THE RELEVANCE OF CAREER WOMEN'S HOMOSOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS TO THEIR SELF-ACTUALIZATION

by

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
Counselling Psychology

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

September 1984

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Date: September 20, 1984
Abstract

Recent feminist literature has celebrated women's capacities for growth-facilitating relationships (Bernard, 1976; Chodorow, 1978; Dinnerstein, 1976; Gilligan, 1982; Miller, 1976; Smith-Rosenberg, 1975).

Miller (1976) has regarded affiliation as consistent with a redefined, enhanced and enlarged conception of autonomy. She posited that autonomy and affiliation have been defined in contrast to each other only because the former is a term derived from male experience, with masculine emphasis on independence and competition. Miller has maintained that women will define autonomy-in-relationship as interdependence rather than independence.

This study is a beginning toward validating this theory and describing the nature of these growth-facilitating bonds, as well as examining the impact of the negative aspects of women's same-sex relationships, as posited by Rawlings and Carter (1977) and Caplan (1981). It provides some research support for the redefinition of Maslow's (1954) concept of self-actualization based on this female perspective.

Twenty-three women psychologists, aged 35 to 68, were interviewed. All had scored as self-actualizing on the Personal Orientation Inventory (Shostrom, 1963). The interviews employed the critical incident technique (Flanagan, 1954) to elicit information on the subjects' relationships with other women that had facilitated or hindered their progress toward self-actualization, as they defined that concept.
Most of the women interviewed experienced their relationships with other women as facilitating their self-actualization. The data they provided indicated that the cumulative impact of relationships was more significant than that of particular incidents. Therefore the 133 facilitative relationships they described were categorized into four basic types:

1. **Inspiration**. The subject is inspired by a model who she perceives to be more self-actualized than herself in some aspect, often related to the competency traits.

2. **Affirmation**. The subject feels appreciated, affirmed, accepted, respected, trusted, or loved, usually by an authority figure.

3. **Challenge**. The facilitator guides, advises, pushes, questions, confronts, corrects, or reproaches the subject, thereby prompting her to re-examine and change her behaviour in a direction that proves to be self-actualizing.

4. **Mutuality**. The subject participates in a mutual relationship characterized by similarity, involvement, openness, empathy, interdependence, caring, pleasure, growth, non-competitiveness, acceptance of conflict, and endurance over time.

It was suggested that these four dimensions of facilitative relationships reflect a developmental progression with readiness for the latter (Challenge and Mutuality) being based on previous experience with the former (Inspiration and Affirmation).

About one-quarter of the women, however, stated that
relationships with women had not facilitated their self-actualization and that relationships with men, their spirituality, or their own independent efforts had been the significant factors.

The implications of the findings for the counselling of women are discussed.
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Acknowledgement

I would like to thank Dr. Lorette K. Woolsey who has inspired, affirmed, challenged, and shared with me in her profoundly facilitative way. I am also grateful to Dr. Leslie S. Greenberg and to Dr. Sharon E. Kahn who have challenged me in a way that has felt consistently affirming.

I would like to acknowledge as well my friends, who have affirmed me through the course of the study, and who I have come to appreciate more deeply as a result of my grappling with its topic.

Finally, I want to express my appreciation to the women who participated in the study, who shared themselves so generously, and whose stories have provided inspiration to me far beyond the scope of this research.
I. INTRODUCTION

A. OVERVIEW

This research examines the relevance of the social bonds between women to the self-actualizing processes of career women. Female psychologists who have been confirmed through testing to be self-actualizing are asked to describe critical incidents in their relationships with other women which they consider to have facilitated their self-actualization. These data are then integrated into an exhaustive description of this largely unexplored phenomenon.

This research is justified in the light of currently evolving literature on women's development which is articulating a qualitative difference in the modes of female and male development--the female mode being based on affiliation and cooperation, the male mode on autonomy and competition (Bernard, 1976; Chodorow, 1978; Dinnerstein, 1976; Gilligan, 1982; Miller, 1976).

This body of theory suggests that the social bonds between women would be particularly significant for women's self-actualization, in terms of both defining and facilitating that process. The relationship between these bonds and women's self-actualization presents a research focus that will contribute to the clarification and elaboration of this vital new theory.
B. DIFFERENCES IN FEMALE AND MALE SELF-ACTUALIZATION

Maslow (1954) developed the concept of the self-actualizing person as one who is more fully functioning and living a more enriched life than the average person. Such individuals are seen as developing and utilizing all of their unique capabilities or potentialities, free of the inhibitions and emotional turmoil of persons who are less self-actualizing.

Other contemporary theorists have also regarded autonomy, that is, freedom from social conventions and self-possession, as characteristic of the mature personality. Loevinger's (1966) autonomous stage, Kohlberg's (1981) postconventional level, and Riesman's (1961) autonomous orientation are constructs that seem to point to the same conceptualization (Loevinger, 1976).

Rogers (1951, 1961) considered self-actualization to be the goal of the psychotherapeutic process. The concept then is fundamental to humanistic psychology, and therefore for counsellors and therapists.

Maslow's (1954) belief that we can learn about human psychology by studying positive examples of mental health underlies this research. Women, in particular, have lacked positive models from which to learn and to find the inspiration to develop themselves beyond the constraints of their traditional roles. Miller (1976) made the point that because of their subordinate social status and the limitations this places on their range of action and interaction, women lack a realistic evaluation of their capacities.

Miller (1976) considered the ideal to be "authenticity"--
acting and reacting out of one's own being, rather than out of dependence upon others—a concept that also seems to correspond to that of self-actualization. For women to find their own paths to effective action, that is, to be authentic or to self-actualize, she believed they must allow themselves to engage with others. Women move on to greater strength as part of the process of involving themselves with other people. Their individual development proceeds by means of affiliation.

Women have been socialized to accept their affiliative and cooperative tendencies, their vulnerability and their caring, and to commit these qualities to serving and benefitting a strong, independent mate. Although these qualities have been valued "for women", in the broader context of human development, these same qualities are conceptualized as weaknesses.

However, Miller (1976) made the point that because women have been delegated, by patriarchal society, the intense, emotionally-connected, cooperative and creative work of nurturing human life and growth, they have developed the foundations of extremely valuable psychological qualities. These are the qualities that are essential to the establishment of the deeply supportive interdependent bonds within which the process of self-actualization occurs.

Miller's (1976) differentiation of "authenticity" from the male concept of autonomy is paralleled in Geller (1982) who critiqued Maslow's (1954) theory of self-actualization as offering little toward understanding and improving the human condition within late-twentieth-century Western society. Geller
pointed out that it expresses and supports relationships of dehumanization by conceiving the value of relationships as a means to the end of self-actualization.

Acting on the imperative of self-actualization makes it impossible to form those genuine relationships of community without which this dehumanization cannot be overcome. By a "relationship of community", I mean minimally a reciprocal relationship in which each participant regards and treats the other as an end in herself (himself) whose interests are intrinsically worthy of being respected, defended and advanced. The relationship is experienced as an end in itself, one to be enjoyed and nurtured for its own sake, and not merely as a means to a private end, one to be used and manipulated for personal advantage. Moreover acting on the imperative of self-actualization actually strengthens and perpetuates this condition of dehumanization by requiring us to subordinate others to our own development. To seek self-actualization, however well-intentioned, sustains and reinforces the fragmentation and divisiveness between and among persons. (pp. 71-72)

Hence, it appears necessary to study self-actualization in women, in a way that allows sex differences, if they exist, to emerge.

C. THE RELEVANCE OF HOMOSOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS TO FEMALE DEVELOPMENT

The independent variable being examined in this study is women's relationships with other women, that is, homosocial relationships. The term homosociality refers to these bonds and includes the enjoyment of, seeking and/or (under some circumstances) preference for the company of other people of one's own sex. Homosociality is not homosexuality; it concerns the social, non-erotic relationships between women (or men).

Smith-Rosenberg (1975) and Faderman (1981) have described
the special ties of intimacy and affection in the traditional female world of previous centuries. Bernard (1976) has pointed to the erosion of twentieth-century female homosociality arising from the loss of that traditional women's world and from the modern denigration of women and their homosocial bonds that complements the normative emphasis in this century on heterosexual ties.

Bernard (1976) adopted Weiss's (1973) concept of "relational deficit" that women, whose way of being social involves intimacy, communion and attachment, experience in their relationships with men as a result of male inexpressivity. Because of the denigration of their bonds with one another, twentieth-century women have been ashamed to compensate for this deficit by attachments with women as nineteenth-century women had done. Bernard claimed that "the loss of this female homosocial structure in the twentieth century has dealt women a vital blow, leaving a void not easily filled from other sources" (p. 229).

However, she has noted that since the resurgence of the women's liberation movement in the 1960's, women have begun to compensate for the relational deficit they experience in their heterosexual ties by rehabilitating their denigrated homosocial bonds. She has noted the emergence and proliferation of women's mutual-aid groups which help increase their self-reliance and their ability to take charge of their own lives. And she has supported Miller's (1976) claim that women's pull toward affiliation is a basic strength. Bernard (1976) has, in
essence, referred here to women's self-actualization, regarding it as directly potentiated by the rehabilitation of their homosocial bonds.

This hypothesized relationship between women's affiliative way of being and their self-actualization forms the basis for this study. Both the revaluing of women's bonds with one another and the freeing of women's potential from the constraints of traditional role socialization are concurrent phenomena of our time. This research examines the ways in which the former effects the latter.

D. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

More specifically, this study is intended to shed light on the following questions:

1. Do self-actualizing career women see self-actualization in terms of independence, interdependence or both?

2. Do these women's homosocial relationships facilitate their self-actualization?

3. If so, what are the characteristics of these relationships which seem to be facilitative?

4. What aspects (if any) of homosocial relationships hinder women's self-actualization?

These questions are set out in order to provide a focus for the exploration which is the aim of this study. It is not anticipated that definitive answers to these questions will be found. Rather, the study is designed to permit discovery and model-building.
E. DEFINITION OF TERMS

Self-Actualization - Maslow's (1954) definition includes two elements: self-actualized individuals utilize their unique capabilities or potentialities and they are free of both external and internal inhibitions to that utilization. Miller's (1976) definition - acting and reacting out of one's own being - implicitly incorporates the centrality of relationship to and interdependence with others in the words "acting and reacting", whereas Maslow's reference to external inhibitions implies that relationship is a threat rather than a potentiating factor.

Homosociality - The term refers to the ties or bonds (social, not sexual) that women have with other women and that men have with other men. These relationships include those with friends, relatives, neighbours, workmates, etc. Homosociality includes the enjoyment of, seeking and/or (under some circumstances) preference for the company of other people of one's own sex. It also may involve some sense of a "special tie" or "common bond" which links people of the same sex. There may be a sense of identifying with, sharing common experiences, and having some advantages and disadvantages in common with other members of one's own sex. There may even be a certain feeling of loyalty to and/or vicarious pride in the achievements of other members of one's own sex (Woolsey, 1984).
II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

A. THEORY AND RESEARCH REGARDING FEMALE DEVELOPMENT

Traditional approaches to the psychology of women were often strongly influenced by the androcentricism of the wider patriarchal culture (Rawlings & Carter, 1977). There was a consequent tendency to interpret gender differences as female deficiencies, using the male as normative (Broverman, Broverman, Clarkson, Rosenkrantz, & Vogel, 1970).

Freud (1905/61) explained the strength and persistence of women's attachment to their mothers in terms of an anatomical deficiency (in comparison to males) which deprives women of the impetus for a clear-cut oedipal resolution. This in turn results in a weaker superego and women are thus "more often influenced in their judgments by feelings of affection and hostility" (p. 258).

Freud's extremely negative view of women has generated a wealth of theory criticizing his position and affirming instead the value of women's way of being (Chesler, 1972; Horney, 1926; Rawlings & Carter, 1977). During the past decade, a body of theory has been accumulating that describes female development as a unique phenomenon. This work has taken issue with the traditional conception of women's growth as a deviation from male development and therefore, by implication, as less successful. The present study, focusing on women's self-actualization, is conceived in this context of affirmation of women.
Stark-Adamec and Kimball (1984) have reflected this perspective in their identification of the numerous and subtle manifestations of sexism in psychological research, and in their call for more work to be done on women and women's issues so that psychology can become nonsexist. They have maintained that sexist science is bad science, and have advocated the recontextualization of the scientific knowledge base concerning women by reference to the social, economic and political contexts of women's lives. Eichler (1981) has advocated that funding be directed to such nonsexist and therefore truly reliable and valid research.

Chodorow (1978) explained the finding that women define themselves in relation to and in connection with other people more than men do as being due to the socialization of women by their same-sex parent. Since mothers experience their daughters as more like them than are their sons, girls continue to experience themselves as involved in issues of merging and separation, while boys are pushed out of the primary mother-child relationship and have to curtail their primary love and sense of empathic tie with their mothers. Chodorow accounted for the gender differences more positively than Freud (1905/61) did: "Girls emerge with a stronger basis for experiencing another's needs and feelings as one's own .... From very early on, then, because they are parented by a person of the same gender ... girls come to experience themselves as less differentiated than boys" (p. 167). Feminine gender identity, then, does not depend on the progress of individuation.
Chodorow has seen the quality of embeddedness in social interaction and personal relationships that characterizes women's lives as a difference, not a deficiency.

Dinnerstein (1976) also interpreted this gender difference in psychoanalytic terms:

Both sexes use women as targets of the primitive envy-gratitude ambivalence described by Klein (1957). But the feelings women have about doing so are modulated by the fact that the early mother eventually does, at least to some degree, evolve for the growing child into an actual person. The girl child is likely to come to identify with this actual person more closely than the boy child. She is therefore apt to develop a livelier sense of compunction for her and also for the figure of the early mother that remains, on archaic levels of awareness, connected with this later, more actual mother. In this compunction—particularly if the split-off antagonism that goes with it is recognized and integrated—lies a strong potential basis for solidarity among women. Men's affection for each other does not include anything like this tender, healing solicitude. They do not need to make reparation to each other for early feelings of greed and rage. (p. 102)

Writing from an object relations perspective, Flax (1978) arrived at the same conclusion as did Chodorow (1978) and Dinnerstein (1976) regarding women's special potential for self-actualizing homosocial relationships. In response to Freud's often-quoted question, she said that what women want is an experience of both nurturance and autonomy within an intimate relationship, a wish difficult to attain as long as psychological development occurs within the patriarchal family which creates an inability of many men to be nurturers, and as long as homophobia makes intimacy between women suspect. Referring to Mahler's (1968) work on symbiotic psychosis and the stages of the separation-individuation process, Flax explained
that because the woman is less likely to have had an adequate symbiotic experience than the man (due to the mother's identification with her, the mother's unconscious conflict in a homophobic society and her own conflict about being female in patriarchal society), her needs for a sense of fusion with a caring, reliable person remain strong. Only through relationships with other women can women heal the hurts suffered during their psychological development. The rift between identifying with the mother and being oneself can only be closed within a relationship in which one is nurtured for being one's autonomous self. Only women can enable women to experience themselves as whole and to overcome the fear of punishment for the expression of their autonomous selves.

Lever (1976) observed these gender differences in the play activities of middle childhood in which, rather than elaborating a system of rules for resolving disputes as boys do, girls directed their efforts instead toward sustaining affective ties.

Sassen (1980) also explained the difference positively by recasting Horner's (1972) concept of women's "fear of success" by suggesting it might indicate "a heightened perception of the 'other side' of competitive success, that is, the great emotional costs at which success achieved through competition is often gained" (p. 15).

Based on observations of males, Erikson (1963) has identified adolescence as the time at which identity is formed. Intimacy is a later experience of adulthood. For female adolescents, however, intimacy is fused with identity (Gilligan,
Rather than regard this different process as the blurring of female identity or the blunting of female potential for self-actualization, as Erikson has done, Gilligan has conceptualized the process as one of the developing woman coming to know herself through her relationships with others.

Gilligan (1982) considered women's overriding concern with relationships and responsibilities as indicative of a level of development that men are now achieving only in mid-life with their discovery then of the importance of intimacy. Women's progress towards maturity is indicated in their judgment shifting from an egocentric to a conventional to a principled ethical understanding articulated through their use of a distinct moral language in which the terms "selfishness" and "responsibility" define the moral problem as one of care. Throughout their development, women recognize the continuing importance of attachment and their self-actualization consists of the progressive restructuring of this understanding toward a more adequate conception of care.

Kegan (1982) presented a model of development that is a beginning toward incorporating women's different process. He regarded women's consciousness-raising groups, (a structure for homosocial bonding), as actually raising women's consciousness to a higher level of development. These groups achieve this by sponsoring women's transition from the Interpersonalist balance or stage, "with its orientation to nurture, affiliation and the organization of the self around the expectations of the other" (p. 211) (which conforms to the traditional stereotype of
femininity), to the Institutional stage. Through their participation with other women in these groups in the definition of their womanhood, he saw women constructing themselves and their world, which he regarded as a necessary and natural feature of development toward maturity.

Women's (and men's) development, according to Kegan (1982), is achieved through the functions performed by the person's "culture of embeddedness", these functions being confirmation, contradiction and continuity. Support that facilitates development consists in there being "others who can see, recognize and understand who the person is and who he or she is becoming. Support is not alone an affective matter, but a matter of knowing, a matter of shape as well as intensity" (p.260). Kegan stressed that the developing person requires ongoing support from others, that is, that these others know and hold the person before, during and after her transitions; they acknowledge and grieve her losses, acknowledge and celebrate her gains, and help her to acknowledge them herself.

