification methodology.
(2) To gain insight and knowledge about the perception of second-generation Armenian-American women regarding their values.
(3) To add to the meager research on second-generation Armenian-American women, who are children of survivors of the Ottoman Turks' genocide of the Armenian people.

Participation in the study will require the following:
- Attendance in two (2), day-long values clarification workshops (7 hours each). This consists of a series of structured activities to stimulate thought and discussion about your beliefs and values.
- Your entries in a take-home workbook of values clarification exercises—approximately one-half hour each—every other day for one month. The workbook will be yours to keep.
- Completion of questionnaires for data collection.

An initial questionnaire will be mailed to you to collect some basic data which will be compiled anonymously in order to insure confidentiality. Questionnaires which you will be asked to fill out during the workshops will not include names in order to further insure confidentiality and will be submitted to UMASS statistical consultants who will process the data. Results of the data analysis will be available to all workshop participants.

You may contact the researcher at her home address, 64 Brainard Road, Wilbraham, MA 01095, phone number (413) 596-6689, for answers to pertinent questions about the research and your rights. You have the right to discontinue participation at any time.

DATE____  SIGNATURE__________________
Second-generation Armenian-American women in the Greater Springfield Area are being sought for a study being conducted by Shirley (Shahkeh) Yaylaian Setian, doctoral candidate, University of Massachusetts, Amherst. In part, the purpose of Ms. Setian’s study is to gain insight and knowledge about the perception of second-generation Armenian-American women regarding their values and beliefs; and to add to the meager research on second-generation Armenian-American women who are children of survivors of the Ottoman Turk’s genocide of the Armenian people. Ms. Setian’s parent were survivors.

According to Ms. Setian, her academic venture is part of a personal journey which began when she was a teenager trying to make some meaning out of the “culture of silence” which seemed to engulf her parents and their Armenian contemporaries regarding their oppression and subsequent attempted annihilation by the Ottoman Turk. She was especially affected by the stories that her mother and her mother’s friends shared with each other about their tragic experiences---with some sort of unspoken understanding that such things must not be discussed with others.

Ms. Setian hopes to see Armenian-Americans engage in meaningful dialogue about their Armenian legacy. She says, “The tragedy of the genocide was exacerbated by our parents’ ‘muted voices’. Purpose and meaning can be given to their lives and ours by giving voice to our personal experiences. Indeed, because our lives are intertwined, through us, they will be heard.”
Although the centerpiece of Ms. Setian’s research is on values and not on the genocide, her study includes inquiries about the genocide as perceived by a selected group of second-generation Armenian-American women. She considers this to be a first, small step towards documenting the effects of the genocide on the children of survivors. Her research design includes two day-long workshops consisting of structured activities to stimulate thought and discussion about values and beliefs. Workshops will be held at Wilbraham Library on Saturday, September, 17, 1988 and October 15, 1988.

Participants in Ms. Setian’s study will be limited to volunteers who are second-generation Armenian-American women from the Greater Springfield area whose parents immigrated to the United States before 1924 as survivors of the genocide. The Greater Springfield area consists of the following cities and towns: Agawam, Belchertown, Chicopee, East Longmeadow, Easthampton, Granby, Hadley, Hampden, Hatfield, Holyoke, Indian Orchard, Longmeadow, Ludlow, Monson, Northampton, Palmer, South Hadley, Southampton, Southwick, Springfield, Warren, West Springfield, Westfield, Wilbraham.

If you meet the above requirements and want to participate in the study, contact Shirley Yaylaian Setian (Shahkeh), 64 Brainard Road, Wilbraham, MA 01095, (413) 5966689—DEADLINE: AUGUST 1, 1988. In addition to contributing to research, Ms. Setian says that participants will have the unique opportunity of meeting with other Armenian women to learn about each other; to gain self-knowledge; to gain insight about commonalities and differences; and to share the hopes, fears, and possibilities of the future.
I would like to invite you to join me and other Armenian-American women in what I believe will be a personally satisfying experience and a valuable contribution to research. As a doctoral candidate at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, I am conducting a study of the values and beliefs which guide our behavior and our lives. You would be a valuable asset to this study as a volunteer participant.

As a participant, you would have the opportunity to meet with other Armenian-American women in small group settings to discuss issues which affect us in our daily lives. These discussion groups will be held in a workshop setting in the Brooks Room of the Wilbraham Library on Saturday, September 17, 1988 and October 15, 1988. Participants will be asked to attend both workshops, and to complete some related questionnaires.

The participants in this study will be limited to the first females born in the United States of parents who immigrated to America before 1924 as survivors of the Ottoman Turks' genocide of our people. For purposes of this study, participants are called second-generation Armenian-American women. The study is further limited to women from the Greater Springfield Area.

This is our opportunity to add to the meager research on second-generation Armenian-American women, and to gain insight about ourselves and others. I sincerely hope that you will want to be part of this unique study. Thank you for considering my request. For further information, please feel free to phone or write. I would appreciate the return of the enclosed postcard before July 15. I look forward to meeting you.

Yours truly,

Shirley (Shahkeh) Yaylaian Setian
APPENDIX F

PARTICIPANT RESPONSE POSTCARD
Dear Shahkeh,

___ Yes, I would like to participate in your study.  
    Please send me additional information, and an  
    "agreement to participate" form to sign.  

___ No, I will not be participating in your study, but thank you for asking me.

PLEASE CHECK ONE OF THE ABOVE AND PRINT YOUR NAME BELOW.  RETURN BEFORE JULY 15.

______________________________________________

Please print your name
I am delighted that you have chosen to participate in my doctoral research project. I sincerely believe that you will find it a rewarding experience.

Enclosed, you will find the “agreement to participate” form I mentioned in the post card which accompanied your letter of invitation. The form, entitled, “Human Subjects Consent Form”, provides additional information about the study. University guidelines require your signed, informed consent in order to protect your rights. Please sign and return the form in the enclosed stamped, addressed envelope. Because of the time-frame which is necessary for ordering material prior to the study, I would appreciate a response from you before August 16.

WORKSHOP INFORMATION:
- Place: Brooks Room, Wilbraham Library
- Workshop hours: 10:00 A.M. to 4:45 P.M.
- Sign-in: Between 10:00 A.M. and 10:15 A.M. (beverages and light refreshments during this period)
- Workshop session begins promptly at 10:20 A.M.
- Promptness is important.
- There will be brief breaks during sessions.
- Lunch break: Brown bag, or at any of the nearby restaurants. The choice is yours.
- You will be provided with a notebook for entries during the workshops. The notebook will be yours to keep. Please bring pen or pencil.

Early in September, you will receive a map to the Wilbraham Library, a list of nearby restaurants, and any other information which may be necessary. Again, I invite you to phone or write me about any questions you may have. I look forward to what I believe will be a mutually enriching experience.

Yours truly,

Shirley (Shahkeh) Yaylaian Setian
Soon we will be meeting in the Brooks Room of the Wilbraham Library for the first of the two scheduled workshops to discuss our values and beliefs. I have already had the privilege of meeting with other selected second-generation Armenian-American women in the Greater Springfield area. I conducted taped interviews with them for the purpose of gathering information about issues which would be relevant in our workshops, and in compiling material for this study. I look forward to the next special part of my study, meeting with you on Saturday, September 17, 1988 at 10:00 A.M. Please feel free to call with any questions you might have.

Sincerely yours,

Shirley (Shahkeh) Yaylaian Setian

I have enclosed a map to the Wilbraham Library. There is ample parking in the rear. Lunch can be Brown Bag or at one of the nearby restaurants. Some of the restaurants which are nearby on Boston Road, Route 20 are:

- Pizza Pub
- Mike's Place
- Friendly's
- Sunset
- Theo's
- Gatsby's
- Wilbraham Deli

- McDonald's
- Jim Dandy's
- A & W
- Kentucky Fried Chicken
- Pizzeria Uno
- Pizza Hut
APPENDIX I
REMINDER POSTCARD FOR SECOND WORKSHOP
See you Saturday, October 15, 1988, at 10:00 A:M. Bring your notebook, your booklet, and your enthusiasm to continue the work we began a month ago.

With warm regards,
APPENDIX J
WORKSHOP OUTLINE
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10:00 to 10:10</td>
<td>Registration-Refreshments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:10 to 10:15</td>
<td>Welcome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:15 to 10:25</td>
<td>Self Perception Inventory (SPI)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:25 to 10:35</td>
<td>Explanation of Self-Concept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:35 to 10:50</td>
<td>Coffee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:55 to 11:15</td>
<td>Background of facilitator; Explanation of Values Clarification Theory; and Introduction to workshop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:15 to 11:50</td>
<td>An Admired Armenian Woman*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:50 to 12:10</td>
<td>Who Are All Those Others?*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Omitted 10 Minute Break...Re-scheduled Value Statement exercise to afternoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:10 to 1:30</td>
<td>Lunch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:35 to 2:00</td>
<td>What's Important to Me*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Omitted CPA-What Do I Create, Promote, Allow? Needed more time to process strategies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:05 to 2:25</td>
<td>Lifeline*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:25 to 2:40</td>
<td>Break (15 minute break...waited for participant to complete phone call)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:40 to 3:10</td>
<td>Value Statement*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:15 to 3:55</td>
<td>Life Inventory*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:55 to 4:25</td>
<td>Closure*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:25 to 4:30</td>
<td>Hand out and explain Values Clarification take-home workbook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:30 to 4:40</td>
<td>Workshop evaluation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4:45 End of workshop

*Note: See Appendix K for copy of strategies
OCTOBER 15, 1988 WORKSHOP OUTLINE

10:00 to 10:10  Welcome
10:10 to 10:25  Introduction
10:25 to 10:35  Armenian Name/Identity*
10:35 to 10:50  Participant Profile Questionnaire (PPQ)
10:50 to 11:05  Coffee Break
11:05 to 11:25  Three Major Learnings*
11:25 to 12:15  Growing Up With Values Grid*
12:15 to 12:33  Genocide Value Sheet*
12:33 to 12:35  Tension Release Exercise
12:35 to 1:45   Lunch
1:45 to 2:00    Introduction to Perspectives on Forgiveness, including issue of anger*
2:00 to 2:45    Perspectives on Forgiveness*
2:45 to 3:20    Sexuality*
3:20 to 3:30    Break
3:30 to 4:05    Planning Board*
4:05 to 4:35    Closure*
4:35 to 4:45    Self Perception Inventory (SPI)
4:45 to 4:50    Sign up for individual study results

4:50 End of workshop

*Note: See Appendix K for copy of strategies
APPENDIX K
WORKSHOP STRATEGIES
AN ADMIRED ARMENIAN WOMAN:

*Think of all the Armenian women of your mother's generation who you knew while you were growing up. Choose one special one whom you admired. Do not choose your mother if she is the woman who comes to mind. Choose another woman of her generation. It helps to close your eyes for a minute and recall the face of this woman. How did she look? How did she talk? Picture how she moved about. What was it about her that made her stand out for you? What qualities did she have which you admired? Take a minute and think about these things. 4 MIN.

*When you feel you are through, open up your notebook and make a list of the things which you admired about her. 3 MIN.

*Look around the room and find someone you do not know, or whom you do not know very well. Choose her for a partner, and spend a few minutes telling each other about the woman you admired. (yes, you will have to get up in order to get together). Take turns of 1 1/2 minutes each. I will let you know when the first minute and a half is almost over so that the first person can finish her thought before the next person begins. 4 MIN.

*I'd like you to call out the qualities you came up with so that I can list them on newsprint, and we can all see what it was about these women that we admired. 10 MIN.

SYS: (1) Ask for clarification or more specific detail when necessary. (2) Go down the list and ask how many had the same of each of the qualities. I would like to keep this list to use in my study, only if no one has any discomfort in my using it. Is anyone uncomfortable about that? 5 MIN.

*Look at your own list again. Can you use any of these qualities to describe yourself? Which ones? Which of these qualities could you not use in describing yourself? 3 MIN.

*SYS: Explain the benefit of writing down your thoughts. It helps make things clearer. One way we do this in values clarification is to use "I learned..." statements. These are statements that we write down beginning with words like: "I learned that I..."; "I re-learned that I..."; "I was surprised that I...". The focus is always on what you learned about yourself. 2 MIN.

*In your notebook, write down the words: "I learned that I..." and complete the sentence, describing what you learned about yourself as a result of this exercise. What you write down is for you alone and will not be shared in the workshop or included in the study. 2 MIN.

TOTAL 35 MINUTES
WHO ARE ALL THOSE OTHERS? AND WHAT ARE THEY DOING IN MY LIFE? * [SYS: Hand out diagram]

* A private exercise to help you recognize who influences your values and to what extent. Who are the significant people in your life, and what do they expect of you? 1 MIN.

* In each one of the squares, under each category, write down the names or initials of real people in your life. Leave some room in each square if you can, to make some notes a little later. 2 MIN.

* Then in each square, list 4 or 5 things each of these significant people in your life want you to value—What demands do they place on you? What do they want you to be, to do, to think? [SYS: Give examples] 5 MIN.

* Look over the lists, and see what the similarities are between what the various people in your life want from you—and what are the differences between what the various people in your life want from you? [SYS: Give examples] 3-4 MIN.

* Then, in each square, circle each item that you also want for yourself. 2 MIN.

* Make a list in the “ME” square, (or draw a line to the margin and make a list there), of the things you have circled, those things you are willing to accept as things you also want for yourself. These are the beliefs to hold dear. 2 MIN.

* And what about the ones that others want of you that you don’t want? Here is where you can often find conflict with those who are important people in our lives—where negotiation is the key word.

* You may need to say clearly, what it is that you want. Or tell them with as much gentleness as possible, “No”.

* Sometimes it’s difficult to sort out what it is that we really, really, really want. The values clarification exercises (sometimes called strategies) in these workshops are designed to help us sort out what we really want, and to discover responsible ways to have the things that we want in our lives. 1-2 MIN.

TOTAL 18 MINUTES
WHAT'S IMPORTANT TO ME

*On a clean page in your notebook, I'm going to ask you to make a list. You will be limited to 5 minutes. Write down what comes to your mind first. Your list will more likely be authentic if what you put down is as spontaneous as possible. There are no right or wrong answers.

*Write down a list of the 12 most important items in your life—people, things, ideas, principles, or any combination of things. You have 5 minutes—I'll tell you when your time is up.

*Examine your list and cross out the 3 with the lowest priority. You have 1 minute.

*Now you have 9. Examine your list again, and cross out the 3 with the lowest priority. You have 1 minute.

*Now you have 6. Cross out the 3 with the lowest priority. You have 1 minute.

Look at the 3 you have left. Take 5 minutes to think about your lifestyle—your work, your home, your free time. How do these 3 things that you just indicated are the most important things in your life fit into your lifestyle.

*Who would like to share what she has left on her list. I'll list them on newsprint. (option to pass) -You have just publicly affirmed what is important to you. -You also have had a chance to see to what extent you are acting on what is important to you. -I would like to include this information in my study. Does anyone feel uncomfortable with that?

*Pair up with someone you don't know very well. -Discuss how your lists differ and how they are similar. -Discuss what you discovered about how what is important to you fits in with how you are living. Take 3 minutes each—a total of 6 minutes.

*Make an entry in your notebook, beginning with the sentence stem, “I learned that I...”

TOTAL 25 MINUTES
LIFELINE [SYS: Illustrate on newsprint, using own life as an example] This exercise deals with the reality of life and death—with a message: “I have just so many years left and I have a choice as to how I will spend those years”.

* On a clean page in your notebook, draw a horizontal line across the middle of the page.
  - Put a dot at each of the line.
  - Over the left dot, put the number 0. This dot represents your birth.
  - Write your year of birth under this dot.
  - The dot on your right represents your ultimate death.
  - How long do you realistically believe, or hope you will live?
  - At what age do you think you’ll die?
  - Over the right dot, put the age which you estimate you will be when you die. (Hopefully, you have chosen a long life)
  - Under the right dot, put date—the year it will be on your estimated date of death.

* Now, on the line between life and death, place an X, which represents where you are right now. Write today's date, 9-17-88, under the X.

* This diagram is your lifeline. Look at it. Study it and think about it. Let it really settle into your consciousness. 4 MIN.

* Between the dot when you were born, and the X which represents today, make 8 lines on your lifeline like the marks on a ruler. Underneath the lifeline, for each of the 8 lines, write a few simple words to represent the most important events in your life up until now. [SYS: suggest 1 or 2 if it looks like suggestions are needed] 5 MIN.

* Draw a deep U-shape underneath your lifeline, starting at your date of birth, and ending at the X. [SYS: Illustrate on newsprint]

* [SYS: Pointing to the first part of the diagram] Everything that ever happened to you is in this net. 1 MIN.

* To the right of today’s date, underneath the lifeline, between the X and your projected date of death, make a list of things that you don’t want to end your life regretting. 5 MIN.