Kegan's (1982) conceptualization of the development process, although not specifically based on women's experience, recognized the central importance of relationship to higher levels of human development and suggested the particular significance of homosocial relationships for women's transcending their traditional roles. However, in regarding affiliation as part of the stage that women must transcend in order to achieve maturity, he has missed the key aspect of women's way of being that allows them to enter into the growth-
facilitating relationships they require.

There is, thus, an accumulating body of theory that defines the nature and affirms the value of the attachment basis for women's development toward self-actualization. Three recent research studies are examined in this context.

Davidson and Packard (1981) studied 71 university women's same-sex friendships for the ongoing presence of Yalom's (1970) 14 therapeutic dimensions. The women reported that their friendships contributed at least moderately along all 14 dimensions and contributed much on 5 of these. Davidson and Packard concluded that same-sex friendships contribute to the personal growth, support, or change of women, (i.e., have therapeutic value).

In demonstrating that women's relationships have therapeutic value, these results lead to the expectation that these relationships also promote self-actualization, since the two processes are closely interrelated. Hence Davidson and Packard's (1981) work suggests that the study of homosociality and self-actualization in women will reveal a facilitative impact.

Bell (1981) has examined the special features of the friendships of "nonconventional" women whom he defines in terms quite consistent with Maslow's (1954) definition of self-actualizing: desire to influence change, to seek pleasure or greater happiness, to exert more control over their lives; overall satisfaction with life combined with willingness to take gambles in their lives. He interviewed 55 nonconventional women
and found that they revealed far more about themselves to their friends than conventional women did and they described their feelings toward their best friends as being loving, affectionate, warm, comfortable or supportive. Conventional women, on the other hand, were more apt to stress trust, reliability and mutual help, to stress the negotiable and external aspects of friendship rather than the internal and emotional.

It appears from Bell's (1981) findings that these "nonconventional" women fit Maslow's (1954) definition of the self-actualizing person, but had much stronger and more positive homosocial relationships than did "conventional" women. Hence his study suggests that there is a facilitative relationship between homosociality and self-actualization, but it does not indicate whether the relationships facilitate self-actualization or vice versa.

Kincaid (1977) studied 24 married women who had returned to college after being full-time homemakers. They were tested before and after a 16-session consciousness-raising "course" of structured group exercises that focused on sex-role stereotypes, sex-role conflict resolution, interpersonal relationships, interest assessment, goal identification and individual and group decision-making. Using Shostrom's (1963) Personal Orientation Inventory as a measure of self-actualization, Kincaid found a significant gain on the Inner Directedness scale which measures the degree to which one is guided by internal needs and principles rather than by external influences such as
peers and family. She described the consciousness-raising group as designed to overcome the isolation of women and to provide an opportunity for them to examine their individual lives, and she interpreted this result as demonstrating increased potential for self-actualization. She did not, however, distinguish the women's progress toward self-actualization from that which men might experience in a similar group, but simply related the women's growth directly to the affiliation experience.

Kincaid's (1977) work provides strong evidence of the facilitative impact of women's homosocial relationships on their self-actualization, but it does not specify how the impact was made by examining the group interactions. It is this process that the present study explores and describes, and thereby enhances the credibility of theories such as those cited and research such as Kincaid's.

In summary, the cited theory and research suggest that relationships do facilitate self-actualization. Furthermore, they suggest that homosocial relationships, in particular, are facilitative in this regard. Finally, the theory points to a difference in the way in which women conceptualize self-actualization from Maslow's (1954) original conception.

It seems that what is required, then, is to clarify the meaning of self-actualization for women, to verify whether relationships, particularly homosocial relationships, are important to their self-actualizing processes, and to begin to specify how these relationships actually impact, both in facilitating and, possibly, hindering women's self-
actualization. The present study is aimed at contributing to the accomplishment of these three tasks.

B. THEORIES OF HOMOSOCIALITY

Recent interest in homosociality began with the anthropological work of Tiger (1970). He postulated a "bonding instinct" in males which underlay the ubiquitous tendency for men to form all-male power groups, from which females are excluded. His ideas seemed like a modern form of Freud's (1905/61) "anatomy is destiny" idea and were perceived as a block to women's full equality and personhood.

The work of Lipman-Blumen (1976), Bernard (1976) and Smith-Rosenberg (1975) reframed the understanding of homosociality, the latter two authors incorporating an appreciation of women's homosociality.

Lipman-Blumen (1976) formed a "homosocial theory of sex roles" which posited male homosocial ties as the basis for sex segregation:

The basic premise of this homosocial view of sex roles suggests that men are attracted to, stimulated by, and interested in other men. It is a process that is noticeable in early childhood and is channeled and encouraged by the entire range of social institutions within which males live. The stratification system, which ranks individuals and groups in terms of their value to society, systematically places males in more highly valued roles than females. Until very recently, the stratification system located men in such a way that they had virtually total and exclusive access to the entire range of resources available within the society .... Warrior and hunter roles placed men in positions of protecting and acquiring territory and food ... fundamental resources in any society. Men's positions in these resource-acquiring and resource-protecting roles also led to certain dominance hierarchies that persisted long after technology had obviated the need for such
differentiation and stratification of roles .... This uneven array of resources systematically made men more interesting to women, women less interesting and useful to other women, and women fairly often unnecessary and/or burdensome to men. This disparity of resources made it apparent that men were the more valued social beings. (pp. 16-18)

Lipman-Blumen (1976) saw indications of an emerging "new-girl" network, similar to the male "old-boy" network, but held that "the development of a homosocial world for women that reaches beyond the domestic sphere is still in its infancy" (p. 18).

Thus, she substituted cultural reinforcement, (i.e., the dominant and more socially valued roles of males as controllers of resources in patriarchal societies), for Tiger's (1970) concept of genetic predisposition to explain the attraction and ties that men have for and with each other, and for the negative valence of women for each other and for men.

Rawlings and Carter (1977) complemented Lipman-Blumen's (1976) ideas, by their application of Allport's (1955) minority group theory to women. In their exposition of the types of ego defenses found in women as victims of discrimination, there are several which relate directly and negatively to homosociality in women: denial of membership in own group (preferring the company of men), in-group aggression (competitive with other women, backbiting and gossiping, putting down other women). Other ego defenses relate to the enhancement of the bonds between women: for example, strengthening in-group ties (consciousness-raising groups, support groups, campus and community women's centers, financial, professional and self-help collectives, co-operative political action).
Bernard's theory of homosociality focused on sex differences in sociality, (i.e., the different ways that women and men relate to other persons of their own sex). She said that "the female way of being social--involving bonds, affiliation, attachment--renders women, because of their learned as well as actual helplessness, more vulnerable to the stresses of deprivation of such ties, and hence to depression" (1976, p. 228). She drew on Smith-Rosenberg's (1975) evidence of a powerful and sustaining female social world in the nineteenth century, which "bound women together in physical and emotional intimacy" (p. 24), and which centered around the rituals of birth, courtship, marriage, sickness, sorrow, trouble, with the powerful effect of the legitimizing of sister, mother-daughter, and female friendship bonds.

Caplan's (1981) work focused on the effect of patriarchal devaluation of women and the constriction of women's activities/roles/lives which result in barriers between women. Caplan cited the following factors as barriers between women: overemphasis on nurturance, devaluation of females, constraints placed on girls, and fears of homosexuality.

In contrast, Miller (1976) saw women's affiliative capacities as primary strengths. She saw affiliation as consistent with a redefined, enhanced and enlarged conception of autonomy. She posited that autonomy and affiliation have been defined in contrast to each other only because the former is a term derived from male experience, with masculine emphasis on independence and competition. Miller maintained that women will
define autonomy-in-relationship as interdependence rather than independence.

However, Miller's (1976) theory is abstract and, although she offers a few case examples, she does not provide any description of the nature of these bonds. This points to the need for clarification and elaboration of their nature, a need to which the present study responds by examining how homosocial bonds impact on women's self-actualization.

C. THEORY AND RESEARCH ON THE DIMENSIONS OF RELATIONSHIPS

Research on the dimensions of two types of relationships is relevant to the present study: therapeutic relationships and social relationships. Therapeutic or counselling relationships are similar to relationships that facilitate self-actualization in that both are concerned with the personal development of the individual whose process is their focus.

Rogers (1961) described that process as consisting of the individual "moving toward being, knowingly and acceptingly, the process which he inwardly and actually is" (p. 175). He identified three critical factors in therapeutic relationships: unconditional positive regard, congruence, and empathy.

Relationships that facilitate self-actualization are more specific in their focus than are therapeutic relationships which address themselves to problem-solving and coping, with self-actualizing being an underlying theme. However Rogers' (1951) model provides a basis for comparison in the present study of how the two types of relationships accomplish their similar goals.
The dimensions of social relationships have been the focus of numerous studies (Frum, 1979; Gibbs, Auerbach, & Fox, 1980; Knapp & Harwood, 1977; Knapp & Makosky, 1983; La Gaipa, 1977; Pearson, 1982; Rubin, 1973; Weiss, 1973; Wong, 1981; Wright, 1969).

La Gaipa's (1977) dimensions have been particularly carefully developed. He used content analysis of 1800 friendship statements to construct a questionnaire that he then used to identify eight major factors: Self-Disclosure, Authenticity, Helping Behaviour, Acceptance, Positive Regard, Strength of Character, Similarity, and Empathic Understanding.

Pearson (1982) focused on the dimensions of social support. In order to provide a clearer understanding of these dimensions in individuals' daily lives, he identified thirteen categories based on 33 subjects' 329 support descriptions: Example, Encouragement, Acceptance, Comfort, Admiration, Love, Guidance, Help, Knowledge, Honesty, Intimacy, Companionship and Satisfaction.

Wright (1969), in his same-sex Friendship Model, identified those factors that operate directly to make the relationship worth forming and maintaining: Stimulation Value (which refers to the degree to which one person (the subject) sees another as interesting and imaginative, capable of introducing the subject to new ideas and activities, and capable of leading her into an expansion and elaboration of her present knowledge and outlook; Utility Value (which refers to the degree to which the subject sees another person as cooperative, helpful, and, in general,
willing to use her time and resources to help the subject meet her own personal goals and needs; and Ego Support Value (which refers to the degree to which the subject sees another person as encouraging, supportive, nonthreatening, and, in general, capable of helping the subject feel more comfortable and maintain an impression of herself as a competent, worthwhile person). He also identified Voluntary Interdependence as the criterion of friendship, (i.e., the degree to which the plans, activities and decisions of one of the friends are contingent upon those of the other when both members of the pair are free to exercise a certain amount of choice). Wright's more descriptive and comprehensive factors provide a clear basis for comparison with the dimensions identified in the present study.

These various models of relationships, then, provide a basis for comparison with and validation of the dimensions of relationships that facilitate women's development toward self-actualization.

D. THE RELEVANCE OF THE CONCEPT OF ROLE MODELING

One of the obvious ways in which women's development is facilitated by other women is by the provision of examples or models. The concept of role models is currently receiving much research and popular attention. According to Speizer (1981), who has reviewed the literature in this field, the rationale for the importance attributed to role models appears to be based on developmental theories of identification and modeling in childhood, specifically social learning theory (Bandura, 1969) and cognitive development theory (Kohlberg, 1969).
Kemper (1968) described a role model as a person who "possesses skills and displays techniques which the actor lacks ... and from whom, by observation and comparison with his own performance, the actor can learn" (p. 33).

Relevant theory from this field for the present study of relationships that facilitate self-actualization has been proposed by Bucher and Stelling (1977). They instructed a group of psychiatry, medicine and biochemistry trainees to identify their role models throughout the course of a year. They found that the trainees constructed a model for themselves based on their observations of positive and negative aspects of those who trained them. This idea that people construct their own role models based on a variety of people is consistent with the concept of relationships facilitating self-actualization. It implies that the model's role is not simply imitated, but is utilized creatively by the observer in the ongoing reconstruction of her own experience of herself.

Egan (1975) has stressed the importance of social influence in therapeutic relationships. He identifies the basis for this form of facilitation in the attractiveness, trustworthiness, and competence of the helper. This emphasis parallels the attention that has been given to the concept of role models and applies it to counselling relationships, which are similar in their intent to relationships that facilitate self-actualization.

Speizer (1981) concluded that there is very little supportive evidence for the validity of the concept of role models. Reflecting on the reason for the broad appeal of the
concept, she supposed that "perhaps for those who are striving to succeed in an environment where they are 'other', the ingredient needed to alleviate the pressures of loneliness and tokenism is the presence of a sufficient number of people like themselves" (p. 712). She seems to be suggesting here that the underlying reason for the identification of the need for role models is women's pull towards affiliation with others with whom they can identify as they strive to succeed in new undertakings and new environments. This explanation seems consistent with Miller's (1976) theory and with the focus of the present study, (i.e., that women look to relationships as their means of self-actualizing).

E. THEORETICAL AND RESEARCH BASIS FOR THE METHODOLOGY

1. JUSTIFICATION FOR THE CHOICE OF APPROACH

One of the conclusions that is drawn from the review of literature in the previous sections is that the relevance of homosocial relationships to women's self-actualization has not yet been specifically examined. Moreover, the two constructs whose relationship is being considered—women's self-actualization and homosociality—are only beginning to be defined.

Miller's (1976) theoretical work on women's self-actualization has broken new ground in identifying and describing a distinct and different developmental route for women. She has presented it in conjunction with an exhortation in the foreword to her book for others to research and evaluate.
A great deal of work remains to be done to properly define homosociality as well. Present formulations are broad and vague, since this is the first stage of understanding and delineation of the concept (Woolsey, 1984).

Therefore it is appropriate that examination of the relationship between these two constructs be approached initially in an exploratory manner. Research at this stage, as in the current study, is intended to have heuristic value. It is intended to generate evidence for the elaboration and refinement of theory. Preliminary work of this sort must be descriptive and qualitative. Therefore, statistical hypotheses testing is not appropriate at this exploratory stage.

On this basis, the critical incident technique (Flanagan, 1954) was selected as the most appropriate method for generating descriptive data in this unexamined area.

2. THE CRITICAL INCIDENT TECHNIQUE

The critical incident technique consists of gathering a series of specific incidents in the form of observed behaviours or events that facilitated or hindered the attainment of a particular aim or goal from people in an appropriate position to make such observations. The data, or incidents, are then subjected to an inductive categorization process in order to enhance their meaningfulness.

Flanagan (1954) originally developed the technique during early aviation studies in the United States Air Force for the purpose of selecting and training pilots and combat leaders during World War II. The categories produced aided in the
formulation of the critical requirements of the work of these personnel.

More recently, Flanagan (1978) has conducted a major research effort, in conjunction with the American Institute for Research, toward improving the quality of life of Americans. Over 6500 incidents were recorded from a large and varied sample in an attempt to define the critical requirements of a person's quality of life. These incidents were sorted into 15 basic categories falling under three general headings. They were subsequently rated on their importance to subjects' quality of life and assessed as to "needs met" satisfactorily. Flanagan found that subjects' recalled events provided a rich and useful source of information essential to the purposes of the study.

Other recent applications of the technique include that of Cohen and Smith (1976) who used it to study ongoing group processes. They suggested that at one or more points during the interactions of group members, critical situations or incidents arise where the group leader must choose an appropriate response. The authors found that certain common critical situations emerged regardless of the group's orientation. The critical incident technique was used as a way of arranging data in sequence, from the events leading up to a critical incident, (i.e., the possible choices for action of the group leader), to those events that resulted from the possible group leader interventions.

Using the critical incident technique, Dachelot, Wemett, Garling, Craig-Kuhn, Kent, and Kitzman (1981) examined the
conditions which facilitated the clinical training of nurses. Critical incident data was collected from three groups and then classified into 18 basic categories with three general headings. These categories provided a broad picture of activities which occurred in the clinical settings and of ways in which these activities were perceived by both students and educators.

Similarly, Rimon (1979) examined nurses' perceptions of critical aspects of their role in providing for the psychological and physical care of patients in hospital.

Researchers in cognitive psychology (Weiner, Russell, & Lerman; 1979) collected critical incidents in a study of the linkages between cognitions and emotions in achievement-related contexts.

The critical incident technique, then, has provided a useful methodology for psychological studies, nearly 30 years after its initial introduction by Flanagan.

Another reason for choosing the critical incident technique, in addition to its suitability for exploring an uncharted domain and producing descriptive information about that domain, is that it is a phenomenological or experiential research approach. It assumes the importance of understanding perceived, rather than objective reality as the basis for human behaviour (Colaizzi, 1978). This orientation is particularly appropriate to the study of constructs as subjective and difficult to observe and measure at this point as are women's self-actualization and homosociality. By eliciting critical incidents, this technique accesses women's experiences of
homosocial relationships and self-actualization, rather than information based on their theoretical or objective knowledge of these constructs. It seems prudent to rely on experiential data in the initial charting of this unexplored domain.

The critical incident technique, then, is employed in this study to uncover suggestive evidence or trends in an emerging area of research interest that has not as yet been theoretically delineated.

3. RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY OF THE TECHNIQUE

The accepted method of checking the reliability of a categorization scheme derived with the critical incident technique is to submit the incidents and categories to one or more independent raters (Flanagan, 1954). The rater is trained in the method of categorization that was used by the researcher and is instructed to sort the incidents into the categories provided. If the categories are well-formed and the rater adequately trained, a good degree of agreement, (i.e., a reliability coefficient of .75 or more), can be expected to occur between the rater’s sort and the original sort from which the categories were derived.

In order to provide content validity, (i.e., coverage of the domain), Flanagan (1954) stated that collection of interview data should proceed until the relevant domain of critical incidents appears to be covered, and he suggested from his research experience that redundancy often occurs after collecting data on approximately 100 incidents.

Construct validity of the categories obtained through the
critical incident technique is partly assumed by the fact that many individuals have reported upon an experience independently. In this way, a variety of observations are obtained and individual biases are eliminated (Planagan, 1954).

Another construct validity check is the comparison of the data with the relevant literature. Reported findings regarding similar phenomena should be compared with the categories obtained and discrepancies between them should be analyzed and explained.

The critical incident technique has been researched with respect to reliability and validity by Andersson and Nilsson (1964). A presentation of their findings follows.

They began by analyzing the job of store manager in a Swedish grocery company, collecting approximately 1800 incidents from four groups of people considered to be in a good position to make observations: supervisors, store managers, assistants, and customers. Approximately two-thirds of the incidents were positive, (i.e., referred to units of successful behaviour), and the remaining one-third were negative. The incidents were classified into a three-level taxonomy with three superordinate headings or areas, 17 basic categories, and 86 subordinate categories.

The researchers subjected the data to several reliability and validity checks. Their first check referred to the saturation and comprehensiveness of the data: When have enough incidents been collected to exhaust the universe of behaviour that the technique is expected to cover? They found that the
number of subcategories formed very quickly during the beginning of classifying the incidents, with later incidents tending to fall within existing categories. By the time two-thirds of the incidents had been classified, 95% of the 86 categories had been established. In this way, the researchers determined that a sufficient quantity of incidents had been collected.

Andersson and Nilsson (1964) tested the reliability of their categorization system by submitting random samples of incidents to independent raters, with subcategories provided. There were 61% to 68% levels of agreement found among raters, and between raters and the criterion. Thus the submission of data to independent raters was taken by the researchers to confirm the objectivity and lack of bias in the categorization process.

A content analysis of the training literature for store managers was conducted to answer the question: Has the critical incident technique succeeded in including all critical aspects of this activity? This is a question of validity. Good agreement was found between the data and the literature in that both described similar activities for store managers.

A related question was also posed: Are the incidents representative of behaviours that are truly important or critical for the work at hand? The critical incident technique could be challenged on the grounds that it gathers extreme, dramatic, or unique incidents that are of little practical importance, or are an incomplete description of the activity. In addressing this central question, the researchers submitted
their data to 300 people comprising four rating groups. The 86 categories were rated on a six-point scale from 0 (unimportant) to 5 (of the greatest importance for a store manager's work). It was found that only five of the 86 categories were rated as unimportant by all four rating groups.

An additional finding was that subcategories with few incidents were also rated as important by the four groups. It appears, therefore, that frequency is not a measure of the critical nature of a behaviour.

In summary, Andersson and Nilsson (1964) subjected their data to various checks and found results which support the reliability and validity of the critical incident technique. They concluded that the material collected seems to represent very well the behaviour units that the method may be expected to provide.

4. APPROACH TO CATEGORIZATION

The data collected with the critical incident technique are subjected to an inductive categorization process in order to enhance their meaningfulness. Modern category formation theory provides guidelines for formulating categories from a set of critical incidents.

Flanagan (1954) found that the collection of a large sample of incidents in itself provided a functional description of the phenomenon being investigated. Flanagan wrote that further data analysis is carried out, however, in order to:

summarize and describe data in an efficient manner ... making it easier to report these requirements, to draw inferences from them, and to compare them with
other activities. (p. 344)

First, a relatively small sample of incidents are sorted into piles or headings that are related to the frame of reference, (e.g., in this study, incidents in relationships with women that facilitated or hindered self-actualization). Brief definitions are made of these tentative piles or categories. Then, new incidents are added to them with categories being redefined and formulated as needed. This process continues until all the incidents have been placed in categories. Thusly, categories arise through an inductive process from the incidents themselves, with nothing lost and nothing added.

Difficult decisions arise, of course, during the categorization process. Traditional category formation theory holds that category membership is an all-or-none phenomenon such that all members of a category possess an equal number of critical or defining features. In this view, all members of a category are equally good examples of that category. In everyday life, however, those criteria are seldom, if ever, met. Wittgenstein (1953) argued that a set of objects would show a pattern of overlapping similarities or "family resemblances", rather than one set of features shared by all objects. This viewpoint suggests a continuum of category membership, leading to the notion of "fuzzy sets" (McCloskey & Glucksberg, 1978; Rosch, 1975; Rosch & Mervis, 1975). Objects that are highly typical of a category, (e.g., a sailboat), possess a higher degree of salience or category membership in the larger family, (e.g., boats), than do less typical objects, (e.g., a
surfboard). Furthermore, there is no clear boundary between categories so that some of the fuzziest objects can be category members and non-members at the same time.

Building upon the notion of fuzzy sets, Rosch (1975) found that natural categories are formed around a clear case or best example of a category, which she referred to as a "prototype". Non-prototypic members are judged against the prototype to determine whether they are better or poorer points. Rosch wrote that:

the more prototypical a category member, the more attributes it has in common with other members of the category and the less attributes in common with contrasting categories. (p. 602)

Cantor and Mischel (1979) and Cantor, Mischel and Schwartz (1982) extended the concepts put forward by Rosch (1975) into the area of prototypes in person and situation perception. They found that the rules we use for categorizing people, (e.g., extraverts as distinguished from introverts), and social or psychological situations, (e.g., "being on a date", as distinguished from "being in a class"), are also prototypicality judgments, similar to those rules we use for distinguishing objects, (e.g., cars from trucks).

In addition, Cantor and Mischel (1979) and Rosch (1975) have made useful distinctions regarding the level of abstraction used in category formation. Recognizing that objects can be categorized at varying levels of inclusiveness, Rosch identified a "basic" or middle category level as the optimal one for most categorization tasks. The basic level has a moderate degree of
inclusiveness. Categories at this level, therefore, are both rich in detail and yet well differentiated from one another.

At the most abstract inclusive level, termed "superordinate", categories are well differentiated from one another, but richness of detail is lost. In other words, categories contain such a mixture of different members that it is difficult to predict what attributes a typical category member might possess. On the other hand, categories at the less inclusive level, termed "subordinate", (i.e., subcategories), require many fine discriminations to be made in order to distinguish one from the other. Here we find tremendous richness of detail, but differentiation among categories is lacking and overlap is greatest. An example of the superordinate level would be furniture, the basic level would be chair, and the subordinate level would be dining room chair. For Rosch (1975), the optimum level of categorization for an effective presentation of data is the basic level.

Notions of fuzzy sets, prototypicality, and levels of inclusiveness are offered to the reader as an attempt to explain the processes that the researcher considers while categorizing a set of critical incidents. Cognitive psychological research into category formation indicates that the categorization process is not merely subjective or haphazard. It is assumed that a set of critical incidents contain incidents that form a continuum of category membership ranging from prototypical incidents easily categorized by independent raters to fuzzy incidents which possess attributes of more than one category,
and hence, produce less agreement among independent raters.

Flanagan (1954, 1978) and most relationship studies (La Gaipa, 1977; Pearson, 1982; Wright, 1969) have categorized at the superordinate level. In the present study, this approach has been partially modified as described in Chapter III.

F. EXPERIENTIAL CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

In phenomenologically descriptive research, clarification of the researcher's own perspectives, experiences and underlying assumptions is seen as an important step toward objectivity (Colaizzi, 1978). To this end, this researcher provides the reader with the following framework for assessing her presuppositions.

I was prompted in the early 1970's by the writings of de Beauvoir (1953), Friedan (1963), and Greer (1971), and by participating in a consciousness-raising group, to question my role assumptions and to begin the work of becoming aware of and expressing my real self. In retrospect, some of the key facilitative experiences in the progress of this work to date have been the relationships I formed with certain women.

I experienced relationships with women as a lifeline that guided me from rigid adherence to traditional norms and underlying fragility and confusion to progressively greater levels of comprehension and conviction concerning what I believe, what I want, and (what is most difficult to grasp) who I am. At the same time, I was very conscious, at certain points, of my fear of being engulfed and of losing my precarious sense of my separate center.
In the course of conducting this study, I have recalled some of these relationships and come to appreciate them as self-actualizing, the outcome of being vulnerable and experiencing my connectedness with other women.
III. DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH DESIGN

A. SUBJECTS

The research was conducted with a group of career women advanced in their development toward self-actualization. The population selected was female members of the British Columbia Psychological Association. The membership requirement of the Association is a master's or doctoral degree with primary emphasis in psychology. This population was selected because these women's achievements in career that demand high levels of personal development suggest that they would be self-actualized to some degree. To increase the probability of their being self-actualized, potential subjects who had indicated that counselling was their area of practice were selected from the Association directory.

These women were approached by letter (Appendix A) and asked to self-select on the basis of being 35 years of age or older. This age criterion was set because Maslow (1954) has observed that self-actualization is usually achieved by mature individuals in middle or later life.

The women who met the criterion and expressed an interest in participating in the study were then sent the Personal Orientation Inventory (Shostrom, 1963) by mail and asked to complete it and return the answer sheet. Potential subjects were thereby further screened using an objective measure of self-actualization.

Because the construct of self-actualization is complex and
remote from everyday experience, there has been controversy regarding the feasibility of measuring it with a test. The POI has however been used in thousands of studies and has become the standard instrument.

The two major scales of the POI — Inner Directed (127 items) and Time Competence (23 items) — were combined to provide an overall measure of self-actualizing potential (Damm, 1969). Allotting one point for each item, Shostrom (1966) classified raw scores into the following categories:

- less than 102 — non-self-actualizing
- from 102 to 113 — normal
- more than 113 — self-actualizing

Thus the women who scored 114 or more were then qualified as subjects.

Many studies have supported the validity of the POI as a measure of self-actualization. High and low scorers differ significantly on a number of other test variables such as some of the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule scales (Grossack, Armstrong & Lussier, 1966; Lemay & Damm, 1969), the Neurotic scale of the Eysenck Personality Inventory (Knapp, 1965) and the Rotter Internal-External Control Scale (Wall, 1970). As further evidence of criterion-related validity, Culbert, Clark and Bobele (1968) found that sensitivity training resulted in improved POI test scores.

Test-retest reliability coefficients of the major scales were found to be .77 and .71 by Klavetter and Morgan (1968).

However social desireability response sets do affect
results on self-report inventories and Braun (1966) found that the POI is "fakeable" by subjects schooled in concepts of self-actualization (which, of course, the subjects in this study have been).

In summary the POI was employed to qualify potential subjects because it appeared on balance to be the best available means for doing so within the constraints of the present study. The basic criterion for subject selection, however, was the career achievement implicit in their being psychologists specializing in counselling.

With this selection procedure, 23 subjects were identified. Their ages ranged from 35 to 68 and their POI scores ranged from 116 to 134. (Five potential subjects were disqualified on the basis of their POI scores.)

B. THE INTERVIEW

Interviews were conducted by the researcher in the homes or offices of the subjects and lasted from 45 minutes to about 3 hours. One subject was interviewed over two sessions. All sessions were audio-tape recorded.

The subjects were considered to be co-researchers as phenomenological research theory recommends (Friere, 1970). Therefore, their involvement in the process was encouraged. For example, the following questions were mailed to each subject about one week before the interview in order to allow her to reflect on them in preparation for the session. (The letter is included as Appendix B of this study.)

1) The test you have completed measured self-actualization
defined as "functioning fully and living an enriched life by developing and utilizing one's unique capabilities and potentialities". What is your personal understanding of this term? How far along in the process of self-actualization do you consider yourself - beginning / on the way / advanced / well-advanced / approaching completion?

2) I want to focus on the women who have been important in encouraging or facilitating your own development in the direction of self-actualization. These women might be mothers; sisters, grandmothers, aunts, cousins, friends, neighbours, teachers, workmates or any women you've known personally. What are the first names of these women? What are their relationships to you?

3) Now try to think of a specific incident or several little incidents (it can be something small) when each of these women you've named did something or when something happened that significantly encouraged or facilitated your development toward self-actualization. What happened? What led up to it? Why was it so helpful?

4) Then I'd like to focus on relationships with women in which you've had experiences that you consider to have hindered or inhibited your development. What are their first names and their relationships to you? Now try to think of specific incidents when each woman did something or when something happened that significantly hindered or inhibited your development toward self-actualization. What happened? What led up to it? Why was it so hindering?
C. PROCEDURE

Upon examining the data at the conclusion of interviewing, it became evident that the incidents that had been described by the subjects were critical because of their context within relationships. The subjects identified other women and their relationships with them that facilitated (or hindered) their self-actualizing processes and then they sometimes gave examples of significant incidents. More often, however, they described the characteristics of the other women and/or the qualities of their relationships with them. In these cases the incidental data was typical rather than particularly significant. Since many of the relationships were of long duration, for example, almost every subject described her relationship with her mother, it was apparent that it was the accumulation of incidents or experiences over time that resulted in significant facilitation rather than any one incident.

Therefore, at the conclusion of interviewing, it was decided that the complete descriptions of the relationships rather than the individual incidents would be transcribed onto index cards from the tape recordings. Although incidents were gathered with the critical incident technique, relationships were analyzed and categorized. Relationships subsume incidents; they consist of a distillation of many specific incidents.

This decision to categorize relationships rather than incidents did not change the method significantly, (i.e., the data was still categorized using the principles set out in Chapter II). Reliability was ascertained in the same manner by
submitting the data and categories to an independent rater. Validity was still based upon many individuals having reported their experience of a phenomenon independently, and on comparisons being made with the literature to support the categorization scheme that was developed.

Since relationships are broader or more extensive than incidents, the content of the domain is less behavioural and more inferential. There is a heightened focus on perceived rather than objective reality. Content coverage (validity) was however unaffected by the shift in analytical focus from incidents to relationships, since data were still collected until redundancy occurred.

Finally the data lent themselves to relationship-focused categorization. The categories emerged readily, confirming the appropriateness of the decision to change the focus. In summary, this modification of the procedure by substituting relationships for incidents is consistent with the rationale of the critical incident technique.

Seventeen of the 23 subjects described 133 facilitating relationships, each subject presenting from 4 to 14 such relationships. Only 8 out of the 133 were described as having both facilitating and hindering aspects.

Thirty-five hindering relationships were described by these 17 subjects including the 8 that had both aspects. Each subject presented from 0 to 4 hindering relationships. This volume of data is insufficient to permit reliable categorization. However these relationships are described briefly in Section D of
Chapter IV--Hindering Relationships.

The remaining 6 subjects were unable to answer interview questions #2 and #3 in any detail because they had not experienced relationships with other women as facilitative. Instead they attributed their self-actualization to relationships with men, to their spirituality, or to their own independent efforts. These women's experiences were therefore examined separately in Section F of Chapter IV--Self-Actualization without Homosociality.

Upon reviewing the data after 133 relationship descriptions had been collected, it was determined that Flanagan's (1954) criterion of redundancy occurring had been met. The relationship descriptions had begun to seem similar to previously collected ones and patterns were beginning to be recognizable. Therefore, the process of approaching, qualifying and interviewing subjects was terminated.

The 133 facilitating relationships were reviewed numerous times by the researcher using the process defined by Flanagan (1954) as outlined in Chapter II, until they sorted themselves into six superordinate categories. Then in order to achieve more richness of detail at this level of inclusiveness or abstraction, the categories were analyzed in terms of the specific affective behaviours and qualifying conditions that characterized each of the relationships in each category. These specific behaviours and conditions were compiled to form an exhaustive, yet succinct description of each category. In this way, some of the richness and distinctiveness of Rosch's (1975)
basic level of categorization was incorporated into the more differentiated superordinate level. The hybrid result evokes the quality of each relationship type while retaining the clarity of the superordinate level.

This modification to the superordinate level of categorization highlights the fuzziness that is particularly characteristic of the more complex and inferential relationship data. Each relationship within a category incorporates some, but not all of the aspects of the exhaustive description. Some relationships might be categorized in one of two or even three categories depending upon the rater's interpretation of the significance of the subject's description of an aspect of the relationship.

The 133 relationships were then sorted by an independent rater, a graduate of counselling psychology, into the six categories, based on the exhaustive descriptions provided. She replicated the researcher's sort with 83% accuracy (reliability). This was considered a satisfactory degree of agreement, given the complexity of the relationship data.

The categorization scheme was then elaborated with the addition of specific examples from the data of each aspect of each category. This description (Section B of Chapter IV) was mailed to all of the subjects with an invitation to comment on it. None were received.
IV. RESULTS

A. PERSONAL UNDERSTANDINGS OF SELF-ACTUALIZATION

WHAT IS YOUR PERSONAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE TERM "SELF-ACTUALIZATION"?

Four themes emerged from the women's responses. They are described exhaustively in the women's words. Some of the women addressed two, three or even all of the themes; some focused on one.

1. Utilizing Capabilities and Potentialities

Presented with Maslow's (1954) definition—"functioning fully and living an enriched life by developing and utilizing one's unique capabilities and potentialities"—17 of the 23 women concurred with the theme of "utilizing existing talents, skills, intelligence, gifts, abilities, interests".

They described the process in terms of active self-assertion: "Taking the steps to make it happen, actually doing what I wish to do; being what I want to be; taking the power, control, responsibility myself to cause the consequences to happen; directing all my energies into something in a work situation; fully committing myself to a particular creative task; creation of my reality in the world; enhancing, fulfilling myself," and spoke of challenge and accomplishment.

Self-direction was stressed: "being in control of my life, owning responsibility for what has happened; self-actualization as opposed to other-actualization or accidental-actualization; strength, independence, responsibility to myself. I can direct
my life, create things in the way that I want them to happen. Trying to contain myself, to be self-possessed, to keep my own perspective".

A sense of striving was present: "Living up to my moral values, trying to be the most worthwhile type of person; developing self-discipline, self-respect, honour, integrity".

The rejection of social expectations was also involved: "Making the decision to go against the grain or do what you're going to do; not needing to conform; above or beyond stereotypes; going against the norm".