* Draw 3 or 4 arches above your lifeline, starting at the X, and ending at your date of death. [SYS: Illustrate]

* Look over your list of things you don’t want to end your life regretting.
  - Which 2 are the most important to you? Put an A beside those.
  - Which 2 are of the second importance? Put a B next to them.
  - Which 2 are the least important? Put a C next to them. 2 MIN.
According to Erik Erikson, who developed a model of stages in human development, at this point in our lives, we are entering a period of integrity (a sense of being centered and satisfied with our lives), or a period of despair. The key of despair is regrets.

- The list of things you don’t want to end your life regretting, can be looked at as your life goals.
- At this crossroad in your life, you have a chance to shape what is before you—to have full control to create, promote, or allow what it is that you want.

- There are many options.
- All the possibilities of your life are here in your rainbow years—[SYS: Pointing to arches]

* What do you want in the next part of your life—your rainbow years?
- Are you going to continue doing what you’re doing? 1 MIN.

* In your notebook, write the words, “I realized that I...” Complete the sentence with what it is that you realized about yourself after doing this exercise. 2 MIN.

TOTAL 20 MINUTES
VALUE STATEMENT

Introduce topic of religious/political split among Armenians by referring to interviews: The subject came up, with strong feelings, even though it was not an interview question.

1. In your notebooks, copy and finish the following statement and then explain the reasons for your views in a few more sentences. [Sentences on newsprint]

   I think the political/religious split among Armenians is...take 2 minutes. 3 MIN.

2. Write a letter to other Armenian-Americans about the split, telling them how you feel; what you would like to see the Armenian-American community look like; and how you see that happening. Begin your letter: Dear Armenian-Americans, I have something very important to say to you....Write with passion, as quickly as you can. Take 2 minutes. 3 MIN.

3. Group count off and form trios. 3 MIN.

4. Take about 10 minutes to read and discuss letters with each other. Be aware of the time to make sure everyone has a chance to speak. 12 MIN.

I'd like 3 women to volunteer to come up front and read their letters. For many of us, coming up front is a risk. I know because I've been through it, and I still get nervous when I'm faced with speaking before a group. But each time I do, I feel better about myself because I took the risk—and lived.

Each time we take a risk, we exercise and add to our personal power. I strongly encourage you to come up front and share your letter. It will be a powerful experience for you—and a chance for us to learn from each other. We all are teachers for each other.

There are 3 chairs up front for our volunteers. One of the ways we show our support is to applaud as loudly as we can after each person has finished reading her letter. Come on up. Take the opportunity to publicly affirm what you believe on an important issue—in a very supportive group. 4 MIN.

READING OF LETTERS: 6 MIN.

TOTAL 30 MINUTES
LIFE INVENTORY

Look around the room and find 2 women who you haven’t worked with today. Get together and form a trio. 2 MIN.

*I’m going to hand out a list of questions called “Life Inventory”. Each of you will take turns discussing your answers to the questions with one other person in your trio. The third person will record the answers on the “Life Inventory” form so that you each will end up with a written record of your answers. Each of you will take turns recording the answers for one another. Before I hand out the questions, decide who the first recorder will be. Also decide who will be the first one to answer the questions—The one answering the questions will be the focus person. The third person’s job is to listen and ask any necessary clarifying questions—Your job is to be encouraging and supportive by giving your full attention—Be careful that you don’t get caught up in debate or discussion with anything the focus person brings up.

YOUR RESPONSES TO THESE QUESTIONS WILL NOT BE INCLUDED IN THE STUDY. THESE RECORDS ARE FOR YOUR INFORMATION ONLY.

*Hand out of LIFE INVENTORY (to look a little deeper at some of the major themes and events in your life)

*The focus person will have 10 minutes to answer the questions on the LIFE INVENTORY SHEET.

*I’ll call time in 9 minutes so that you will have time to move on to the next person after 10 minutes.

*I’ll ask you to rotate when ten minutes are up so that you will each have a turn being the focus person, the listener, and the recorder. 3 MIN.

*[SYS: keep time and call out at 9 and 10 minute intervals] 30 MIN.
LIFE INVENTORY

1. What was the happiest year or period in your life?

2. What things do you do well?

3. Tell about a turning point in your life.

4. What has been the lowest point in your life?

5. Was there a time of heavy grief? More than one?

6. Tell about some things you do poorly, which you have to continue doing anyway.

7. What are some things you would like to stop doing?

8. What are some things you would really like to get better at?

9. Tell about one missed opportunity in your life.

10. What are some things you would like to start doing now, right at this point in your life?
LIFE INVENTORY (continued)

When all 3 are finished:

*Give each person her completed inventory.

*Take a minute or 2 alone to look over your inventory. 1-2 MIN.

*Turn to a clean page in your notebook and write; LIFE INVENTORY.

*Look at #10 on your Life Inventory Sheet.

-Is there one thing that you could start next week? Write down what that one thing might be.

-What is the first step you would need to take? Write down what that first step would be.

-Is there someone who could help? Write down the name of that person—or more than one if that’s the case.

-Are you willing to do something about it?

THANK YOUR PARTNERS FOR LISTENING AND RECORDING FOR YOU 3 MIN.

TOTAL 40 MINUTES
CLOSURE

Put chairs in a circle.
Quietly look around and think of the things you shared.
Each make one statement about what happened for you:
-a feeling you’re left with, or
-something you learned, or
-you might want to thank someone for being a special help to you.

TOTAL 30 MINUTES
ARMENIAN NAME

Do you have an Armenian first name?

Choose a person you haven't had a chance to work with yet, and talk to her about how you felt about your Armenian first name while growing up.

Tell her how you feel about your first name now.

If you don't have an Armenian first name, talk about your feelings about that.

HAND OUT INDEX CARDS:

On cards, write what your feelings were about your name while growing up, and your feelings about it now.

TOTAL 10 MINUTES
3 MAJOR LEARNINGS

1. For the past month, you have been using values clarification methods to examine some important life issues. Take 4-5 minutes to look over your notebooks and booklets, and pick out 3 major things you learned about yourself this past month as a result of the work that you have done. On a clean page in your notebook, list what these learnings are.

5 MINUTES

2. Look at your list, and think about what you learned in terms of how it will help you in the future. Make some notes to yourself in your notebook.

2 MINUTES

3. It's time to look around the room and choose 2 people whom you know the least, and form a trio to discuss what you learned about yourself and how it will help you in the future. Take 2 minutes each.

7 MINUTES

4. Talking with others helps clarify what you have been thinking about and adds new thoughts.

In your notebook, complete the following statement:

What I learned about myself will help me in the future in the following ways:

3 MINUTES

TOTAL 20 MINUTES
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COLUMN 1</th>
<th>COLUMN 2</th>
<th>COLUMN 3</th>
<th>COLUMN 4</th>
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<td>WHAT YOU LEARNED</td>
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<td>The role(s) expected of a woman</td>
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COLUMN 1: For each topic, write one important message you received while growing up. (9 MINUTES)

*Get back into the same trio you were in before the break [give time to get into trios]. Join another trio to form groups of 6 [adjust to groups of 5 or 7 if necessary].

*Discuss any ideas, similarities, or differences that come up. (15 MINUTES)

COLUMN 2: For each topic, write the name(s) of the person(s) who gave you that message. If you learned it on your own, write “EXP” for experience. (2 MINUTES)

COLUMN 3: Write the extent to which you now agree with the statement you made in Column 1 by using one of the following codes:

[SYS: ON NEWSPRINT]

(SA) Strongly agree.
(PA) Partially agree.
(N) Neutral (or don’t know).
(PD) Partially disagree.
(SD) Strongly disagree. (2 MINUTES)

COLUMN 4: Put a check mark next to each message that you feel you are passing on to the next generation—regardless of whether you agree or disagree—and regardless of whether you are passing it on verbally or by your actions or non-action. [SYS: Give example] (4 MINUTES)

Put an X beside those messages which you feel you are not passing on to the next generation—whether you now agree with it or not. For instance, if my message for forgiveness was to forgive because that was the Christian thing to do—a message from my minister while growing up which I agree with—and I tell my family and friends that I will never forgive so-and-so for hurting me, then I am not passing on the message I grew up with and still agree with. (4 MINUTES)

Look over your Grid. Summarize what you discovered about yourself as a result of this exercise by taking 3-4 minutes to write three “I learned...” statements in your notebook. (4 MINUTES)

NOTE: Will take up topics of genocide, forgiveness, and sex individually with structured exercises, and highlight the other topics with a few comments on each. (10 MINUTES)
Excerpts from interviews of second generation Armenian-American women in the Greater Springfield area regarding the genocide:

A. “We grew up with the hatred against the Turkish government. It’s very much a part of my feelings.” “Even to this day...I disliked Turks so intensely because of that [the genocide]....There’s no way I could ever condone or forgive them for what they did.”