2. The Importance of Relationships

Eleven women identified their relationships as being as important to their experience of self-actualizing as was their work, that is, they defined self-actualization in part in terms of the quality of their relationships. This is consistent with Miller's (1976) idea of self-actualizing through and in relationships.

They wanted "to be cared about and care for someone; to spend my actualizing time in exploring and finding love, companionship, intimacy; to be involved with other people; to have a satisfying personal life; to become actualized as a partner". They valued "steadfastness, loyalty, accepting each other unconditionally, not competing, trying to relate to other people as I would like to be related to, respect for others, understanding what's happening with other people and their interactions with me, achieving a balanced life between self-interest and the interests of other people".
They saw the process as "risking being myself with friends, being able to be easy in relationships. Continuing contact with people is what helps me to grow".

Almost half of these women, then, saw relationships as vital both as a route to self-actualization and as an aspect of being self-actualized.

3. Self-Discovery

Twenty of the women also understood self-actualization as a process of learning about themselves. "I choose to believe there's a lesson in every experience. There's nothing I can't learn from. Finding out things about myself I didn't know. When I worked and wasn't learning much, I lost interest. Becoming more and more aware. Discovering, developing and experiencing the facets of my personality to the fullest; letting things flow and my interests develop into what the next step could be".

The learning process was conceptualized broadly as being cognitive, intuitive and experiential: "Knowing who I am; knowing where I want to go; knowing where I stand on issues; being clear; knowing what makes me feel good and how I affect the world and others; making contact with what's inside; recognizing the things I can do, can't do, and am willing to stick my neck out and and try to do; being fully awake; aware of my capabilities, potentials; how I form myself in relation to self and others; focusing on what I can do, what nourishes me; the way I respond to myself and my environment".

A positive, optimistic attitude was seen as appropriate:
"Seeing problems and conflicts as opportunities to pursue growth, change in myself; looking at the positive side of experience".

Self-acceptance was considered essential: "Accepting my potentials and deficiencies and making choices based on that insight; being willing to wait for things to happen".

This theme is consistent with both Maslow's (1954) and Miller's (1976) concepts of self-actualizing. The two theorists conceptualize the process differently, but both regard self-discovery as fundamental to it.

4. The Affective Experience of Self-Actualizing

The subjects also described the affective experience of self-actualizing. Elation was reflected in "being in touch with my feelings, spontaneous; being crazy in a positive way; freedom to live emotionally in a way that fits who I am; being open to new experiences; putting a lot of energy in and getting energy in return; getting high; having an impact on other people. Things get more and more exciting. My life's gotten better and better".

Satisfaction was reported in "a sense of well-being, contentment, peace; getting pleasure and enjoyment; feeling successful, confident, competent; feeling good about what I'm doing, about the process; doing something that matters; feeling satisfied that what I'm doing is worthwhile; being happy. I'm going to be okay".

This theme too seems consistent with both Maslow (1954) and Miller (1976).
HOW FAR ALONG IN THE PROCESS OF SELF-ACTUALIZATION DO YOU CONSIDER YOURSELF - BEGINNING / ON THE WAY / ADVANCED / WELL-ADVANCED / APPROACHING COMPLETING?

Nine women considered themselves on the way, 8 advanced, 4 well-advanced, 1 approaching completion, and 1 beginning. Since all these women scored in the self-actualizing category on the Personal Orientation Inventory, this clustering of responses around the middle of the scale may be interpreted as reflecting feminine modesty. Alternatively it may be taken to indicate the awareness of these women of the immense or infinite developmental potential of which human beings are capable.

B. FACILITATING RELATIONSHIPS

It's the permission to be who you are and the validation that that is worth something that encourages you to then go on past it.

...A Subject

The 17 subjects, whose homosocial relationships had facilitated their self-actualization, described 133 of these relationships with mothers, grandmothers, aunts, sisters, daughters, teachers, supervisors, and friends, which they felt had significantly encouraged or facilitated their development toward self-actualization.

As described in the previous chapter, although the subjects did recount critical incidents that facilitated their development, these incidents were presented in the context of relationships. It became apparent that the relationship formed
from the accumulation of many incidents over time was itself the significant facilitating factor. Subjects were most influenced by consistently present characteristics of the facilitator or of the relationship between the subject and the facilitator. Therefore the relationships have been categorized with the scheme presented below.

CATEGORY #1 - INSPIRATION

The subject is inspired by a model who she perceives to be more actualized than herself in some aspect. This occurs in any of the following ways:

a. The model's behaviour reinforces or helps develop the subject's values or feelings;
b. The model displays qualities or skills that the subject admires;
c. The model has achieved a goal that the subject aspires to;
d. The subject admires the way the model makes a choice or achieves a goal;
e. The model's approach to life reveals a fresh option to the subject; or
f. The subject perceives the model's ability to change as allowing her to do the same.

(The above-listed variations of the category theme are alternate scenarios or conditions, rather than attributes of the category. At Rosch's (1975) basic level of categorization,
prototypical cases possess the most attributes. However, these alternate scenarios of a superordinate category do not necessarily accumulate to form a most facilitative relationship. This also holds true for the following category.)

CATEGORY #2 - AFFIRMATION

The subject feels appreciated, affirmed, accepted, respected, trusted, or loved, and this is facilitating when any of the following is the case:

a. The facilitator is an authority figure or another person admired by the subject;
b. The subject has been feeling lonely, discouraged, confused or inadequate;
c. The subject is in a demanding or threatening situation;
d. The subject has revealed a shortcoming to the facilitator;
e. The facilitator publicly voices this support; or
f. The facilitator gives consistent support over an extended period.

CATEGORY #3 - INSPIRATION AND AFFIRMATION

The relationships in this category contain elements of both Inspiration and Affirmation.
CATEGORY #4 - CHALLENGE

When the subject feels Affirmed, and the facilitator then:

a. Guides or advises,
b. Pushes,
c. Questions or confronts, or
d. Corrects or reproaches,

the subject re-examines and changes her behaviour, and later recognizes that this intervention has helped her self-actualize.

CATEGORY #5 - INSPIRATION AND CHALLENGE

The relationships in this category contain elements of Inspiration and Challenge (based on Affirmation).

CATEGORY #6 - MUTUALITY

The subject participates in a mutual relationship which may contain elements of Inspiration, Affirmation and/or Challenge and is characterized by (any combination of):

a. Common interests, values, goals or life experiences;
b. Mutual acceptance, admiration, respect or love;
c. A mutual involvement or intimacy;
d. A shared sense of openness or disclosure;
e. A mutual empathy;
f. A feeling of equality or mutual dependence;
g. A shared sense of caring, protecting or consoling;
h. A sense of stability or security;
i. A shared sense of playfulness, joy, pleasure or spontaneity;
j. A sharing of the growth experience;
k. A feeling of non-competitiveness;
l. An acceptance of conflict;
m. Endurance over time.

The first five categories contain relationships that provide unidirectional facilitation to the subject. In Mutual relationships, both participants give and receive facilitation.

Following are descriptions of the relationship types in which specific examples clarify and elaborate the characteristics of each category.

CATEGORY #1 - INSPIRATION

Of the 24 relationships in this category, (elicited from 12 subjects), 16 were with women who were older than the subject. To explain the relationship and its impact, the subject described the model rather than focusing on interactions between herself and the other woman. The impact was strong and enduring.

She's still in my mind often. I think, 'How would she deal with this?'

I befriended a girl and she was athletic, on student council, the prototypical successful college student. I deliberately imitated her speech, modeled myself after her. I copied her because I wanted to be like the other kids, to pass for being the same as everyone
else. Years later, when she came to visit, my kids said, 'It's spooky when she's around. You both talk alike.'

a. **Inspired when the model's behaviour reinforces or helps develop the subject's values or feelings**

The psychiatric social workers treated patients, helped very sick and confused people and their families. They were a very active part of the treatment team. That was where my professional identity was formed--around those women.

She's in her eighties. She has a sense of humour. She has a faith in things unfolding. We're responsible for our lives and making things happen and yet, you don't have control. You don't have to fight everything. She's much more attached to beliefs and assumptions about the world that things will open up. She does that with her own death that she's getting close to. It's a moving on to the next. She's so joyful. That ultimately there's something in what happens that I need and that will actually be better for me in the long run.

Mother always worked. I learned women had the choice to make their own money and didn't have to depend on the man. I didn't grow up with the illusion that a man would take care of me. That was not what she chose to do. Having her own work was important to do.

b. **Inspired when the model displays qualities or skills that the subject admires**

She doesn't carry a lot of guilt around. She expects life to be fine, to work out. A real naturalness,
confidence. She doesn't get tied into feeling responsible for other people. She does what she thinks she can do and that's that.

She made up for physical presentation by this personality of delight, willingness; passionate, intense, opinionated, argumentative, very French, very immaculate about her toilette, impeccable—not compulsive—that's how she prepared herself for the day. She was a very colourful character, not a typical social worker. She stood up and talked and argued to the male doctors.

c. **Inspired when the model has achieved a goal that the subject aspires to**

I have a friend who does all kinds of things with her husband. She's an independent woman but she does a lot of things to keep a common bond going between them as they get older. She's influenced me a lot in thinking that way that that's important in relationship because I see her doing that and it's successful for her.

d. **The subject admires the way the model makes a choice or achieves a goal**

We always had great discussions about our virginity and when we were going to lose it. She met somebody and decided that she was going to do that. It was a calculated decision on her part and also that she did care about him. I'll always remember that I was impressed that she decided she was going to accept her choice. Just the way she dealt with it. It wasn't just, 'It's going to happen'. She went off that night. I felt I was sending her off to the war. Then it was just, 'How are you? how was it?' Not a lot of discussion. I admired that. There are personal
things you don't blabber about. She wasn't doing this as any experiment.

She managed to make a choice that astounded me. I didn't know what I wanted to do. She was able to make decisions much faster and know who she was and what she was good at. She was out and working before I was and had a clearer idea of exactly what she wanted to do with it afterwards than I did. I was interested in how she made the choice and when I saw her working, then it made sense to me. She has a terrific sense of humour and is quite uninhibited. In residence she would have the whole dining table laughing. People would be drawn to her because she was so entertaining and attractive in that way. When I saw her working with her deaf kids, it made sense in terms of personality because it was a lot of theatrics, being able to use her extroverted nature, to draw them out, to show, to use all the gestures which were funny. She used it in another way. She was so at home interacting with people in that kind of a way right away. We had both been floundering around before that. She'd been working with disturbed boys in a school. All of a sudden she made this real switch. Having a very accurate idea of what your capabilities are and being able to recognize it and match it up. I was fascinated with that.

She left her marriage because there was someone else. Just knowing her and her personality, it was huge for her. She wants everyone to be okay and yet not to that degree that you lose yourself. I value that. Not to make it nice for everybody. It's your own life. She pulled her life together and brought her son back to live with her. Making tough decisions. I always admire that. Facing things and doing them. Not making anyone out to be bad. She talks about her ex-husband with respect and admiration.

e. **Inspired when the model's approach to life reveals a fresh option to the subject**

My aunt has made me see that someone in our family can
do that and that I don't necessarily have to be like my mother. I can follow other paths.

Her ability to just flip that one over when she could have wallowed in it and it would have stopped her from the very process that I believe self-actualization is. It impressed me with what's possible. It was a good cause for being depressed, hurt, angry and she refused to let it do that. I thought, 'I hope that I'll have that kind of courage and guts when I have circumstances in life like that to face. I'm growing older. This will happen.' She was an example of how you can live with that in a positive way. I feel very blessed with her.

I was impressed that she could move into different careers. She didn't feel limited or have to stick to one thing, not make choices or changes. It was a realization of not being locked in. You could take one thing and then do something else. You didn't have to tie yourself down.

She was a nun--so intellectual, together, sensitive, strong, worldly. It was the first time I really had the impact of how a woman could be. It was a different model than anything I had ever been exposed to.

f. Inspired when the subject perceives the model's ability to change as allowing her to do the same

For me, being around a person that young who can deal with life so well is an example .... I felt her generosity could cause her problems. She could end up doing things for people she doesn't really want to do. I spoke to her about it two or three years ago .... A couple of years later, she and her older brother were having a fight. It went on and I finally asked her to go to her room .... So she stormed off, which is unusual for her - she's so calm. I thought she was feeling bad about being sent to her room, and she
said, 'I was just trying to stand up to him just like you told me to, and then I couldn't do it because you sent me away.' I was so impressed with her clear purposefulness, because the easiest thing for her would have been to concede and she was actually and purposefully attempting to be true to herself in a way I had advised her to do .... I realized there's a lot more intelligence and consciousness in kids than you give credit for. They can be a constant source of inspiration to me.

The above is one of several Inspirational relationships that subjects described with younger models, (e.g., their daughters). This is contrary to popular conceptions of role models. However, it is consistent with Bucher and Stelling's (1977) notion that people construct their own models based on a variety of people, (i.e., they do not imitate whole persons, but creatively utilize various models in the ongoing reconstruction of their own experience of themselves).

CATEGORY #2 - AFFIRMATION

Of the 31 relationships in this category, (elicited from 11 subjects), 8 were with older family members, 8 with teachers, 6 with supervisors, 4 with other older women and 7 with friends. This is the largest category as well as providing the basis for the following category, Challenge.

a. Affirmed when the facilitator is an authority figure or another person admired by the subject

My grandmother had a lot of power over my mother. My mother phoned her two or three times a day. I started a relationship with a man who my parents weren't crazy about. He was invited to dinner. My grandmother was
there and she engaged him in conversation. Then she came up to me and said, 'It's okay, he's alright. When he talks, he looks right in your eyes.' My mother walked in and I burst into tears. I said to mother, 'Grandmother likes him!' It was a turning point.

One of the graduate nurses told me—I was a student nurse—when I was on nights with her, 'All the graduate nurses want to get you because they say when you're there, the patients behave better.' That was important for me to find that in some way I was good with people was kind of a breakthrough for me. That really helped me to know more about myself, my ability.

When someone you think a lot of because you know they're good and you know you like what they're doing, turns around and says, 'Listen, I want to know from you, I want to learn from you where you're taking this. I think this stuff's incredible,' you go, 'Hey, it might be!' You get all like a little kid because it's the same as when mommy or daddy approved.

A drama teacher in high school. We had this rapport. I felt like she liked me, supported me and I thought I was special from the other students. She chose me to take the lead in the seating plan.

b. Affirmed when the subject has been feeling lonely, discouraged, confused or inadequate

She was my saviour, my friend, a place for me to go to when things were not good between my parents. She unconditionally loved me.

I got depressed and was going to resign. I'm perfectionistic and have unrealistic expectations of myself. The superintendent loooked over my reports and said they were good and I must be
overconscientious. That really was a help to me.

She took quite an interest in me. I remember her bringing me a continued story in a magazine about a little girl. It was called 'The Magic Garden' and the little girl was called 'Little Hungry Heart'. This always makes me kind of tearful. I don't know if she saw me that way and that's why she brought it but I saw myself that way. It was nice that she did that. She was a sweet old dear.

She knew I was falling apart. I was practically an emotional basket case when I went to work there. She instilled a lot of confidence in me. She was the type of woman who, if she took a liking to you, would really boost you. I give her full marks for having reinstated my confidence. She gave me a lot of positive reinforcement.

I was disillusioned with university. It wasn't higher education. I wanted more but I wasn't putting all that much into it. She was more human than the other profs. Some kind of bond struck up between her and I. I still felt insignificant, not confident. I put in extra effort in her course. I got a lot out of her course. I learned a lot. The connection with her being more personable, I just put out so much more and I got something out of it.

At Christmas time the teacher gave me a special gift. Children wore pinafore aprons over their dresses. She gave me a very special apron. There wasn't any money. I must have worn the same apron all the time. I was extremely touched by that. I felt lost all the time as if there were so many people around and I wasn't being noticed enough. I was in the shadows. I felt I could disappear in a corner but that wouldn't be nice. So this teacher singling me out .... They called me one of those extremely shy girls. Just to be recognized was very special for me. The teacher had gone out of her way to buy this apron. I felt noticed, important.

I stumbled into her office and she was just
incredible. She smiled a lot and she told me yes, indeed, the department would welcome me with open arms. What you'd done before was not necessarily what you could do and she could see that there were other things that were more important that I could do. She encouraged me to go on and not to get discouraged by the whole process. Words of support and smiling and being willing to take the time—really positive. If I hadn't run into her, I don't know where I'd be today because I was getting really discouraged and running and looking. It was so hard to find that person and it was finally her. That gave me the courage to go on.

c. **Affirmed when the subject is in a demanding or threatening situation**

She was a help too when I was going through the cancer thing because she would be supportive and encouraging and as a nurse, she knew. Just encouraging that I was doing really well and that things would get better and understanding when I felt ratty that it was okay to feel ratty, that I didn't have to demand perfection of myself.

d. **Affirmed when the subject has revealed a shortcoming to the facilitator**

They had a nickname for me—the little bitch. I take it as a compliment, an affectionate term. I discovered Freud's 'Psychopathology of Everyday Life'. That's where I discovered that everybody is naturally selfish and that's what I needed to read. People did everything to get what they wanted in some way. Behind every generous act is also something in it for you. That really amused and pleased one friend. She must have had the same thing about recognizing her selfishness and not really knowing that everybody else is selfish. They enjoyed me analyzing people's motives in this way.
e. **Affirmed when the facilitator publicly voices this support**

I was pleased when she had a little party and she introduced me to some of her old acquaintances as her best friend. I didn't really expect anybody to call me her best friend now.

She said to my mother in my presence, 'The most difficult children make the most interesting adults.' As I was struggling and fighting with my mother, I would feel this support from her that I was okay even if my mother didn't feel I was.

f. **Affirmed when the facilitator gives consistent support over an extended period**

I lived with her for years. She was total acceptance and more than that. She really looked up to me. She admired my assertiveness. She would have liked to be that way. She was a constant force. She was there if I had a hard time with somebody and needed a little extra encouragement to make a leap. I had this friendship. It was always there.

**CATEGORY #3 - INSPIRATION AND AFFIRMATION**

There were 20 relationships in this category (elicited from 12 subjects).

That kind of affirmation from the teacher contributed to the feeling that I am okay. I can do things. I'm special. I had skills. She was an old eccentric, different, strange, not like anyone I knew. I liked her. She pleased me. She was gruff--teachers had
permission to be gruff—but she recognized my abilities. She was a model that you could be different. At home there were just wives and mothers.

She supported me through my divorce which I think is remarkable for a very strong Catholic. She taught me a lot about religion, being religiose. She was religious in spirit. Her spirit transcended any particular religion. I saw her as a woman who really tried to live her spirituality. I was very vulnerable at the time, felt out of place in the world. Divorce is devastating. Thinking, 'What if ...? Is there anything I could have done?' Much was left unresolved. She gave me emotional, moral support in the benefit of her spirituality. She gave me this book of her poetry. It's another instance of her concern, care, kindness, and spirituality. A person who really tried to live by spiritual principles and that made an impression on me—a deep impression.

There was a sense of compassion I felt from her that was very different from what I had felt from other teachers. I did very well academically in that class and it had to do with her really believing in me. She responded to me as an equal, the way she responded to the class. We weren't children. There was a type of respect she gave us. She was a very dramatic person, intense. She certainly knew who she was. She had a very strong character. She got very excited about things. She was full of life and energy. I was enchanted by that. She was quite secure about who she was and she didn't care if anyone judged her for being emotional, dramatic. That impressed me that she wasn't concerned about what other people thought. She was really amazing.

CATEGORY #4 - CHALLENGE

There were 19 relationships in this category (elicited from 12 subjects).

a. Guides
She was a very prime person, a very profound influence on me. She was the one who encouraged me to go to university, encouraged me intellectually. One of my ways of getting attention as a child was through grades. I was a social washout and school was a source of achievement for me and she was one who encouraged that. My mother saw in me what she would have liked to have been. I was going to do the things that she had wanted to do. I was going to live out her fantasy and I think I had a sense of that even at the time—that she was having a certain vicarious achievement through me and so she did encourage me to go on.

She really gave me something to work toward. She said, 'You know, it takes a lifetime to develop a philosophy of life and it may vary throughout the years and that's okay, dear, take your time.' Which has had much more meaning for me as I've gotten older than it did at the time.

She really started me getting to look at my emotional life, learning how to feel, allow time and space for that.

b. Advises

She advised me not to take religious studies. 'The only thing you could do would be to teach in university with that and I don't think you really want to do that.' How she knew me, I don't know, but of course she's right. She knew that somehow and advised me to let it go. I felt she was right. I always felt she knew me.

She said, 'I think you should try this on.' I said, 'I can't wear that!' She made me try it on and I looked good in it. She thought I looked good in it and made me buy it.
She always could say what she felt about me, comment on things that I did that she didn't particularly agree with or that she thought maybe weren't good for me or for the people around me. That I could do better, she knew that I could, I didn't need to fall into those ruts or whatever--without ever making me feel rejected or even bad. She always turned me back on myself and had the effect of making me consider what I'd done because I respected her opinion so much and I was so sure that she probably knew what she was talking about.

c. **Pushes**

She pointed out to me that I was a big baby in a memorable way. When it was time for me to go home, she made me call the airline to confirm. I felt I couldn't, incapable, scared. 'They won't know who I am.' In a way I hated her and in a way I was grateful. She said, 'If you don't do it, you're not going home because I'm not doing it.' I believe I convinced her to sit there with me beside the phone while I did it. She tried to get me to be independent, rely on myself, grow up. At home everything was done for me.

d. **Questions**

She has certain expectations of me and she trusts that I can do them. She's my critic ongoing. She keeps me watching. She makes me question a lot, kind of devil's advocate. 'Is this really what you want to be doing? Do you really believe in it or are you just doing it because you're tired and you don't want to put more energy in? You know you can do much more.' So she and I fight a lot because she stimulates my thinking and makes me feel guilty as well. She presses the buttons and I want to make excuses for falling down behaviours.

e. **Confronts**

She got a hold of me and said, 'You know, you could do
anything you wanted to, but you're really not focused.' She pushed me to work harder. It was almost like a school teacher. She was an incredibly pushy lady. Nothing subtle about her and I resented it in one way, but she really made me think. She kept after me. She said, 'You don't give the impression that you know what you're doing, are on track, but you are and you could do anything you wanted to and I'd like to see you do something.' Some of it was a put-down, implied I was a dilettante. I resented it. I decided to stop being defensive and take the positive part of it and accept that and that was my first experience of trying to accept what someone said at face value.

I was piddling around with my thesis for two years. I decided I was going to move. She said, 'You'll do anything not to do your thesis.' I completed it then in four months. I've always been grateful for that. I acknowledged her in my thesis.

I was in the middle of bubbling on about how inappropriate I thought this was and how she shouldn't do it and she stopped me, fixed me with her gaze and said, 'Mom,' and I stopped and she said, 'You don't know him. I know him. It's my relationship with him and I know what I can say and what I can't.' She didn't say it in a snarky tone. She said, 'You don't understand what's going on here.' And it was as much her way of saying it that made it very clear to me that I didn't know what I was talking about, that I was thinking of her as much less capable, responsible, independent than I actually knew her to be. It was important to me. It struck me how early one can begin the process of self-actualization.

I remember calling another female a 'girl' and having one of them turn around and say, 'Goddam it, she's thirty years old. She's not a girl, she's a woman!' and me saying, 'I guess I'm going to have to start calling myself that too.' I said, 'What's the difference?' She said, 'You'll know when you know.'
She was expert at instilling guilt. I would have done something terrible. A teacher would be complaining bitterly and she'd say, 'Go to your room. I'll talk to you shortly.' So I had a waiting period. She would come in and pace back and forth telling me just how disappointed she was. I had let not only her down, the school down, the world. She wouldn't let up until the tears started dripping. She never let up until she got a reaction. She knew that she'd really struck home. She was the only person in my childhood who could make me cry. She knew the button to press which was that she had expected so much of me and I had just .... She always left on a hopeful note that I was sorry, I had shown remorse and that she knew, she had confidence that I would not repeat that.

CATEGORY #5 - INSPIRATION AND CHALLENGE (BASED ON AFFIRMATION)

There were 12 relationships in this category (elicited from 7 subjects).

She was like fresh air. She's flamboyant, fun, generous. I found her amazing. We'd go out. She wouldn't be working and she'd treat me for lunch. I was boring and miserly. It felt nice to be treated. It was incredible. It was that free-flowing go-with-the-flow is what she does; adapts easily; has fun; is very disciplined in her work. She doesn't use people but gets things turned around to her advantage. Tremendously giving. She called me for being stingy, boring. I felt I had to get a grip on myself so I started being generous, not only materially, but with my emotions. She called me on not being honest, deep enough with her. I'm not used to people confronting me. I don't handle it well. I'm shocked when it happens. She was furious with me and said, 'Look, what kind of relationship do you want? If you want to be surfacey ....' I was just goofing off. I hadn't told her something or dealt with something. 'Either we're best friends or we're not. I don't want this level of commitment. I want this level.' I was stunned, shocked that she'd be that angry and confront me so openly and honestly. It was heavy. I hadn't realized. I was asleep at the wheel regarding how I was interacting. That was a big shift in our relationship. I decided I did really want to be her
best friend and I better start giving more emotionally, being more generous. I had to make a conscious effort to invite her over. Now, years later, I like myself a lot better, I'm different. I'm generous. I do nice things for people I care about and you do get back tenfold more. I got a sense of being real, giving a lot. She gives all and wants it back and that's what being a friend is.

CATEGORY #6 - MUTUALITY

There were 27 relationships in this category (elicited from 15 subjects), 24 of which were with friends of about the same age as the subject.

a. Common interests, values, goals or life experiences

She was someone I really valued and was an awful lot like me. Sometimes I thought I was the only one like me in the whole world. She had the same need to achieve. She didn't subscribe to the going in-things—smoking and carousing, boychasing, frivolous pursuits. They seemed to be things that everyone was doing and it was really hard to find people who thought about anything, considered what they were doing, chose what they wanted and did it and felt good about it and knew they were on the right track. I recognized her very soon after we met. When she talked about what mattered to her, it wasn't the things I was used to hearing. She acted in ways that were consistent with what I thought was important. I never thought I'd find somebody like that so every day that I had her, I felt blessed.

We have the same interests. She likes to do some of the crazy things I do. She'll do anything on a dare, will pick up on the slightest notice and go with me. It's indirect, but I'm getting support for it being okay to do this. We spark each other off. She enjoys my company and I haven't been quite so much on the
same wavelength in terms of what I want to do before with someone. It's refreshing to have someone whose willing to be childlike and crazy with me. She's unconventional, got spark, dynamic, vivacious. I can say anything. To be able to phone her up and she'll drop everything. It's validating that she wants to be with me, is interested in the same things.

b. Mutual acceptance, admiration, respect or love

We led very independent lives. Our interests were very divergent. It was like a married couple. When we go together, we filled each other in. It makes for a richer relationship than if it's redundant. I always felt it was mutually rewarding .... I developed a great respect for her.

With her somehow it became alright to let go .... My favourite topic was philosophical discussion and she enjoyed it. She looked up to me. She had effective social skills. She was popular, played sports. I never did. Our friendship was probably the most important thing in her life as well. She respected it. It never took second place to anything. I liked that. I respected her.

c. A mutual involvement or intimacy

She was someone to really talk to, someone who I could bounce my ideas around with. She could follow me and she could contribute—psychic. When I wasn't quite sure where I was going, exploring, looking, living life in a reactionary way, quitting jobs, having a close woman friend who was willing to play with me that way. Whatever she was doing with her life, somehow we could do it together.

d. A shared sense of openness or disclosure
It was a sharing of all my deep secrets that I hadn't told anyone. It was reciprocal. It was an amazing time for me. It was the first time I ever let down and I learned nothing horrible happened. She's still a good friend. You can share secrets with other people and they not only understand but have similar horror stories. It felt good to talk about them, get it out. I learned to really love other people. It was okay to be that vulnerable with someone.

She was my first experience in being close to a person, emotional. We shared a lot of thoughts, ideas, philosophy, had a lot of fun together. I told her things I'd never told people before. I was fairly guarded. I trusted her a lot and I never had that proven wrong. I never felt betrayed. She initiated it. She'd say, 'Nobody else would understand the way you do,' or 'I couldn't wait to get home from work to tell you about this.'

e. A mutual empathy

When we got together we'd go, 'Hi, how's your new boyfriend?' and all that stuff and then we'd say, 'Listen, you know that poem we had in English class, what do you think he was trying to do?' 'I don't know. What do you think?' ... These two people understood the same stuff, talked the same language, allowed the same potential. We'd talk about anything. We all three jumped up at the same time and would all land at the same time. The things you explore as a teenager—secrets, fears, thoughts, fantasies, all the intellectual exercises. Having the time to share that kind of experience heightened in me the fact that I wasn't the only person who was weird that way.

f. A feeling of equality or mutual dependence
She demanded a pretty mutual relationship right from the beginning. I had put her up on a pedestal and she really wouldn't accept that. She doesn't like to be put in a position of power with her friends at all. She's extremely uncomfortable with it. She's dependent in a positive sense. She'd have a crisis with her man and be in tears and terrible pain and I would support her. That gave me a self-confidence. Here's this person I've imbued with all this stuff and she's coming to me for support. Obviously she sees something in me that maybe I haven't seen in myself. The only demand seemed to be that you were real and that was really freeing. When she was in that state the only demand was to be there for her, to be present.

A shared sense of caring, protecting or consoling

I chose to put my dog to sleep. I loved him. I got home and she called and said, 'Would you like to come over?' I didn't realize she knew what I'd done and I said no. She said, 'You don't want to be alone at a time like this,' and I started crying and said, 'I'm coming over right now.' Just that fact that she was so sensitive to my need. Then her marriage broke down. She never said anything until she told me, but I had heard her husband was out with other women. I was not going to tell her, but I told my source to make sure her husband saw him and felt guilty. We started jogging together after work. We'd do more talking than running. That did more for both of us.

We supported each other through school and work. We went out for dinner and helped each other deal with whatever happened that day. We tried to support each other in not giving in to the pressure to do work that was too heavy for us.

A sense of stability or security
It was the first time I felt myself—not someone's daughter or sister—and that I was able to have such good friends. There was always so much love. I've always felt loved and cared for. I have a definite belief, assumption about that. I don't ever feel alone in the world, uncared for. It frees me up to rely on other people.

i. A shared sense of playfulness, joy, pleasure or spontaneity

She had a T-shirt which had written over the left breast, 'So many men'. I thought, 'That's weird', but she seemed like a real pleasant person. She opened the back of the car. The back of the T-shirt said, 'so little time'. It was a really nice experience. I sat and chuckled. When we met each other, I couldn't stop laughing. I said, 'I watched you today. I feel like I know you even though I don't.' The T-shirt represents her joy in life—so many friends, so little time. It typifies her relationship to life. We share a sense of humour. To me humour is a very important part of being able to manage life because there's a lot that's very tragic and sad.

j. A sharing of the growth experience

We're sharing similar experiences. It's knowing you're in the same boat. She's become more introspective and self-disclosing. I can't relate to people unless they are. We've meshed. Both of us have changed together.

I always knew that it was for me that she did that, that she was always thinking of, pulling me ahead and knowing that if I kept growing and maturing and actualizing and changing, that she would too and that she valued that interaction. A very active kind of exchange. We have continued to change and grow in the
same directions and ways—philosophically similar. The things that really matter to me—her ways of dealing with people, her views on life—have evolved remarkably parallel with mine and I don't understand why. So obviously there's something very basic in common and that's extremely important continuing validation. I really admire her. Her values have drawn closer to mine as she grows older.

k. A feeling of non-competitiveness

If I say I'm doing something, she never flickers an eyelash, but says, 'Great!' She never pulls me down. I never think she experiences jealousy.

l. An acceptance of conflict

We would have terrible fights and not speak to each other for weeks and resolve things. We know each other more because we've been through that stuff together. When we were trying to sort out our relationship, we had lots of downright 'I hate you' fights. I didn't like her man. She still says things to me, that she doesn't like what I'm doing, but it's not as earthshaking if she doesn't approve of a decision I make.

m. Endurance over time

We knew each other's families. There is a level of understanding that isn't there with newer friends. We knew what each other was like back then. To get validation from someone who doesn't know you just right now. That's reassuring.
Our lives have been very different. We've known each other forty-one years. Yet when we get together, it's like we'd never been apart—a bond. She had scarlet fever and was quarantined. I gave her all my comic books—fifty—knowing they would have to be burned, but that she had to lie in bed for a long time. That was a great sacrifice at eight years old. We have supported each other through so many things.

Almost half of the subjects in this study identified the quality of their relationships as an indicator of their self-actualization. They described quality in terms that corresponded to those that describe these mutual relationships, (i.e., being cared for and caring for; love; intimacy; being involved with others; steadfastness; loyalty; accepting each other unconditionally; not competing; being myself with friends). Hence, this sixth category of mutual relationships as facilitators suggests that the means of self-actualizing and the end (self-actualization) may be the same, or at least inextricably interrelated.

The interviewer observed evidence of Mutuality in the manner in which the subjects responded to her reflections and probes. To varying degrees, they were willing to participate with her in mutual exploration of their relationships and their significance. This observation supports the notion that Mutuality may be not only a dimension of facilitative relationships, but that it is an aspect of being self-actualized.

Although this type of study does not reveal the relative importance of the six facilitating categories, relationships in this sixth category were described with a richness of detail and
an enthusiasm that suggested their special significance for self-actualization.

Our friendship was probably the most important thing in her life as well. She respected it. It never took second place to anything. I liked that. I respected her. It taught me that friendship with a woman is very special, very important. A lot of respect for other women. A wanting that kind of connection with other women. It's too easy when a man comes into the picture for the connection between women to dissolve, at least temporarily. It taught me that I like that strong connection and that I have a right to expect it, and I do and I have developed a few of those friendships in my life as a result of that. That's really neat. Relationships with women contribute to a very different sense of self-image, a different part of us.

This special significance is consistent with Buber's (1965) concept of the 'I--Thou' relationship as the fullest expression of humanness:

For the inmost growth of the self is not accomplished, as people like to suppose today, in man's relationship to himself, but in the relationship between the one and the other, between men, that is, pre-eminently in the mutuality of the making present--in the making present of another self and in the knowledge that one is made present in his own self by the other--together with the mutuality of acceptance, affirmation and confirmation. (p. 71)

The emergence of this sixth category is also consistent with Gilligan (1982) who observed that women's values are based in relationships and community, and regarded the ethic of care as more highly evolved than the individual achievement ethic that characterizes patriarchal western society.

These six categories form a continuum of subject-facilitator involvement from distant to close. In Inspiration, the subject observes the facilitator. In Affirmation, the
facilitator approaches the subject. In Challenge, the facilitator directs the subject. Finally, in Mutuality, the subject and facilitator become interchangeable participants.

In light of this observation, and since Inspiration and Affirmation are subsumed by Challenge, and Mutuality optionally subsumes all the other categories, it seems that the categories are interrelated. There may be a developmental progression or evolution from Inspiration and Affirmation through Challenge to Mutuality. In Mutuality, the means merge with the end, signifying the final stage in the progression.