B. “I feel an obligation to do something about it....Not to let the world forget, and to turn it around to something positive—using it as an example to make the world a better place to live. The genocide is one expression—the ultimate expression—of oppression we see every day in our lives.”

1. Which of the two paragraph above do you relate to the most, “A” or “B”?

2a. If you chose paragraph “A”: What implications do the sentiments expressed in that paragraph have on your life today?

2b. If you chose paragraph “B”: What implications do the sentiments expressed in that paragraph have on your life today?

3. What message do you get about yourself regarding the genocide? Complete the following statement: I discovered that I...

[SYS: Hand out index cards]

Note on index cards whether you chose A or B.

Add a note about what implications your response to this exercise has on your life today.

TOTAL: 30-35 MINUTES
FORGIVENESS

We’ve all been hurt at one time or another.

It’s what we do with the hurt that makes the difference in our lives.

We can’t go on with our future without letting go of past hurts. Unfinished business.

We don’t let go because we don’t want to be vulnerable, and be hurt again.

Catalog of people who hurt: [Listed on newsprint]

parents  
step parents  
children  
friends  
brothers  
sisters  
husband  
ex husband  
co-workers  
people you work for  
teachers  
clergy  
doctors  
complete strangers  
the system  
ourselves

HANDOUT

[SYS: After #4 has been completed]

-May have aroused some feelings you may be medicating the hurts: drugs, alcohol, food (oreos, twinkies), keeping busy (volunteer work, shopping)

-Choose a person next to you and share your thoughts on #4. Take about 1 1/2 minutes each.

-Look at #1—Put a star next to 3 of the names. Think about why those names jumped off the page for you.

-With your partner, share in a special way about those 3 people. Say 1 sentence only about each of the 3.

Complete questions 5-8 on second page. 10 minutes

[SYS: go over your notes on each one, 5-8]

LETTER:

On a clean page in your notebook, write a letter to you, from someone who has hurt you. (This can be from a person who is living or dead). It is a letter of apology telling you they are sorry for what they did. They acknowledge that they hurt you; They explain it from their point of view. Three parts to the letter: 1. They apologize; 2. They acknowledge that they hurt you; 3. They explain it.

*Don’t try to craft the letter. Write as if another force is writing it. Take 4 minutes.

*Read your letter to your partner, each taking turns. Take another minute or
two to get rid of some of the feelings that may have been stirred up, before we move on.  

Forgiveness has nothing to do with the other person. It comes from within you—when you decide to let go.

Forgiveness is a choice. Bitterness is a choice. In bitterness, we shut off part of life. Part of you dies.

When you let bitterness die, and feel anger leave you, healing takes place, and you contribute to your overall wellness.

*When we forgive, we reclaim ourselves.

TOTAL 50 MINUTES
1. Make a list of some of the people who have hurt you in your life.

2. Who are some of the people whom you have hurt?

3. List some words which describe how you feel, or what you do when you get “hurt”.

4. Name some people in your life now, or from your past, who seem/seemed to be “stuck” with the problems of forgiveness.
5. After you've been hurt, how do you handle the following notions?
   a. Resentment:
   
   b. Punishing the hurter:
   
   c. Condoning/making excuses for what the hurter has done:
   
   d. Forgetting, overlooking, denying what the hurter has done:
   
6. Sometimes we blame ourselves and say such things as, “This wouldn’t have happened if only I had, or had not, done such-and-such”. What are some of your “if onlys”?

7. What do you get, or what is the price for your NOT forgiving?

8. What do you get, or what is the payoff for forgiving?
SEXUALITY

The issue of sexuality is especially important to me. As an Armenian-American woman who received primarily negative messages about sex and about my own sexuality, I was deeply saddened to learn that messages about this subject which we never talk about, have proved to diminish the lives of some of the women I interviewed. In the only other study that I could find of second generation Armenian-American women, the researcher, Arlene Avakian, interviewed a group of women in New England as part of her study. She was struck by the noticeable avoidance of discussing sex or sexuality. [SYS: COMMENT ON INTERVIEWS=NON-VERBAL MESSAGE AND READ QUOTE FROM INTERVIEW]

3 MINUTES

OFF TAPE QUOTE: “As a result of the restrictions, we became inhibited, unable to express our love or feelings of sexuality when we fell in love.” [Poignant examples were given]

I'd like to break the chain of silence about sexuality—a normal, healthy, pleasure-giving part of our lives. Look at the “Growing Up With Values Grid” we worked on this morning—Look at the messages that you received about sex while you were growing up. How many of you can say that what you wrote down was a positive message—how many a negative message? [SYS: record—on newsprint.]

2 MINUTES

For me, the message was a simple one: It was wrong, wrong, wrong, to think about sex, to feel sexual, and especially to do anything sexual. [SYS: Give example of the effects of those messages]

Now maybe your messages while growing up were not the same as mine, and didn’t have the same result as mine, but I think that many of us shared similar messages—and could learn from each other—and come to some understanding about our own sexuality.

1 MINUTE

What was it like for you? What messages did you receive? [Share with larger group]

10 MINUTES

Think more deeply about the messages you received about sexuality while growing up. What is it doing in your life today?

Are you happy with it?

Do you want to change anything?

What can you do about it?
We have an incredible resource of diverse backgrounds here: married women, women who never married, widows. We have all lived a long life. We've learned some things along the way.

Break into trios and discuss your feelings about your sexuality, and together list as many ways as you can think of to express and satisfy your feelings of sexuality. Sharing your wisdom benefits the receiver, and increases your own feelings of self-worth. You may be surprised about how much you have to give. And I think you may also be surprised about how much you will learn.

10 MINUTES

REPORT OUT TO LARGER GROUP: LIST ON NEWSPRINT

8 MINUTES
In notebook, write a letter to the sexual part of you. Start your letter with:
“Dear sexual part of me...”

2 MINUTES

TOTAL 36 MINUTES
# PLANNING BOARD

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This strategy can be used for any number of issues to help you organize your goals, set priorities, and make decisions. It will help you to find out what it is that you need in your life to be fulfilled and satisfied...to live life with zest, with joy...to be fully you.

HANDOUT:

This is a diagram of a planning board—we’re going to use it to sort out and find out what you really, really, really want. 1 min.

HANDOUT PAPER:

-Fold it in half lengthwise. Make a sharp crease with your fingernail. Tear the paper in half.
-Put the two halves together and fold them in half crosswise. Make a sharp crease with your fingernail and tear in half.
-You now have 4 even slips of paper. Put the pieces together—fold into thirds crosswise, so you have three equal sections. Make a sharp crease with your fingernail on each fold, and tear into 3 strips.
-You now should have 12 equal sized rectangles (it doesn’t matter if they are uneven at the edges). These slips of paper are the markers for your planning board. 3 min.

*I’m going to call out 12 different aspects of living—one at a time. On each slip of paper (each marker), write a key word or two so that you will know which aspect of living the marker represents.

-After you have completed a marker, place it on the planning board according to how important it is to you. # 1 being of the highest value to you, and # 12 being the lowest value to you.

-Where you place the markers in the beginning will be tentative, but it will show how much you value that particular marker. The markers can be moved as many times as you want—until you get the 12th piece.

*[SYS: as you call out each issue, add a descriptive explanation so that each woman can envision what their lives would be like if that condition were a reality]
*In order for you to be fully you—to have a satisfying and rich life, how important is it to have SPIRITUAL NOURISHMENT in your life? (a religion, a place of worship, or a private source of spirituality)*

-Write SPIRITUAL NOURISHMENT on one of your markers and place it on your planning board according to its importance to you.

- Take a peek at where other women have placed the same slip. You've heard of peer pressure, now you know what it feels like—and I urge you to resist it.

*How important is it for you to have a CREATIVE OUTLET IN YOUR LIFE? (a musical instrument, art, a hobby)*

*How important is RECREATION in your life? (re-creation = plays, concerts, travel, dance, exercise—swim, walk, exercise class)*

*What about having FRIENDS—A circle of friends you can depend on—reach out to.*

*What value does FAMILY RICHNESS have for you?—family of origin (born into)—family of creation (marriage, housemate)*

*Where does FINANCIAL SECURITY fall for you in order for your life to be full and satisfying?*

6 min.