One important variable that is not incorporated into the categorization scheme is intensity. An Inspirational relationship experience might be more intense, or salient than any other relationship experience for a particular individual. Therefore intensity would increase the impact (positive or negative) of the relationship but it would not make an Inspirational relationship the equal of a Mutual relationship in their facilitative effects. That is, intensity would not make these two categories equivalent.

C. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MODELS

Many of the 17 subjects were inspired by models who they perceived to be more actualized than themselves in some aspect.

Since the subjects are female and in a helping profession, it is interesting to examine the extent to which their models embody the nurturing qualities traditionally associated with women. Some models (about 20%) did reveal these qualities. The following exemplify some of the "feminine" descriptors from the
Bem Sex-Role Inventory (1974):

Warm

A grandmother who "was able in a really relaxed way to have lots of friends. I saw lots of women friends coming over. She had a large Victorian house, rambling, chaotic, very comfortable. There were lots of people coming through .... She was very tolerant. Her kids all seemed to come back. There was a lot of coming and going. They really liked to be around her because she was very easy going. They would be welcomed. She would make noodles".

Sensitive to the needs of others

A friend who "does a lot of things with her husband to keep a common bond going between them as they grow older. She actually gives in, puts out energy, has learned how to give in a relationship in order to maintain a common interest".

Understanding

Another grandmother whose "understanding and acceptance of my parents' separation, given her feelings about marriage and what she had gone through," inspired the subject. "It flew in the face of some of her deepest values and she still could accept them and love them both and did and accepted them into her home."

Compassionate

A mother who "really had a hard time that I was going to marry this person she didn't feel was the right person. She was upset. I said 'I'm doing it anyway', and when she realized that, she just let go of it; she was just really loving. She always cared about him. She just opened her heart up. When we divorced, it was, 'How sad for the two of you!' None of this, 'I told you so! He was a jerk! How could he do this to you?' That was her character. She still receives him in her home."

Other models (about 50%) who inspired these subjects more
clearly embodied the competency traits traditionally associated with men. Again, applying Bem's (1974) descriptors, some examples follow:

Self-reliant

A grandmother who "had a value system which meant that she would endure partly and make the best of it, live up to her vows. That was very important to her. She had loved this man and it was up to her to do her job and have a good life and that's what she did."

A mother-in-law "who's dealt with losing her vision. I've been filled with admiration and respect. It's a horrible thing for her. I've been influenced by her ability to put that into perspective. She flew across the country with two different shoes because she hadn't seen the difference. You could see the expressions go across her face of embarrassment, loss, anger at her own stupidity, anger at circumstances, momentary hurt that everyone was laughing, and then grasping that they thought she had done it for a joke, not laughing at her disability. It all whizzed by on her face, and then she grinned and said, 'Well, I needed a new pair of shoes and you were taking me shopping anyway.' her ability to just flip that one over when she could have wallowed in it and it would have stopped her from the very process that I believe self-actualization is. It was a good cause for being depressed, hurt, angry, and she refused to let it do that."

A daughter with a facial deformity who told her mother that "the boys put my coat down the sewer, and when I went down to get it, they put the lid on it. I knew if I tried to get out, I'd just get frustrated and they'd never let me out. I just sat in there and started singing because I remembered you telling me that if you looked like you were having a lot of fun, people would want to be with you. And pretty soon they opened the lid to see what I was doing and I ignored them. I didn't pay any attention. I went on singing and they went away."

A friend who "really tried to live by spiritual principles. It wasn't easy. She fought her personal
battles over her own weaknesses. She had to fight part of her own nature to be what she was. She had to exert self-discipline; she had to subjugate part of herself."

A mother who "went through radium therapy. Talk about loss of self-respect, feeling of self-worth, ability to cope. It was St. Patrick's Day and she took a shamrock and taped it to the base of her spine. So when the X-ray came out for the medical staff .... She's very Christian. Her belief and her humour saved her. It gave me a realization about the healing of yourself with yourself."

Self-sufficient

A mother who "had a law degree and then went into nursing and then teaching. She retrained three times when obstacles required it. When she had to work, she worked as a chambermaid, cleaned toilets. That was fine. Work is work. You do it when you have to and then you try for something better."

Willing to take a stand

A mother who "wasn't about to be absolutely obedient to a husband who was not supporting her children. She had the strength to say, 'No, this is going to kill me if I stay in,' and she finally separated. I see strength in her getting through what she went through in an intact kind of way. When they fled, she was eighteen, with a new infant, and bombs were dropping and she was terrified. They would hit the ditches. She'd put me down and my sister, age two, on top of me and she would lie on top of us. She was bound and determined that if we got hit, there weren't going to be any children left to starve or with nobody to look after them. That kind of strength in women; not women who've had it easy, but women who've had to really pitch in physically just to keep alive. And then with emotional, psychological, spiritual strength to keep the whole thing from falling apart, to keep the family unit intact although everything's wiped out."

Independent
A grandmother who "recognized she would be unable to continue keeping a home on her own, looked at her financial capabilities and recognized that the town where she grew up didn't have a nursing home. So she donated money to have one built to her specifications, and which room would be hers. When the home was built, she moved back into it, and to her dying day, I'm sure she felt she ran the place. I'm sure she drove the staff crazy. It was her identifying, 'If I can't be in my own home, I will create a circumstance that will be right for me.' I loved the way she made decisions and followed through on them at an age when my perception was she should have been taken care of."

Ambitious

A fourteen year old daughter who "always does things on her own; gets the catalogues and decides what courses she's taking, plans for the next three years, does what she wants, sets out what she's going to do."

Individualistic

A friend who "does not care what anybody else does. Right now she is living by herself in a cabin in the middle of the Arkansas hills. She keeps a shotgun and a four-wheel drive truck and is a singer with three albums. She was just like that in high school, and I thought, 'My God, what is this?' when I first met her because she didn't fit any stereotype. She fascinated me."

A piano teacher who "was an old eccentric; different, strange, not like anyone I knew; gruff--teachers had permission to be gruff. She was a model that you could be different."

Strong personality

A grade six teacher who "was a very dramatic person, intense. She certainly knew who she was. She had a very strong character. She got very excited about things. She was full of life and energy. She may have overwhelmed some kids. I was enchanted by that. Usually teachers were low-key, motherly. She was quite a different type of woman. She was quite secure
about who she was and she didn't care if anyone judged
her for being emotional, dramatic. That impressed
me—that she wasn't concerned about what other people
thought."

Makes decisions easily

An older sister who "was able to utilize a lot of
different sides of herself. I was impressed that she
could move into different careers. She didn't feel
limited or have to stick to one thing, not make
choices or changes. It was a realization of not being
locked in. You could take one thing and then do
something else. You didn't have to tie yourself
down."

A friend who "managed to made a choice that astounded
me. She was able to make decisions much faster and
know who she was and what she was good at. Having a
very accurate idea of what your capabilities are and
being able to recognize it and match it up. I was
fascinated by that."

A grandmother: "Realizing a woman can do a bit of
everything comes from her. She was very talented
artistically and did things like taking up wheel
throwing in her eighties. So I had a sense you could
not only do pretty well what you put your mind to, but
it doesn't really matter how old you are. There's no
limit. If it seemed neat, she would just give it a
whirl."

A college friend who "met somebody and decided that
she was going to lose her virginity. It was a
calculated decision on her part, and also that she did
care about him. I'll always remember that I was
impressed that she decided that she was going to
accept her choice. Just the way she dealt with it; it
wasn't just, 'It's going to happen.'"

Analytical

An aunt who is "well-educated, knows what's going on
in the world."
A friend who "knew her way around things. She knew the ropes, she was smart. She had a worldliness, a cocky way of walking."

"She was so bright, natural, easy. She knew so much. She was a lady professor."

A friend who "lives her life. She's intellectually very sound; love of learning; very political; literary background."

A friend who "could contribute ideas. She had some knowledge. She had the education and I didn't. Somebody who was really thinking and bright and using her abilities."

**Forceful**

"She was an anthropologist. She was steel grey-haired, late sixties, Jewish, marvellously centered, funny, strong, intelligent, bright. She lectured to four or five hundred of us. She was very powerful."

**Assertive**

A friend who "was a very colourful character, not a typical social worker. She stood up and talked and argued to the male doctors."

**Aggressive**

A friend who "was a very special woman. She was so bold. She stood up. She'd thrown out her third husband. She was all bedecked and coordinated and gorgeous and driving a very expensive Volvo, and we went into a parking lot and you couldn't park there, and she said to the guy, 'It's miserable weather, I'm depressed and I'll damn well park where I want to park,' and she took off. She got away with that."
Defends own beliefs

A friend who has that haughty (I don't know whether it's European or just actualized woman) ... They get away with it. She's tiny and she stands up to her tall, arrogant, bossy, noisy, intellectual husband and they have these incredible sparring matches."

Other models (about 30%) reflected a blend of competency and nurturance traits, or they defied this dichotomy:

A daughter in hospital after surgery: "The woman in the double room with her fell out of bed. Both were hooked up to intravenous units. She got out of bed and helped this woman up and leaned on the buzzer till the nurses came. How selfless of her! How marvellous of her to do something like that; to be so outside of herself that she could help somebody!"

A college president who "expanded the concept of going to school as part of a commitment to humanity. That really impressed me, made me start to see myself in relation to others."

A grandmother in her eighties: "I wanted her to hold my daughter, and she said no, she was afraid she'd drop her. I couldn't believe it. She was so competent, had raised her own family; but she recognized her limitations, had respect rather than demanding having the baby."

A supervisor whose "faith was really evident in how she lived, how she dealt with staff, clients, their families. Residential programs are emotionally demanding, heavy-duty. She would float through these things. She'd know people can take care of themselves. You do what you can. She dealt with incredible situations, emotionally draining things."

A friend who "left her marriage because there was someone else. Just knowing her and her personality: it was huge for her. She wants everyone to be okay, and yet not to that degree that you lose yourself. I value that - not to make it nice for everybody--it's
your own life. She pulled her life together and brought her son back to live with her. Making tough decisions. Facing things and doing them. Not making anyone out to be bad. She talks about her ex-husband with respect and admiration."

There were a number of striking women who were very important to me. They pulled together to make the program work; were dedicated to it; gave their time and energy in a way that's hard to do with other commitments. To set aside as much time as they did specifically to work with me - they couldn't have done that unless they felt a committment to me personally and believed I could do the the job they they hired me to do.

A grade four teacher who "provided a role model of nurturance, and yet of someone who was right and knew things."

A mother figure who's "always interested in me in terms of what are young people thinking of these days. Exchanging ideas, thinking, examining, curiosity that she nurtures when I'm with her. She really wants to know what I'm thinking and she's a person who's continued to think."

A woman "in her eighties who has a sense of humour, a faith in things unfolding. She does that with her own death that she's getting close to. It's a moving on to the next. She's so joyful. That ultimately there's something in what happens that I need and that will actually be better for me in the long run. Pleasure in people. Not judging anybody. Being naturally curious about how things are like they are."

An older woman who "had come from concentration camp. She had a rotten bastard of a husband. She lived till the last second of her life. She loved having fun. She was like a kid. I never knew adults to show that side. She'd make a party, laugh, dance and be happy. An irrepressible thing."
An aunt who had "a firm belief in life, an appreciation of things, not having to make things happen. Accepting. She still enjoys herself and is still involved in her life in her eighties. She still travels and does things and experiences things. Still learning."

Judging from their models, these career women aspired to assert themselves and to achieve without, however, denying their feelings for others. This interpretation is consistent with Spence and Helmreich (1978) who found that women Phd. scientists, particularly a sample of highly achieving social psychologists, were overrepresented in the Masculine and Androgynous categories and underrepresented in the Feminine category of their Personal Attributes Questionnaire (Spence, Helmreich & Stapp, 1974).

Bakan (1966) proposed "agency" (a sense of self manifested in self-assertion, self-protection and self-expansion) and "communion" (implying selflessness, a concern with others and a desire to be at one with other organisms) as coexisting principles that characterize all living organisms to some degree, rather than as bipolar opposites (as has been the traditional conception of masculinity and femininity). The traditional conception, then, is a false dichotomy. Bakan maintained that these fundamental modes of existence must be balanced if the individual was to survive.

Block (1973) theorized that at Loevinger's (1966) Autonomous stage of ego development (in which the self-concept becomes more clearly articulated and attempts are made to integrate the conflicting aspects of self), the individual
becomes aware of values and predispositions that depart from traditional sex-role expectations and must reconcile these contradictory elements. At the highest Integrated stage, men's and women's sex-role identities include an integration of both masculine and feminine, that is, agentic and communal traits and values; their sex-role definitions are androgynous. Block's theory implies that individuals who fail to develop or to integrate successfully into their sense of self both agentic and communal attributes will not reach the highest stage of ego development.

Hence, the value these women assign to both agency or competency and communion or nurturance seems consistent with their being self-actualizing.

D. HINDERING RELATIONSHIPS

The 17 subjects described only 35 relationships that had hindered or detracted from their self-actualizing processes. This is an inadequate number from which to derive reliable categories. However the following is a brief description of the four themes that emerged:

1. DISILLUSIONMENT. The subject felt repelled by a negative model or disillusioned when a negative aspect of a facilitator was revealed.

The negative models were mothers and aunts with whom the subjects had involuntary relationships:

She didn't have the confidence. She was insecure in terms of her expression.
I saw her as pretty passive. She was in the background, subordinate, submissive. I didn't have much respect for her.

There was a dissatisfaction there and yet these same women encouraged their daughters to get married.

She's the black sheep of the family. She couldn't stick with anything and she's probably an alcoholic.

In the same vein, the subjects were disillusioned by the behaviour of peers with whom they had had intense relationships.

I couldn't understand what she saw in the man she married.

I treasured the relationship as the most neat friendship in the world, heard it reciprocated, and then found out later that I was being used.

I was very intense with her for a short period of time, very intimate. She allowed the man I was involved with to seduce her. I don't forgive her personal betrayal. There was no respect for me. The event shattered me, did something fundamental to me, changed something in my head, rocked me. I got boundaries. I started to separate. I stopped trying to merge. I celebrated my differentness.

Some of these negative models may have stimulated the subjects to avoid emulating them by choosing different ways of being, and, hence, could be regarded as indirectly facilitative.

2. REJECTION. The subject felt unsupported, criticized or rejected by an authority figure or another admired person.
Not wanting to deal with my problems.

She hindered my academic career; she cut off funds.

She didn't want to hear anything negative about what was going on.

We never discussed anything that had any feeling content.

I got sick and she never came to visit.

I felt pressure from her to be different. I end up feeling I'm not doing it right. I'm not good enough for her.

Criticized

I'll never forget the harsh sternness and critical overbearing nature of that woman.

Her conveying for many years her disappointment, that I could have done a lot better than I had.

She'll put me down in little ways.

There was a lot of jealousy on her part of me moving on. Lots was fine until I got a man that was important and then she started having all kinds of problems with me. It was like when I got my first boyfriend at home. I had never had a fight with my
mother till then. It was the first disagreement, clash. My mother was my best friend till then at seventeen when I started resisting her.

I felt I wasn't good enough the way I was, yet this woman kept wanting to be my friend, and I knew it was bad for me. I was depressed, frustrated, confused. I couldn't get rid of her. I wasn't listened to. I would end up feeling manipulated. She said I wouldn't give enough. I ended up feeling I had no comprehension of what real friendship was. I couldn't live up to her expectations. I felt really regressed, less sure of myself, less able to have friends, that there was something the matter with me. I'm still mad because I feel duped, deceived, manipulated. I blame her that it didn't work. I suffered a loss of identity. My center was gone.

Rejected

I'm sorry I didn't have a mother who really wanted me—that would have been nice.

She became more friends with an older girl eventually and that hurt me.

Another woman became more special to her.

She was close and ended up my arch enemy. She was more experienced than me. She got a boyfriend and I got sick and went to the hospital. She never came to visit. Then a friend told me her boyfriend had moved into my room. I was devastated.

I still feel a sense of loss over our parting of the ways. She got into men earlier than I did. They took over her life and there was no room left for anyone who wasn't into the same space.
3. DEPENDENCE. The subject felt controlled by someone or powerless in a relationship.

She would be needy and I would nurture her. I would get wiped out after a while, at which point she would start nurturing me, but she would also get critical when I was vulnerable. I wouldn't be able to see that I would feel worse because of this criticism when I was uncertain and looking for support. I also saw her as having it more together, being stronger. She would make judgments about me that made me feel incompetent, underdeveloped. I couldn't see that was happening. She was controlling, so I stayed needy. I wouldn't see her and then feel guilty and call and the same thing would happen all over again. It was strange, very intense, more than I'd had except with a man. I wasn't used to opening up with people, so I didn't know what didn't feel right. The feeling of closeness and intensity was so addictive. It didn't matter so much whether I felt good or bad. I felt more real when I felt pain.

It caused her and me a lot of problems when I moved away. I felt I was betraying her. I merged into a lot of her ways. As I got everything so I was nice and full and round and complete, and then started to stick my own neck out there, she resisted having to separate. She liked having me under her tutelage. We would clash. I was always tied to her. I felt guilt. She's the only one I'm not assertive with. I'm a different person when I'm around her. She's quite powerful emotionally. Inside I'm mincing my words, a little bit tiptoeing around. I don't even do that with my mother. It changed from mentor to mother and that was the bad part and I hold her responsible. She should have known.

4. COMPETITION. The subject compared herself with someone and felt unsure of herself.

These relationships were usually with older sisters. Some subjects saw competition as detracting from their self-confidence, and yet as stimulating them to achieve:

She could do things so well. I felt limited in that I could never do anything as well as she could and so easily. So I had to find out what could I do and I
wanted to feel different.

Other competitive relationships with sisters had become increasingly toxic and frustrating for the subject over the years.

She sees me as she did when I was eight - as difficult, emotional; a person who isn't relaxed. I'm disappointed in her because I adored her for years and followed her around and idolized her and then she got involved with this man who I thought was an asshole.

The first three themes are consistent with Caplan's (1981) barriers between women: the first with devaluation of women, and the second and third with perceptions of women as nurturers leading to unrealistic expectations of nurturance from women friends and rage when these are disappointed. The last theme, competition, recalls Kennedy's (1976) reference to "horizontal hostility":

It's women's sense of their own lack of worth that makes sibling rivalry and horizontal hostility so easy. If you have a sense of your own worthlessness, then somebody else from your class ... is clearly not to be looked up to. (p. 87)

E. RELATIONSHIPS WITH MOTHERS

Almost all of the subjects described their relationships with their mothers as having impacted on their self-actualization. These bonds seemed to be strong and enduring. For example:

I didn't separate until my mid-thirties after my divorce when I realized I loved my family. I'd been a pig and hadn't recognized a lot of positive things
they'd done for me. She got operated on for cancer. I was violently ill. I was so close to her. I didn't want anything to happen, so I would take away some of the pain. At my wedding she started having skin cancer growths on her arm. She was so upset at what I was getting into.

She didn't want me to leave home. It was very important to her that I be there, and that wasn't what I wanted, and I knew I hurt her very much when I left.

That umbilical cord is strong. My mother at seventy-three can get me going with one chord in her voice over one missed post.

Six women described their relationships with their mothers as facilitative, 6 as hindering, and 11 as both facilitative and hindering. One of the themes that was mentioned by several subjects was that of feeling special in their relationships with their mothers.

I'm the baby of the family. I was very spoiled. I had a very easy childhood - overloved, overprotected. My mother had two boys ahead of me who died at birth. They told her she could never have another child. I really feel I was a very loved, desired child and probably spoiled rotten. She would hold me and say, 'You're my little ray of sunshine!' When I came home from university, she would always make me feel so important - there would be the smell of soup and she'd have cream puffs from the bakery that I loved.

I've always felt very special with her, ever since I was a kid. I remember that she used to be the one who'd take me to special events. The other times someone else would look after me, but she would come in for special occasions. A feeling of being special around her. I remember it very vividly - she brought me a fur hat, dressed me up like her doll. We'd go out for the day and have tortes, chocolate, tea. I was little. I was very special.
This feeling may be a result of the mother's efforts to prepare and encourage her daughter to achieve, as Margaret Mead (1972) understood it in her autobiography:

In school I always felt that I was special and different, set apart in a way that could not be attributed to any gift I had, but only to my background--to the education given me by my grandmother and to the explicit academic interests of my parents. I felt that I had to work hard to become part of the life around me. But at the same time I searched for a greater intensity than the world around me offered and speculated about a career. At different times I wanted to become a lawyer, a nun, a writer, or a minister's wife with six children. Looking to my grandmother and my mother for models, I expected to be both a professional woman and a wife and mother. (p. 85-86)

Farber (1984) has identified feeling special as characteristic of mental health professionals, (i.e., these subjects). He noted that they tend to have backgrounds that lead them to experience a special sense of isolation and heightened awareness of inner events. Often they report notable incidents in their childhoods that make them feel different, which then motivates them to pursue mental health careers. He also pointed out that the evolution of introspective capacities during childhood facilitates entry into the field and is itself reinforced by performing psychodynamically oriented psychotherapy. The practice of psychotherapy serves to reactivate early experiences, memories and emotions continually, feelings that may help sustain therapists' curiosity and involvement in their own problems. He concluded that the difficulties and rewards that stem from sensitivity, introspection and psychological mindedness are embedded in the
whole fabric of the therapists' lives.

This perspective on the subjects as psychologists provides a context for understanding this sense of specialness and the importance they attribute to the psychological impact on them of their relationships with their mothers.

Feeling special was seen as facilitative in the following examples:

These stories (of her mother's heroism on her behalf) are important in terms of keeping that spark of 'I'm special' alive. I've learned to take a hold of that sense of difference and turn it into something special, rather than letting it suck me down and destroy me. There came a time when I was very different and that spark of 'I'm special' was very necessary to survive being different, because that's not a nice feeling. Using it for, rather than against myself. That kind of fight adds to my courage. I learned to be courageous by doing what I had to do.

She told me she boiled my diapers and sent my younger brother's out. I definitely got the message from a very early age that they always wanted a girl and prayed for a girl and got me. Maybe that's where I get all my nerve.

The subject cited above then revealed some ambivalence about feeling special.

I was treated special. In my (extended) family girls were special, precious, fragile, needed to be taken care of. A two-edged sword: special but put-down because they need all these special things.

For others, specialness implied expectations that were facilitative:

I felt that I was somebody special. That had a funny effect on the other side because you expect to be treated specially in some ways, but you also feel you
should do certain things. I was the oldest. A lot of expectations were put on me in a way that involved trust - 'You're going to make it,' - so not a push.

My mother always had a feeling she was someone special and came from a special family. So I heard a lot about her family. The message I received was, 'If you really want to do something, you can do it. You're capable and you can do it - whatever it is you want to do.' I had feelings that I am capable of doing a lot more than what I'm doing. In that sense, (her feeling of) specialness would apply to me.

Lipman-Blumen and Leavitt (1976) have identified vicarious achievement patterns as characteristic of women who are not socialized to direct mastery of their environments, and who therefore project the fulfillment of their own achievement needs onto the accomplishments of an individual with whom they have established strong affiliative bonds, in these cases their daughters. Although Lipman-Blumen and Leavitt applied this concept to women's relationships with their husbands, these subjects' mothers perhaps reflected their awareness of the expanding opportunities for women in their involvement with their daughters in this pattern.

She was suppressed, not encouraged or allowed to follow the kind of energy or ability she had, so there was a lot of encouragement, pretty constant support. Mother's belief that I could do anything.

She encouraged me in terms of some things I seemed to be interested in doing like playing the piano. Playing piano was one of the things she would have liked to have done.

She really wanted me to stick with natural sciences and be a doctor. What she says now is if she had it
to do over again, she would have done math and sciences.

Although these maternal expectations were considered by the subjects as ultimately facilitative, some women also revealed tendencies to "mother blaming" (Percival, 1983), perhaps as a result of their familiarity with psychodynamic literature.

My mother saw in me what she would have liked to have been - I was going to do the things that she had wanted to do. I was going to live out her fantasy. I think I had a sense of that even at the time - that she was having a certain vicarious achievement through me and so she did encourage me to go on. Her dream was being an academic. She got married instead of going to school. She once had a scholarship to study at the Sorbonne and she could have done it too. I'm glad I was able to complete my education and get something which is more than she did. I toyed with being a doctor, but I chickened out; I talked myself out of it. I said, 'I'm just going to get married and have kids'.

She decided her girls weren't going to be as badly off as she was. If they ran into trouble, they would be a lot stronger, would be prepared. We talked about it in the last ten years. She said maybe she had overdone it in toughening us up, not giving us enough softness, gentleness. She would demand we do certain things like going on the bus by ourselves to our grandmother's. She was teaching us to be independent, self-reliant. What I wasn't given was the ability to nurture myself, to temper that goal-setting with softness.

Other daughters experienced their mother's expectations as more hindering than facilitative:

She had high expectations for me. I'm not really quite sure what they were. I don't know what she expected me to be. I was supposed to be a model of some kind. I wasn't supposed to do the wrong things. It was like setting a mold for me to fit into. You must get external permission before you do something. That's been hindering for me.
My mother's hopes for me were really unrealistic. She used to talk about me being a concert pianist and I was really a klutz at the piano. I think the expectations were too high. I was so nervous. I had to overcome all that before getting down to what can I really do - not fantasizing like me mother.

I was expected to make excellent grades in school and be neat and tidy and stay out of the way. I was not allowed to have any weaknesses, flaws, or concerns or worries - I was to be perfect.

She was manipulative, hidden, discouraging independence, not letting me develop a separate identity, so I leapt from their bed to the marriage bed. It took me so long to get past it. I resent that. It resulted in a dilettantish approach to career because I didn't feel good about myself.

Even more hindering seemed to be the subjects' experiences of failing to meet their mothers' expectations:

I know she's seen me as not a success. Her conveying for many years her disappointment, that I could have done a lot better than I did.

Constant put-downs. I couldn't do anything, I couldn't think, I couldn't be, I was ugly, I was detestable.

When I would complain about something, she'd say, 'You're too sensitive!' What really hurt me was when she said, 'You're fat, sloppy and lazy just like your aunt,' (Her sister) and I knew it was unfair. Whenever I asked for something she would say, 'Don't be greedy!' It didn't happen often because I'm the kind of person who quickly quits asking. That's been a real handicap for me in my life.
Incredible disapproval. Making sure you did the right thing. She bragged about me to the world and to me she disapproved of most of what I did. Very perfectionistic.

The data collected in this study relating to mother-daughter bonds reflect an ambivalence on the part of the self-actualizing daughter that is consistent with Caplan (1981) who has suggested that the mother's similarity to the daughter gives rise to a double bind for the daughter because her desire to emulate her mother coexists with a desire to avoid mother's devalued and constricted social role.

F. SELF-ACTUALIZATION WITHOUT HOMOSOCIALITY

The study was framed in such a way as to focus on women's facilitative and hindering experiences in their relationships with other women. Other significant experiences were not directly addressed by the researcher. However, in spite of the framework provided, 6 of the 23 subjects said that relationships with women had not facilitated their self-actualizing processes. Instead, they attributed it to their relationships with men, their spirituality, or their own independent efforts.

These women responded to the interview questions by describing their failed relationships with other women, which they considered either hindering or irrelevant to their self-actualization. They described their self-actualizing processes as:

I've felt more self-actualized when I was working and being involved with other people. Being involved in a large project, directing it all. That has some meaning.
Thinking of where I am in my own growth and understanding of myself. How much more am I able to accept my potentials and deficiencies, rather than denying it? And what do I do once I have insight into them? I have choices. I can leave them be or change them. That's the way I see myself growing as a person.

Feeling good about what I'm doing and confident.

Learning and focussing on what I can do, what nourishes me.

Being in control of your own life and trying to develop your interests. To me, self-actualization means independence, learning not to rely on other people very much because... they would just stand in your way. Using my abilities, my brains.

Thus, they seemed to conceptualize their processes, like Maslow (1954), as self-directed. (One of the women said that self-actualization is a spiritual concept. "We're not aware of our potential.")

Their experience is documented in the form of brief person-centered case studies that reveal their diversity, rather than in the relationship-centered form applied to the more extensive and consistent categorized data provided by the other 17 subjects. The six women are assigned fictitious names in order to assist the reader in distinguishing them from one another.

Patricia

I can't say that I had anybody over the years who has been particularly encouraging or facilitating in that regard. I've had men be more that way. Women in
general have not.

Patricia's parents valued education highly and she felt the pressure of being compared with her older brother in terms of academic achievement. Her mother and her grandmother had encouraged her intellectual development, but her mother had competed with her at university and was emotionally closer to her brother. "I grew up somewhat mistrustful of women and expecting competition as a result of not having a great relationship with her. It has coloured my interpretations of situations I've been in. I'm distrustful of women in a working situation. I've always been competitive as a result of my relationship with her." This woman has always sought high-profile jobs and found her colleagues to be competitive, unhelpful, heavy-handed, egocentric, untrustworthy. She described one as "more forceful than a lot of the men".

She described one supportive friend who became competitive when she was surpassed. She was discouraged: "I hated to lose a friend I was fond of."

Mary

I can only think of one woman that's helped me. If you'd asked me about men, now that would have been a different story. It makes me think, what kind of relationships do I have with women because I have a lot of good female friends.

Mary described a critical domineering grandmother who terrified her. She perceived her mother as subtly controlling and punishing with her and as providing ambiguous expectations. She feels she failed and disappointed her mother because she
didn't fulfill the traditional female role. Her mother punished her for her childhood temper tantrums and approved only of her caregiving to her sickly brother. She compared her fearful mother contemptuously to her aunt who trusted her son with more freedom than Mary was given. Like Patricia, Mary felt compared with her brother in terms of academic achievement, which had a devastating impact on her. She said bitterly, "I'm scratching my head for the women who should have helped me accept my past".

She described three adult experience with women. First, a female doctor who was authoritarian and upset with her disobedience. Second, a friend who had modeled and encouraged abstract thinking, intellectual growth and independence a few years ago, but who she was concerned would have difficulty relating to her now. Finally, she had two cousins who accepted and confirmed her ideas to a certain point, but who she believed would be critical of some of her behaviour, if she were to disclose it.

Elaine

There were obviously people along the way somewhere who helped me, but I must admit I can't think of very many women and I can't think of very many men for that matter either, except that I would have to attribute a lot to my husband and to one male instructor who really believed in me and that I could do something really great and I accomplished because of a better self-image and a feeling that I was capable of more than even I thought I was. He asked me to do things for him, encouraged me.

Elaine's mother felt she came from a special family and had fantasies and ambitions that she never accomplished. Nevertheless she encouraged her daughter to marry rather than
going to university. The subject mistrusted the messages: "I think she felt she had to tell us we should be home because I think she definitely did not feel satisfied or content". She distanced herself from her mother: "There was no way I would ever want to model my life after her because I didn't think her life was particularly good". She then said, "I can think of many, many women that I told myself I wouldn't want to be like" (women without careers outside the home).

She described childhood competition with a female cousin in terms of academic achievement and her feeling of aversion for this woman as an adult. Religious faith was an important element for this woman and she said that part of her self-actualizing process was to tell herself she didn't have to compete with anyone. She struggled and overcame feelings of disappointment about her oldest daughter not meeting Elaine's expectations for her.

She described a female professor who was understanding and encouraging, noting that "those things are helpful, but they don't make any difference to my goals". She spoke of two relationships with female colleagues characterized by mutual sharing, understanding, intimacy, honesty, rapport, similarity and freedom to disclose, and she commented tentatively that "there's probably some growth as a result". One of these relationships she sees as "a choice we make at that point", threatened with dissolution at one time by the envy of the colleague.

Frances
There were very few women in my life that really had any influence on me except my mother.

Frances considered self-actualizing to be a spiritual experience. She described her mother and herself as loving, tolerant, accepting, and giving. However she said she has a high internal locus of control and recounts hurting her mother very much by leaving home because that (home) wasn't what she wanted for herself. As a girl she said, she identified with men because she was more intellectual and she had girlfriends with whom she had that (identification) in common. "We were the power group." She noted however that these girlfriends didn't influence her.

The one other woman who facilitated her self-actualization was a spiritual leader who included her in stimulating group discussions and who modeled a love of humanity, a relaxed manner, uniqueness, subtle leadership and an absence of anger. "I set her up on a pedestal and tried to follow her example in many ways. She was further developed spiritually than any other person I knew. I knew she loved not just me but everybody. I had the privilege of knowing her for a short time."

Marnie

I have women friends of course and they're very dear to me, but they're not self-actualized."

Marnie described only her relationship with her mother who never actualized herself, but who delighted in her daughter's success. The subject attributed her own self-actualization to her therapy (with a male therapist) to overcome her mother's
way. She said with some contempt that she had more nerve and determination than her mother did: "I've wanted her to do it because it's such a neat thing to do, but she won't. She doesn't have any sense that you can actually do what you want to do." Although she received praise and support from her mother, she blamed her for her unrealistically high expectations of her daughter which made Marnie nervous and took fifteen years to overcome, because she "was not given a model for getting what she wanted, for getting past the helplessness". Her mother was an aggressive, angry person, so Marnie looked to men for emotional support: "Mother didn't know how to support herself so how could she support me?" She felt her friends were unhappy because, like her mother, "they haven't been able to actualize themselves" and she felt helpless to do anything for them.

Irene

I have not really looked to other women very much. I always felt I was going to march to a different drum—my drum.

Irene described her mother in glowing terms but "she was not a model for me" because she had assumed the traditional role. She described a childhood filled with hard work for all the family members and said, "I think they were glad to see me (the eldest child) leave at fifteen. I was always complaining about how boring it was living in a small town".

She also admired her grandmother unreservedly, an outstanding community leader and member of the social elite, and says, "She and I were good friends. I think she saw some potential in me".
Of her peers, she said disdainfully, "The young women I knew had just decided they wanted to grab some guy and settle down and have babies. I just thought they were silly. I'm not very interested in women although I've been quite active in helping women's causes. I don't blame them; it's a fault of society. So I'll struggle at that level to better things."

She reported being influenced by women who were prominent in the world at the time she was growing up and described her current female friends in general terms as witty, bright, entertaining, interesting, sophisticated, independent, self-supporting, but said she wasted a lot of time listening to their chit-chat. "Those of us who really want to get on with things have to avoid these kinds of people."

Irene presented this information in the form of a monologue. When the interviewer asked her questions about the homosocial relationships she had mentioned, she dismissed them in a few words and continued with her monologue. As a result, the interviewer came away with little understanding or empathy for her. Irene's reluctance to self-disclose in this voluntary interview, is perhaps characteristic of her in her homosocial relationships.

Staines, Tavris & Jayaratne (1974) have proposed the queen bee syndrome to explain some women's lack of identification with their own sex. Their personal success within the (patriarchal) system (which the authors attribute to their having been co-opted, or rewarded by men for being cooperative and
unthreatening) causes them to feel that they have unique qualifications that other women do not possess. They adopt this individual explanation for their success because it enhances their self-esteem.