*Pair off with someone next to you who you haven’t worked with yet, and talk about how you placed these first six choices. Take 2 minutes each, for a total of 4 minutes.*

*Back to your planning board to consider other alternatives.*

*In the greater scheme of things in your life, where would you place GOOD HEALTH?—physical check-ups, diet, exercise (isometric), addictions: cigarettes, alcohol, food, drugs.*

*How important is it for you to have a LOVE RELATIONSHIP?—a special person in my life with whom I can express my innermost self; a romantic relationship; companionship.*

*How much value do you place on having a SENSE OF PURPOSE in your life?—a cause; an organization; my contribution to society.*

* How important is it for you to be CONNECTED TO YOUR ARMENIAN HERITAGE?*

*How valuable is it for you to have INDEPENDENCE?—freedom to be me; to explore and experience life; to decide what I want and need, “to go for it”.*

*The last marker is a wild card. Something not mentioned which I want in my life. (laughter/humor; sexual fulfillment).*
There are many more that I haven't mentioned. Think about something that you need in your life that has not been mentioned. Write it down in a word or two on your last marker. Place it on the planning board according to how important it is to you.

*Get together with your partner again, and talk about your last 6 choices. Take 2 minutes each, for a total of 4 minutes.

* Take 2 minutes alone to sort out your choices so that your planning board reflects what you really, really, really want.
PLANNING BOARD STRATEGY

This part of the Planning Board Strategy will help you be more decisional. It will help you decide what your bottom line is in shaping your life the way you want it to be.

* Take #12 off of the planning board, and ask yourself—if this aspect of your life were missing, could you still have a fulfilling and satisfying life? If so, put it aside.

* Do the same with #11—#10—#9—and so on—until you find out how much you can take away and still have a fulfilling and satisfying life. 4 min.

- This process shows you that even though something may be low in your priorities, you still may not want to give it up—And something high in your priorities may be something you are willing to give up.

- This bottom lining tends to make you look closer at your priorities.

- Prioritizing is hard. It pushes you to make decisions. It sometimes confronts us with the idea that we are using our life force and energy on things that are truly low priorities—leaving until “later” things that are our higher priorities—something we’ve looked at a number of different ways.

* Let’s look at 1 of the things that has a high priority for you. Turn over your first slip.

- On the back of the slip, write the specifics you would want for that general topic.

[SYS: The following underlined on newsprint]

- For me, my #1 priority is A Sense Of Purpose: For the specifics, I would ask myself some questions: What does that look like to me. I would write on the back of the slip: Belonging to an organization that works towards combatting injustice. Who would it involve? Others who believe as I do about injustice to other people. What would I have to do? Look into some organizations that already exist. How much time am I willing to give? About one day a month right now in my life. Sometimes when we make something that is general more specific, it changes our priorities. And that seems right. As new insight or new information is gained, old values may change. My school work takes up a lot of my time, and my life has changed dramatically this past year. I may decide to give more time when I complete my education. My priorities may change.

* Take off your top priority, and on the back of the marker, write out the specifics for the topic you chose.

5 min.

* Searching for, and choosing from among alternatives is an incredibly powerful life skill. It helps us become more decisional. When we learn to be decisional, it contributes to our self-esteem. It helps us get unstuck and move toward change when we want to. Too often, we settle for what is easiest—what is conventional—
what is all we can expect—what is all we think we deserve—Too often, we settle for very little.

-There is a line from Auntie Mame that goes something like this, “Life is a banquet, and most s.o.b.’s are starving to death”. With high self-esteem, you really do believe that life is a banquet—and that you deserve all that it has to offer.

*There is one more way to use your planning board that you will find very enlightening:

*Think about your mother when she was the age you are now—or if she died at an earlier age, think of her at the age she was when she died.

-Take the 12 markers, and place them on the planning board the way you think your mother would have. Take 3 minutes.

*In your notebook, write the words, “I discovered that I...” and complete the statement. You may want to write more than one statement.

TOTAL 36 MINUTES
CLOSURE

-What's on top? [Thoughts and/or feelings you are left with] 20 minutes

-Began by looking at our past, at the Armenian women we admired while growing up.

-Touched on the future generation by looking at the messages we are passing on and those we are not passing on.

-And we have certainly looked at our lives as we are living them today.

*Our generation has had the responsibility of preserving our Armenian traditions. We've experienced inter-marriages in our generation and in our children's generation—which means blending our traditions with others—and finding a new richness in the blended traditions and rituals we create.

-As we bring our work together to a close, I'd like to do it with some sense of ritual—A special way to acknowledge our rich past, our hopes for the future, and especially, celebrating and affirming our lives today.

-I'd like these flowers to symbolize all Armenian women: those of the past, those of the present, and those of future generations.

-Look around the room at each woman here, and think of what you learned from some of the women here. Take your time and let the thoughts come to you, and feel the appreciation you have for each woman who taught you something.

-Look at the woman seated on your right. Remember who she is. Each person come up and take a flower and give it to the woman who was on her right, saying, "Thank you for the wisdom you brought to these workshops". The woman who receives the flower replies, "Thank you. I appreciate the wisdom you brought to the workshops, too." [SYS: model with someone] 10 minutes

-When you have done that, please be seated until everyone is finished. We have one more questionnaire to fill out before you leave. [SYS: SPI—then sign up for those who want individual study results—need to let me know their ID#]

TOTAL 30 MINUTES
VALUES CLARIFICATION STRATEGIES

BEING WHAT YOU VALUE

VALUING WHO YOU ARE

UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS
AMHERST
SHIRLEY YAYLAIAN SETIAN
This book is dedicated to women.
This book is meant to be used in conjunction with two, day-long values clarification workshops, scheduled a month apart. Values clarification strategies were introduced in the first workshop. The purpose of this book is to provide workshop participants with values clarification strategies during the one month interval between workshops. Reflecting on and completing the strategies in this book will enable participants to keep in touch with the valuing process that was begun in the first workshop, and continue its effects into the final workshop and beyond.
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author gratefully acknowledges the assistance of Dr. Sidney B. Simon, whose work and expertise in the field of values clarification has laid the foundation for this booklet. The exercises which are presented here have been taken from a variety of his works and adapted to fit my own style, with a sense of appropriateness for the participants in the study.

My thanks to Dr. Simon for the following exercises: Values Chart; Am I Someone WHO?; This Was the Week That Was; Weekly Reaction Sheet; Weekly Reaction Sheet #3; This Was the Month That Was; Provocative Question; A Letter To Me; Priorities; Value Sheet (Sample List of Basic Human Rights); Twenty Things I Love To Do; Circles of Privacy; My Least Favorite Things; Epitaph.

Also acknowledged is the work of Jack Canfield and Harold C. Wells, whose Weekly Reaction Sheets exercise was incorporated into the exercises in this booklet entitled, This Is the Week That Was, Weekly Reaction Sheet, Weekly Reaction Sheet #3, and This Was the Month That Was.

Special thanks are given to my daughter Sara for her feedback, input, encouragement and support.
INTRODUCTION

What is it that moves us to do the things we do? What is it that makes what we do worthwhile? What is the answer to the question, “Who am I?” In part, the answers to these questions are revealed when we can clearly identify what it is that we value.

According to values clarification theory, when we are clear about the values that we hold, our lives become more meaningful, more purposeful, more satisfying. When we are unclear about what we value, we tend to experience self-defeating behaviors and feelings such as being inconsistent; being overly conforming; lacking interest; and feeling unstable, unsteady, and uncertain.

The definition of a value, as set forth by values clarification theory, states that in order for something to be called a value, it must go through a valuing process which consists of seven criteria or sub-processes. Beliefs, principles, purposes, attitudes, aspirations, feelings, interests, concerns, and activities are not considered values according to values clarification theory. They are called value-indicators. They indicate the possibility of becoming values. Value-indicators become values when they fulfill the seven criteria of the valuing process.

In order for something to be a value, it must

1. be chosen freely (without physical or psychological coercion)
2. be chosen from among alternatives (there must be options to choose from)
3. be chosen after careful consideration of the consequences of each alternative
4. be prized and cherished
5. be publicly affirmed
6. be acted upon
7. be part of a pattern in one’s lifestyle.

Our lives are certainly enriched by our beliefs, principles, and other value-indicators. However, our lives can be richer, more satisfying, more complete when clear values guide us. This booklet uses traditional values clarification strategies to help you examine your life from a number of different perspectives. The goal of this booklet is to help you become clearer about your values—to affirm and celebrate the values that you hold dear—or to change those that no longer serve you. And in so doing, move you towards being what you value, and valuing who you are.
INSTRUCTIONS

Strategies in this book have been chosen with consideration of busy schedules, and the values clarification work that was begun in the first workshop. It is suggested that a brief period of time be set aside every other day, to reflect on and complete one strategy, in the order that they are presented. Your own interest and the amount of time you are willing to devote to acquire self-knowledge are the best guides on the amount of time and the order you choose.

Indulge yourself in the self discovery that these strategies offer you. Know that there are no right or wrong answers---only what is right to you. You are the focus of these strategies. You will be rewarded with a written record which will reveal a deeper understanding of yourself.
VALUES CHART

Many of our beliefs and actions do not fit the 7 values clarification standards. The Values Chart will help you look at different issues in your life and determine whether or not your decisions on values issues are full fledged values. You might discover, that in some way you have been coerced into them. Perhaps you will find that they no longer serve you. Maybe you will want to take the necessary steps to develop strong, clear values on issues that are important to you.

Use the Values Chart to inventory where you stand on the issues listed in the Issues column. There is no need for you to defend your position on these issues. Rather, this is a way for you to find out how you arrived at your convictions, the degree to which you believe or do what you stand for, and what needs to be done if you want to make your stand a true value—-a clear and more meaningful guide for your life.

- The first column of the chart lists a few values issues for you to explore.
- For each issue, place a yes or no on the chart under the number which corresponds to the values clarification questions listed under the chart.
- Whatever your stand is on these issues, asking yourself the 7 values clarification questions for each issue will give you information about yourself. You may or may not decide to make any changes based on this information. But you can celebrate your courage and wisdom in taking a hard look at the quality of your life on matters that are important to you.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ISSUES</th>
<th>THE 7 VALUES PROCESSES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Do I identify with and practice the religious beliefs of my parents?</td>
<td>1  2  3  4  5  6  7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do I do what I need to do to be as healthy as possible?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Add an issue that you are concerned about.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**THE 7 VALUES PROCESSES**

1. Was your decision made freely, without outside force or coercion?
2. Did you make your decision after examining all possible options?
3. Did you carefully evaluate the advantages and disadvantages of your decision, and carefully consider the consequences?
4. Do you cherish the position that you have taken?
5. Have you given public affirmation to what you believe?
6. Have you acted on your convictions and belief?
7. Does your behavior reveal that you act on your belief repeatedly, in a definite pattern?

SOURCE: Adapted from *Meeting Yourself Halfway* (P. 36) by S. B. Simon, 1974, Niles, IL: Argus Communications.
"The thing that comes to my mind the most is the importance of being your own person....Get in touch with that personal self."

### AM I SOMEONE WHO...?

How well do you know yourself? This is a simple strategy to help you consider what kind of person you are, what you want out of life, what you value. Answer the following questions, keeping in mind that there are no right or wrong answers, and that some of the questions may not apply to you.

**Directions:**

Circle one of the codes that accompany each question. Y for Yes, N for No, and M for Maybe.

Unless you feel Maybe quite strongly, try to take a stand, and avoid choosing the middle-of-the-road excessively. Answer all the questions as they might apply to you.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Am I someone who</th>
<th>Y</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>M</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>needs to be alone?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>is apt to judge someone by appearances?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>can receive a gift easily?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>will put things off?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eats when worried?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>could be part of a mercy killing?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>will publicly show affection to another person?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>experiences boredom and lacks motivation?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>likes to take over leadership responsibilities?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Am I someone who

is inclined to blame others when experiencing failure? Y N M

spends a lot of time worrying about things without doing something about them? Y N M

would like to make changes in my life? Y N M

has ever wanted to really hurt someone for something he or she did to me? Y N M

would like to have a secret lover? Y N M

thinks women should stay home and be wives and mothers? Y N M

is fully satisfied with what I have accomplished in life so far? Y N M

tries to do everything as perfectly as possible? Y N M

volunteers for jobs that are necessary but unpleasant? Y N M

gets an annual physical checkup? Y N M

is able to take personal risks without too much anxiety? Y N M

has been hurt by a friend or relative? Y N M

You might find it enlightening to cover your answers, and have someone who knows you fairly well answer the questions the way she or he sees you.

Whether you do it alone or with another person, summarize what you learned about yourself by completing the following sentence, “I realized that I...”

SOURCE: Adapted from Meeting Yourself Halfway (p. 22) by S. B. Simon, 1974, Niles, IL: Argus Communications.
"Why am I not getting up and doing...It's too much of an effort."

**THIS WAS THE WEEK THAT WAS**

Often, our days fly by in a blur. Which of our experiences and feelings are the most important to us? This strategy helps us put our lives in perspective by examining the patterns of our lives on a weekly basis?

Keep a record of this past week by answering the following questions. Reflect in private about the control you have over your daily life.

What was the high point of the week?

Whom did you get to know better this week?

What was the major thing you learned about yourself this week?

How could this week have been better?

Did you make any plans this week for some future event?

What would you like to add to this list about this week?

A LETTER TO ME...

List twenty things that you could do for your own health and safety.

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.
9.
10.
11.
12.
13.
14.
15.
16.
17.
18.
19.
20.

*Which ten do you consider to be the most important?

*Write a 25 word letter to yourself about what this exercise says to you.
“If you don’t have your health, you have nothing....My number one priority...is health. That is what I would want for myself and my family.”

Dear Me,
"I put off doing the things I enjoy because I let stupid, mundane things get in my way. If I were going to change any part of me, it would be that I should pay less attention to things that don’t matter, and go on to...the things that are really my first love."

MY LEAST FAVORITE THINGS

Think about the tasks you perform at work or at home. Make a list of “Ten Things I Don’t Like To Do”.

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.
9.
10.

Code the list as follows:

D  I do it every day.
S  Someone else could and would do it if I asked.
I  I feel inadequate when I do it.
A  I do it alone.
P  I do it with other people.
Go over the list one task at a time. What are some ways to make these tasks more appealing, or to eliminate them from your regular routine? Next to each one, write down some suggestions. Who could you ask to help you come up with some other ways to get more out of your days?

SOURCE: Adapted from Helping Your Child Learn Right from Wrong: a guide to values clarification (pp. 212-213) by S. B. Simon and S. W. Olds, 1976, New York: Simon & Schuster.
"I'm not outgoing...I wish I had a little bit of oomph to get out and do a little more than I'm doing....I've become quite complacent in my life...which I don't like....But I haven't found the little niche that I belong in yet...I feel it's coming someday."

WEEKLY REACTION SHEET

A week has passed since you made out your first Weekly Reaction Sheet (That Was The Week That Was). What did this week look like to you?

Did you institute any changes in your life this week?

What did you procrastinate about this week?

What was the low point of the week?

How can you make next week better than this week?

Did anyone make you feel good about yourself this week?

What would you like to add to this list about this week?

"And I can see, of course, that I handicapped myself by....But that was my own personal choice....So I made choices, and I don't regret it, because I feel I derived a lot of pleasure out of seeing my children's accomplishments."

PRIORITIES

Each day of our lives, we are faced with making decisions between competing choices. Establishing priorities becomes especially difficult when we have to choose from among choices that seem equally attractive, or equally distasteful. Whether our decisions are major ones or minor ones, we need to accept the consequences of our actions. It is not always easy.

This strategy gives you a chance to practice ranking some choices. How would you rank the following choices? In each case, pick your first, second, and third choice.

1. Which would you most like to improve about yourself?
   ( ) your looks
   ( ) your social life
   ( ) your brain power

2. Would you rather be thought of as:
   ( ) creative     ( ) a strong woman     ( ) smart?
3. Which of these would you like to get better at?
   ( ) boldly ask for affection
   ( ) show your emotions more easily
   ( ) stop making self-put-downs

4. Which of these sentences is most important to you?
   ( ) I can shape my life.
   ( ) I know how to find joy in living.
   ( ) I deserve to be happy.

SOURCES: Adapted from Meeting Yourself Halfway (pp. 44-53) by S. B. Simon, 1974, Niles, IL: Argus Communications; Helping Your Child Learn Right from Wrong: a guide to values clarification (pp. 56-57, p. 180) by S. B. Simon and S. W. Olds, 1976, New York: Simon & Schuster.
"I made a lot of requests, and yet wasn't very assertive about following through on what I wanted, or expressing my needs."

SAMPLE LIST OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS

- The right to have and express your own feelings and opinions.
- The right to refuse requests without having to feel guilty or selfish.
- The right to consider your own needs.
- The right to set your own priorities and make your own decisions.
- The right to change.
- The right to decide what to do with your own property, body, and time.
- The right to make mistakes---and be responsible for them.
- The right to ask for what you want (realizing the other person has the right to say no).
- The right to ask for information (including from professionals).
- The right to choose not to assert yourself.
- The right to do anything as long as it does not violate the rights of someone else.
- The right to maintain your dignity by being properly assertive---even if the other person feels hurt---as long as you do not violate the other person's basic human rights.
- The right to be independent.
- The right to be successful.
- The right to have rights and stand up for them.
- The right to be left alone.
- The right to be treated with respect and dignity.
- The right to be listened to and taken seriously.
- The right to get what you pay for.
- The right to initiate a discussion of the problem with the person involved and so clarify it, in borderline interpersonal cases where the rights involved are not clear.
1. List three immediate reactions you had to this Bill of Rights.

2. Do you disagree with any of these rights? If so, can you explain why?

3. For the rights on this list that you agree with, which ones are difficult for you to exercise? Who or what prevents you from exercising your rights?

4. What, if any, are the implications for your own life, to be found in this exercise on Basic Human Rights?

SOURCE: Adapted from material presented at workshop of Sidney and Suzanne Simon at Fitchburg [MA] State College.
"I don’t know how involved I want to get, or how much of myself I want to give to anything that I get into."

WEEKLY REACTION SHEET #3

Another week has passed. Time spent examining our lives is a gift to ourselves. Socrates said, “The unexamined life is not worth living.” Here are some more thought-provoking questions.

What risks did you take this week?

What unfinished personal business do you have left from this past week? How long have you been carrying it? How long do you plan to carry it?

Did you do anything to help anyone else? How did you feel about it (happy, resentful, etc.)? Did you feel appreciated or taken for granted?

What were three choices that you made?

Were you in strong disagreement with anyone this week?

What would you like to add to this list this week?

"I loved it so much... I enjoyed it... But I let too many other things take priority."

TWENTY THINGS I LOVE TO DO

*Are you really getting what you want out of life? Or are you merely settling for whatever comes your way, rather than going after your own goals. In order to live a meaningful, satisfying life, we need to know what it is that we really want. This exercise will help you examine what it is that you do that you really value.

Make the following entries in the columns on the opposite page:

1. In the right hand column, make a list of 20 things in your life that you love to do. They can be big things in life, or little things. As you reach the end of your list, it is perfectly all right if you have more than 20 items, or less than 20 items.

2. When your list is done, use the left hand column to code your lists like this:

   (S) Put a dollar sign ($) next to any item which costs more than $5 each time you do it.

   (A) Put the letter A next to those items that you really prefer to do alone.

   (P) Put the letter P next to those things you prefer to do with other people.

   (AP) Put the letters AP next to those activities which you enjoying equally alone or with other people.

   (PL) Put the letters PL next to those things which require planning.

3. Choose the 5 activities which are the most important to you, and number them 1 through 5; the best loved will be #1; the second best #2; and so on.

4. Now, next to each of your favorite 5 activities, write down when you last did it (day or date).
TWENTY THINGS I LOVE TO DO

1.
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10.
11.
12.
13.
14.
15.
16.
17.
18.
19.
20.

When you are through coding you list, look it over for a moment or two—and then complete the following sentence: “I discovered that I...”

SOURCE: Adapted from *Meeting Yourself Halfway* (p. 36) by S.B. Simon, 1974, Niles, IL: Argus Communications.
“I’m proud that I’m Armenian.... I was always proud to be an Armenian.... I think the values that were instilled in us as youngsters...have spilled over into our older life.”

THE SUCCESSFUL WOMAN

1. What is something in your past that you remember with pride about being Armenian? Think as far back as you can. Think of an incident or situation in which you felt real good, happy, proud that you were Armenian.
   In a few words, describe what comes to your mind.

2. What do you do daily or as a regular pattern in your life today that makes you feel good about being an Armenian?
   In a few words, describe what comes to your mind.

3. What do you want in the future that will bring you pride or satisfaction that you are Armenian?
   Describe in a few words.

*Look at your answer to #3
Is it something that was in your life in the past?
Is it in your life today?
Is it something new to you?
Is it something that you want or need to work on now to make it happen, or keep in your life?

SOURCE: Author
“I think about things a lot....Once I make up my mind that that’s what I want to do...I’ll just try to achieve...whatever it may be.”

THIS WAS THE MONTH THAT WAS

A month of reflecting and examining your life has passed. Look back at the 3 strategies which summarized the first 3 weeks of the month: This Was The Week That Was; Weekly Reaction Sheet; and Weekly Reaction Sheet #3.

Can you discern any patterns?

What are areas of importance that you would like to examine further?

COMPLETE THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS:

I re-learned that I...

I was surprised that I...

I was delighted that I...

CIRCLES OF PRIVACY

To what degree do you consider yourself a private or an open person? Whom do you tell what to about yourself? This private strategy helps answer those questions.

- In the Circle of Privacy diagram, put your initials in the center circle labeled "ME". This circle represents you and those things about yourself that you would not tell anyone else in the whole world. The dot in the very center represents information about yourself that even you don't have. There are some facts or feelings that we don't even admit to ourselves.

- The second circle, labelled “INTIMATES”, represents such intimate, trusted people as your best friend or husband—persons with whom you can share “almost” anything. In this circle, write the names or initials of two or more people you trust the most with your secrets.

- The third circle is made up of people you feel close to, to a slightly lesser degree. These are friends, family members or relatives—to whom you would trust some information about yourself. In this circle, write the names or initials of four or more of your next closest friends or relatives.[FRIENDS-FAMILY-RELATIVES]

- The next circle represents all the other people you know: acquaintances at work, in organizations, neighbors—those people whose lives touch yours only slightly. In this circle write the names of eight or more people you sometimes talk to.[AQUAINTANCES]

- The outer ring represents all the strangers you may meet once, and never see again. Leave this circle blank.[STRANGERS]

- Think about the statements on the opposite page. If these applied to you, with whom would you share them? As you read each statement, write down the key word in the appropriate circle. Some of these will not apply to you personally. But if they did, with whom would you discuss these issues?

- If you don’t have room to write the key words in the circles, write the words outside the circles with a line extending to the circle where they belong.
"I could talk more with non-Armenian friends about very personal feelings...about more intimate things."

- What your annual income is [key word: (income)]
- That you once read someone else's diary or personal letter without permission (diary/letter)
- Someone in your family is an alcoholic (alcoholic)
- Your masturbation experiences (masturbation)
- How much you weigh (weight)
- That you have attempted suicide (suicide)
- About something you're really good at (brag)
- Your doubts about religion (religion)
- An extramarital or secret affair (affair)
- That you have a drinking problem (drinking)
- Your innermost desires (desires)
- Your age (age)
- That you had an abortion (abortion)
- That you have marital problems (marital)
- That you're afraid to be alone (alone)
- Something you dislike about your best friend (friend)

CIRCLES OF PRIVACY
What have you found out about yourself?

The following questions are food for thought:

- Are there certain subjects about which you are more private than others (sex, family, money, morals, etc.)?

- Would you like to be more open?

- Do you regret having told certain things to other people?

- Were you surprised to find out that there are some things you might share with strangers that you wouldn’t share with close friends? Why do you suppose that is?

- Do you think your intimates know things about you that you don’t know about yourself? How could you find out those things?

- What kinds of risks are involved with being too open?

- What kinds of risks are involved with being too closed?

- Can you think of times when publicly stating a value or sharing private information can have harmful results?

Knowing what we feel is right for us to share with people in all of our privacy circles helps us to get in touch with our feelings of trust in other people, and our feelings about the kinds of things we need to keep to ourselves.

"And back when...I thought of going back to school, and I thought, it's too late. Now when I look back, it really wasn't. Now I think it's too late...but I would have been all through by now."

PROVOCATIVE QUESTION

If you were 20 years younger, how would you use those twenty years differently?

If you could change your life in some way, what would you change? What's stopping you from moving in that direction now?

SOURCE: Adapted from Helping Your Child Learn Right from Wrong: a guide to values clarification (pp. 63-64) by S. B. Simon and S. W. Olds, 1976, New York: Simon & Schuster.
“When you're 20, you think my God, I'm immortal. I'm going to live forever.... You reach 50, and then you think... life is passing by, and what have I done.... There's so much you want to do. What have I accomplished?”

**EPITAPH**

A life well lived has a vision of the possibilities ahead. It celebrates a rich past and honors today. It recognizes our mortality and respects traditions which acknowledge death as an inevitable life process. In the spirit of the epitaphs which were inscribed on the tombstones of old, write your own epitaph. How would you like to be remembered? In 15 words or less, complete the following line: “Here lies....”

Let your epitaph reflect the new knowledge that you have of yourself which reinforces your inner wisdom.

The author of this booklet would like to be remembered this way:

*Here lies Shirley (Shahkeh) Yaylaian Setian*
*Sister to all*
*Child of the world*
*Woman of courage, tears, joy, and vulnerability.*

**SOURCE:** Adapted from *Meeting Yourself Halfway* (p. 100) by S. B. Simon, 1974, Niles, IL: Argus Communications.
REFERENCES


(Please circle one answer code to the right of each question unless otherwise instructed.)

1A. To what extent can you speak Armenian?
- Not at all ........................................... 1
- Very little ....................................... 2
- Fairly well .................................... 3
- Very well .................................... 4

B. To what extent can you understand spoken Armenian?
- Not at all ........................................... 1
- Very little ....................................... 2
- Fairly well .................................... 3
- Very well .................................... 4

C. To what extent can you read Armenian?
- Not at all ........................................... 1
- Very little ....................................... 2
- Fairly well .................................... 3
- Very well .................................... 4

D. To what extent can you write Armenian?
- Not at all ........................................... 1
- Very little ....................................... 2
- Fairly well .................................... 3
- Very well .................................... 4

Marital Status

2A. What is your current marital status?
- Widowed .......................................... 2
- Divorced ........................................ 3
- Separated ........................................ 4
- Never married .................................. 5
B. If now married, is your present husband Armenian or not Armenian?

Armenian ................................................. 1
Not Armenian ........................................... 2

C. If widowed, divorced, or separated, were you at one time married to an Armenian?

Yes .......................................................... 1
No ............................................................. 2

Education

3A. What is the highest level of school you completed?

No formal school ........................................ 1
Grade school ............................................. 2
High school ............................................. 3
Vocational school, one or two year ............. 4
Community college .................................. 5
Four year college ...................................... 6
Masters program ..................................... 7
Doctoral program .................................... 8

B. Are you now attending or enrolled in school?
IF YES: Is that full time or part time?

Yes, full-time student .................................. 1
Yes, part-time student .................................. 2
No .................................................................. 3

Religion

4A. Do you attend an Armenian church, one of another faith, or none?

Armenian ..................................................... 1
Another faith ............................................. 2
None .......................................................... 3

B. Were you raised in an Armenian church, one of another faith, or none?

Armenian ..................................................... 1
Another faith ............................................. 2
None .......................................................... 3
Armenian Organizations and Functions

5A. Do you belong to any Armenian organizations? CIRCLE AS MANY AS APPLY.

- Church ........................................... 1
- Political ........................................... 2
- Social ............................................. 3
- Cultural ........................................... 4
- Charitable ....................................... 5
- None ................................................ 6

B. To what extent do you attend Armenian functions?

- A great deal ..................................... 1
- Occasionally .................................... 2
- Hardly ever ..................................... 3
- Never ............................................. 4

Armenian Politics

6A. Do you consider yourself to have a particular Armenian political leaning? IF NO CIRCLE 5. IF YES: CIRCLE APPROPRIATE ANSWER.

- Tashnagsagan .................................... 1
- Hunchagian ..................................... 2
- Ramgavar ....................................... 3
- Other ............................................. 4
- No .................................................. 5

B. IF NEVER MARRIED, CIRCLE 4. IF MARRIED TO A NON-ARMENIAN, CIRCLE 5. IF MARRIED TO AN ARMENIAN: What was your husband's Armenian political persuasion at the time of your marriage? CIRCLE APPROPRIATE ANSWER.

- Same political persuasion ........................ 1
- Different political persuasion ................. 2
- Both of no particular political persuasion 3
- Never married ................................... 4
- Married to non-Armenian ...................... 5

C. If you and your husband were of a different Armenian political persuasion at the time of your marriage:

- Did he change? Yes____________ No__________
- Did you change? Yes____________ No__________
Employment History

7A. What is your employment status?

Employed ............................................. 1
Unemployed ......................................... 2
Retired .................................................. 3
Full-time homemaker .............................. 4

What is your occupation?

Is that full-time or part-time?

Full-time .............................................. 1
Part-time ............................................... 2

you employed outside of the home while married?

Yes ......................................................... 1
No .......................................................... 2
Never married ...................................... 3

D. If answer to 7C is yes, what kind of work have you
done longer than any other, outside of homemaking?

8. Income

What was your approximate income, from all sources,
before taxes, in 1987?

Less than $6,000 ...................................... 1
6,000 to 9,999 ......................................... 2
10,000 to 14,999 .................................... 3
15,000 to 19,999 .................................... 4
20,000 to 24,999 .................................... 5
25,000 to 29,999 .................................... 6
30,000 to 39,999 .................................... 7
40,000 to 49,999 .................................... 8
Over $50,000 ......................................... 9

Family

9. How many brothers and sisters do you have?

Brothers_______________  Sisters_____________
10. How many children have you had, if any?
Daughters__________ Sons__________

11. Where were your parents born?
Father______________________
Mother______________________

12. What year did your parents come to America? If not sure, give approximate year.
Mother__________ Father__________

Health
13. Would you describe your health as excellent, good, fair, poor?
   Excellent .................................................. 1
   Good ...................................................... 2
   Fair ....................................................... 3
   Poor ....................................................... 4

14. Do you consider yourself physically handicapped?
   Yes ......................................................... 1
   No ........................................................... 1

Additional Information
15. Year of your birth__________

16. Have you experienced any serious crises during the last 6 months?
   No ........................................................... 1
   Yes ......................................................... 2

IF YES, PLEASE EXPLAIN:

17. How long have you lived in the Greater Springfield Area?
18. Was your invitation to participate in this study through a letter from the researcher; an announcement in a church newsletter, The Armenian Mirror Spectator, or The Hairenik Weekly; or other means?

Letter from the researcher ........................................ 1
Armenian Mirror Spectator ........................................ 2
Hairenik Weekly ....................................................... 3
Church Newsletter .................................................... 4
Some other means ..................................................... 5

IF THROUGH SOME OTHER MEANS, PLEASE EXPLAIN:

Thank you for your thoughtful consideration in completing this questionnaire.

Please add any additional comments you wish to make.
APPENDIX N

SELF-PERCEPTION INVENTORY
Self-Perception Inventory

Age/Grade: __________________________
Occupation __________________________
Sex: __________________________

Name/Number: __________________________

SELF CONCEPT

We are all different in the ways we think about ourselves. There is nobody else
like you in all the world. What kind of person do you think you are right now? Give
a picture of yourself, as you think you are now, by placing a check in one of the four
spaces on the line between the words. Each space tells how well the words agree with
how you look at yourself as a person.

Example:

Bold :  
  very : more : more : very
  bold : bold : timid : timid
  than : than :
  timid : bold :

Timid

Look at the words at both ends of the line before you decide where to place your
check. Work quickly, mark whatever you feel first, since your first answer is likely
to be the best. Put only one check on each line between the words. Remember: there
are no right or wrong answers—only answers which best show you as a person.

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<td>Absent-minded (4)</td>
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<td>(10)</td>
<td>Creative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Conforming (11)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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| (12) Deliberate | Impulsive  | (12) |
| (13) Easy-going | Quick-tempered | (13) |
| (14) Enthusiastic | Indifferent | (14) |
| (15) Even-tempered | Moody | (15) |
| (16) Good-natured | Critical | (16) |
| (17) Hopeful | Anxious | (17) |
| (18) Independent | Dependent | (18) |
| (19) Mature | Immature | (19) |
| (20) Optimistic | Pessimistic | (20) |
| (21) Out-going | Withdrawn | (21) |
| (22) Patient | Impatient | (22) |
| (23) Persevering | Quitting | (23) |
| (24) Poised | Awkward | (24) |
| (25) Relaxed | Nervous | (25) |
| (26) Responsible | Frivolous | (26) |
| (27) Satisfied | Self-pitying | (27) |
| (28) Self-confident | Insecure | (28) |
| (29) Self-controlled | Emotional | (29) |
| (30) Self-sufficient | Easily influenced | (30) |
| (31) Sociable | Shy | (31) |
| (32) Tolerant | Fault-finding | (32) |
| (33) Tough | Sensitive | (33) |
| (34) Trusting | Suspicious | (34) |
| (35) Well-adjusted | Poorly adjusted | (35) |
| (36) Worthy | Unworthy | (36) |
WORKSHOP EVALUATION

Your answers to the following questions will help me in designing the October 15 workshop to better meet your needs.

1. What did you find to be the most helpful for you in today’s workshop?

2. What was it about today’s workshop that was the least helpful or most difficult for you?

3. What could be done differently to make the workshop more satisfying for you?

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS:


Musgrave, G.L. (1977). The relative effects of academic therapy and values clarification on selected personality variables. Dissertation Abstracts International, 38(04), 1897. (University Microfilms No. ADG77-20647)