Alternatively, the data may be interpreted by relating them to Lipman-Blumen (1976) who identified male homosocial ties as the basis for the sex segregation of social institutions, and Rawlings and Carter (1977) who considered identification with the dominant group, or denial of membership in own group to be a classical ego defence of women against this discrimination. Rawlings and Carter saw this manifested in deriving pleasure from thinking like a man and in preferring the company of men, and they pointed out that it is associated with in-group aggression, (i.e., being competitive with other women, backbiting and gossiping, putting down other women). They considered it "a mysterious phenomenon because women are hopelessly barred from total assimilation, and yet they mentally identify with the outlook and prejudices of the male culture toward women" (p. 18).

To varying degrees, these six women seem to exemplify this denial of membership in their own group. However, only the sixth, Irene, was explicit about feeling she had unique qualifications that other women did not possess, as Staines et al. (1974) posit as the basis for that denial.

Instead these women share a difference in their actual experiences with other women from those of the other 17 subjects. Evidence of in-group aggression dominates their
descriptions of their homosocial relationships. These data suggest that these negative experiences may set a pattern which becomes an ongoing self-fulfilling prophecy that shapes all their interactions with women.

The roots of this pattern are described in the theories concerning the mother-daughter relationship (Caplan, 1981; Chodorow, 1978; Dinnerstein, 1976; Flax, 1978). Other family members (such as the grandmother in the case of Mary above) may reinforce this pattern and thereby facilitate its perpetuation.

Although these women are a minority of the sample in this study, it cannot be assumed that they represent a minority of the population of self-actualizing career women. In the letter of initial contact to the subjects, the topic of the study was identified as women's social relationships with other women and their impact on women's self-actualization. Sixteen of the women approached declined to participate. The proportion of these who considered the topic irrelevant or who felt negative about it, and who therefore were not motivated to participate, may well have been higher than the proportion of those in the group who did participate.
V. DISCUSSION

A. STATEMENT OF RESULTS

The results of the study are presented in summary opposite the four research questions initially posed:

Research Question #1 - Do self-actualizing career women see self-actualization in terms of independence or interdependence or both?

Most subjects saw self-actualization in terms of both independence or autonomy and interdependence, that is, they saw autonomy and interdependence as complementary, rather than contradictory concepts. When they were asked to define their personal understandings of self-actualization, four major themes emerged:

1. Utilizing capabilities and potentialities.

2. The importance of relationships. Almost half of the women saw relationships as vital, not only as a route to self-actualization, but as an aspect of being self-actualized.


4. The elation and satisfaction experienced in the self-actualizing process.

Maslow's (1954) definition of self-actualization involves fully functioning, living an enriched life, developing and utilizing all of one's unique capabilities or potentialities, and being free of both external and internal inhibitions to that utilization. This is a highly autonomous conception. Miller's (1976) definition - acting and reacting out of one's own being -
implicitly incorporates the centrality of relationship to and interdependence with others in the phrase "acting and reacting", whereas Maslow's reference to external inhibitions implies that relationship is a threat rather than a potentiating factor.

The first theme in these women's understandings of self-actualization, utilizing capabilities and potentialities, clearly echoes Maslow's (1954) definition provided by the interviewer. The second, the importance of relationships, is consistent with Miller's (1976) definition. The third and fourth, self-discovery and the affective experience, are consistent with both theories.

Hence, a large proportion of these self-actualizing women see self-actualization consistently with Miller's (1976) autonomy-in-relationship rather than Maslow's (1954) independence-from-others.

Research Question #2 - Do these women's homosocial relationships facilitate their self-actualization?

Almost three-quarters of the women interviewed felt that their relationships with other women had facilitated their self-actualization. They described 133 of their relationships that they felt had done so - an average of almost eight relationships per subject. (The range of number of facilitative relationships they described was from four to fourteen per subject.)

The one-quarter of women interviewed who said that relationships with women had not facilitated their self-actualizing processes credited instead their relationships with
Therefore it appears that, although these career women are by no means unanimous in the relevance they attribute to their homosocial relationships, the majority do agree that these relationships have facilitated their self-actualization. Furthermore, the large number of facilitative homosocial relationships they describe and the richness of the incidental detail they provide validate the importance of these relationships to these women's self-actualization. Homosocial relationships appear to play an important role in facilitating women's self-actualization for many (even a majority of) women, but they are not the only route to self-actualization.

Research Question #3 - For those career women whose homosocial relationships do facilitate their self-actualization, what are the characteristics of these relationships which seem to be facilitative?

The characteristics or dimensions of these relationships were identified by grouping the relationships into six categories and then defining the relationships in each category in terms of the significant characteristic behaviours and experiences described by the subjects.

The six categories are:

1. Inspiration. The subject is inspired by a model who she perceives to be more actualized than herself in some aspect. The model is usually an older, more experienced woman whose behaviour the subject is attracted to, approves of, admires or
aspires to. The impact of the relationships is in terms of the model's observed behaviours rather than the interaction between the model and the subject.

The models' behaviours most consistently reflect the competency (popularly termed "masculine") traits—the models are self-reliant, self-sufficient, ambitious, analytical, forceful, assertive, aggressive, make decisions easily, defend their own beliefs, and have strong personalities. However, a significant number of other models reflected a blend of competency and nurturance traits (warm, sensitive to the needs of others, understanding, compassionate) that defied the traditional conception of masculinity and femininity as bipolar opposites.

2. Affirmation. The subject feels appreciated, affirmed, accepted, respected, trusted or loved by the facilitator. This facilitator is usually an authority figure and/or the affirmation takes place when the subject is in a time of need, stress or vulnerability. The impact of the relationships is in terms of the one-way communication from the facilitator to the subject. This category includes the largest number of relationships as well as being subsumed within the four remaining categories. Hence, it seems basic to most facilitative relationships.

3. Inspiration & Affirmation. This is a combination category that represents relationships which reflect both of the preceding facilitative dimensions. Like those in the preceding categories, these relationships impact unidirectionally from facilitator to subject. They form a separate category as a
result of the procedure of sorting all the relationships into replicable categories, but they do not reflect a third dimension.

4. **Challenge.** The facilitator guides, advises, pushes, questions, confronts, corrects or reproaches the subject, thereby prompting her to re-examine and change her behaviour in a direction that proves to be self-actualizing. This type of facilitation occurs only in the context of an established relationship characterized by Affirmation (Category 2). The impact of the relationships is also unidirectional. However, the facilitator risks intervening more actively in the subject's process in order to redirect it. Hence, there is a greater degree of involvement on the part of the facilitator with the subject.

5. **Inspiration, Affirmation & Challenge.** This is another combination category that represents relationships which reflect all the preceding facilitative dimensions. Like the third category, it does not reflect a new dimension. The relationships in this category are characterized by much interaction over an extended period of time. Hence, they are profoundly facilitative.

6. **Mutuality.** The subject participates in a mutual relationship characterized by (any combination of) similarity, love, intimacy, openness, empathy, mutual dependence, caring, security, joy, growth, non-competitiveness, acceptance of conflict and endurance over time. The relationships often also reflect some or all of the preceding facilitative dimensions.
The participants in these relationships are usually peers. The impact of the relationships is bidirectional, that is, both participants give and receive facilitation.

Mutual relationships were described in terms similar to those the subjects had used to describe the qualities of relationships that they believed constituted an aspect of being self-actualized. The subjects' perceptions of this sixth category as interrelated with their self-actualization are consistent with various theorists' ideas about what constitutes a "higher" or more "developed" relationship (Buber, 1965; Geller, 1982; Gilligan, 1982).
A graphic representation of the model appears as follows:

These six categories form a continuum of subject-facilitator involvement from distant to close. Moreover, they appear to form a progression in which Affirmation provides the basis for Challenge, and Inspiration, Affirmation and Challenge may all be subsumed in the sixth or ultimate category.

The categories may then reflect a developmental progression either in terms of relationship maturity, or in terms of the
individuals' levels of self-actualization, or, most likely, an interaction of the two processes. Experiences in the former categories may be prerequisite to achieving the potentiality for the latter categories. Progression through the categories was clearly revealed by one subject who described her relationships exhaustively and sequentially from early childhood to the present. The suggestion that this progression occurs is consistent with Erikson's (1963) life stage theory in which the capacity for intimacy follows the development of trust, autonomy, initiative, industry and identity, and with Egan's (1975) three stage model of counselling relationships.

Research Question #4 - What aspects (if any) of homosocial relationships hinder women's self-actualization?

The 17 subjects described almost four times as many facilitative relationships as they did hindering ones, a ratio they frequently explained in terms of their having simply distanced themselves from potentially hindering relationships rather than allowing them to have any impact. This seems a noteworthy contrast with the one-quarter of the women who emphasized their negative experiences in homosocial relationships. Perhaps their ability to leave destructive relationships behind is one of the significant characteristics of women who self-actualize through and in relationships.

However, four themes emerged in the hindering relationships they did describe which seem to parallel and contrast with the facilitative categories that were identified:
1. **Disillusionment**. The subject felt repelled by a negative model or disillusioned when a negative aspect of a facilitator was revealed.

2. **Rejection**. The subject felt unsupported, criticized or rejected by an authority figure or another admired person.

3. **Dependence**. The subject felt controlled by someone or powerless in a relationship.

4. **Competition**. The subject compared herself with someone and felt unsure of herself.

Hence, self-actualizing women seem able to recognize and leave hindering relationships so that they do not persist in impeding their self-actualization.

The one-quarter of the subjects for whom homosocial relationships were hindering or irrelevant to their self-actualization described their processes in terms consistent with Maslow (1954). Then they recounted histories of failed relationships with other women, usually starting with their mothers, which seemed to have set a pattern which became a self-fulfilling prophecy that shaped all their interactions with women.

**B. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

1. **THEORETICAL SIGNIFICANCE**

These results suggest that relationships are indeed centrally important in the lives of self-actualizing women--that their relationships bring meaning and direction to their lives--and that their homosocial relationships in particular are
critically important.

The findings imply that Maslow's (1954) theory, which has been relatively unexamined in research subsequent to his own, should be questioned. His theory may be inadequate for understanding what constitute higher levels of development for women and perhaps other minority groups in the sex-segregated social structure on which he based his work. Self-actualization theory may be in need of further development based on understanding of this broader context.

Patriarchal society has viewed women as the helpmates of their men providing emotional and physical support. Heterosexual relationships have been the focus of attention and have been invested with special significance. As a result the importance of homosocial relationships has been discounted by both women and men (Bernard, 1976; Smith-Rosenberg, 1975).

The women's movement has prompted women to re-examine their values and therefore to revalue themselves and, by extension, other women. Being relationship-oriented, they have begun to want more self-enhancing relationships and have begun to shift from an exclusive focus on one heterosexual relationship to a search for a broader range of relationships, a community, which will support their multi-faceted development as unique individuals. Women have identified with one another in this new stage of their evolution and have therefore begun to form some of their most supportive bonds with one another.

Recent feminist literature has celebrated women's differences from men, in particular their greater capacities for
significant and growth-facilitating relationships, and has begun to define a difference in the nature of self-actualization for women from the traditional male model that Maslow (1954) described, based on the salience of relationships for women.

Miller's (1976) very simple but eloquent description of this new psychology of women stressed this centrality of community—that women's evolutionary process is toward interdependence, rather than toward the independence so valued in sex-segregated society in which "masculine" characteristics and male ways of doing things are most valued.

The data collected in this study provide some confirmation for Miller's (1976) theory. The self-actualizing women interviewed described numerous homosocial relationships that were facilitative in various ways. Viewed as a group, these women embody Miller's (1976) concept of the evolution of a mutually-supportive interdependent community.

In addition, the study has examined (by analysis of many detailed examples) the nature of facilitative homosocial relationships and has identified and described four basic dimensions. These findings provide a basis for beginning to understand exactly how the evolution of women in community is taking place.

The weight of evidence provided by this study, both in terms of the large proportion of subjects who validated the relevance of homosocial relationships by reporting their experience, and in terms of the sheer volume of relationships that they described, suggests that Miller's (1976) notion of
interdependence as the route to female self-actualization warrants further examination. It is apparent from the present study that some women, perhaps a majority, espouse a different model of self-actualization for themselves than the autonomous one that Maslow (1954) has described.

The study also provides evidence of the ego defences found in women as victims of discrimination which relate negatively to homosociality in women, cited by Rawlings and Carter (1977) and Caplan (1981). However, for the women in the study, negative relationships did not obstruct their self-actualization. Instead, they moved away from such relationships. Those women who found their homosocial experience consistently negative chose independent routes to self-actualization. Hence, the study gives evidence that the "horizontal hostility" (or in-group aggression) that these authors see as one of women's reactions to their disadvantaged status in patriarchal society is not pervasive or inevitably isolating of women from one another.

The findings in regard to the one-quarter of women for whom homosocial relationships were hindering or irrelevant seem to suggest that the popular concept of the queen bee syndrome (Staines et al., 1974) may be oversimplified. Rather than identifying with men merely to enhance their self-esteem, these women may be seen to be the victims of consistent in-group aggression (Rawlings & Carter, 1977), usually beginning in the mother-daughter relationship. This intropunitive response to discrimination sets a pattern that becomes an ongoing self-
fulfilling prophecy that shapes all their interactions with women. Hence, the data collected in the study support a more profound understanding of this phenomenon, from a perspective less distorted by the ego defence itself.

One of the women for whom homosocial relationships were hindering or irrelevant gave informal feedback to the interviewer after reading Section B of Chapter IV--Facilitative Relationships. She said she had felt sad when she read it that she had missed the experiences with other women that the subjects described in that section, and that she had realized that this was due to her practice of maintaining tight control of her homosocial relationships. The impact of the written material on this woman might be regarded as Inspirational in a manner similar to that of Category 1 relationships.

Since self-actualization is the ultimate goal of counselling, it would seem reasonable to expect a close relationship between elements of both counselling relationships and relationships that facilitate self-actualization. Rogers (1951) identified three therapeutically-significant factors--Unconditional Positive Regard, Congruence, and Empathy--that have been well-established as the core of effective counselling relationships.

Affirmation is similar to Rogers' (1951) Unconditional Positive Regard in that both involve acceptance of the self-actualizer or client. However, Affirmation is more active than Unconditional Positive Regard and also more focused on the strengths of the self-actualizer. Affirmation compares to
Unconditional Positive Regard as active listening compares to communication. Affirmation also overlaps with Rogers' (1951) Empathy since active, focused Affirmation implies accurate understanding of the self-actualizer's feelings.

Inspiration overlaps with Rogers' (1951) Congruence in that the congruent counsellor models self-awareness, expression of feelings, self-disclosure, spontaneity, consistency and non-defensiveness. However, Inspiration involves the modeling of a broader range of traits, beyond those directly related to relationship development, particularly the competency traits.

Challenge also overlaps with Rogers' (1951) Congruence in that the counsellor's genuine responses to the client are seen to facilitate change. However, Challenge involves the facilitator much more actively intervening in the self-actualizer's process with the intention of redirecting it. She risks the relationship when she involves herself in this powerful way with the self-actualizer.

Finally, Mutuality incorporates all three of Rogers' (1951) factors, but it implies an equality between the participants that is by definition not achievable in a counsellor-client relationship. Mutuality also implies a broader involvement in one another's lives than counselling relationships entail.

Hence, although the dimensions of facilitative relationships identified in the present study are consistent with the therapeutically-significant factors, they are also somewhat different because they are actively directed towards involvement with the self-actualizer in the facilitation of her
process.

The dimensions identified are also consistent with the general qualities of friendship identified by La Gaipa (1977) and the dimensions of social support found by Pearson (1982). The social support literature (Davidson and Packard, 1981) suggests that good relationships with women friends are therapeutic for women and therefore some overlap of the dimensions of friendship with those dimensions that facilitate self-actualization would be expected.

As with Rogers (1951), there is some overlap between La Gaipa's (1977) factors and the dimensions identified in this study, but there are also important differences.

Affirmation is similar to La Gaipa's (1977) Acceptance, Positive Regard and Empathic Understanding, but it includes the stronger, more specific expressions of appreciation, respect and trust that go beyond accepting to providing the self-actualizer with the confidence to utilize her potential.

Inspiration overlaps somewhat with La Gaipa's (1977) Strength of Character, but it is much broader, including models of a range of traits, in particular, the competency traits, that the self-actualizer admires and aspires to emulate.

Challenge corresponds only tangentially to La Gaipa's (1977) Helping Behaviour. More central is the idea of pushing, of directing and redirecting.

Finally, Mutuality incorporates La Gaipa's (1977) Self-Disclosure, Authenticity and Similarity, but it is a more complex dimension. In particular, its more intense elements of
sharing, involvement, intimacy, caring, interdependence and joy are missing from La Gaipa's (1977) factors.

Hence, in all its dimensions, because of their particular combinations of elements and their emphases on activity, focus and involvement, the facilitative model is more powerful in its impact than is La Gaipa's (1977) friendship model.

The facilitative dimensions are also consistent with the dimensions of social support identified by Pearson (1982). Affirmation is similar to Encouragement, Acceptance, Comfort, Admiration and Love. Inspiration is similar to Example. Challenge overlaps with Guidance, Help, Knowledge, and Honesty. Mutuality includes Intimacy, Companionship and Satisfaction. As in the comparison with La Gaipa's (1977) factors above, the facilitative dimensions are more active, more focused, more involving and hence, more powerful in their impact than are Pearson's (1982) dimensions of social support.

Pearson (1982) considered the emergence of his Satisfaction category, (defined as 'pleasure derived from being able to contribute to another'), as significant and unanticipated:

Essentially, this category suggests that altruism has supportive value. That is, individuals experience as supportive not only relationships in which they receive material, cognitive, and affective contributions, but also those in which they can give such to others. Traditional views of support, whether from the perspective of everyday life or that of helping professionals, tend to imply deficiency and inadequacy in the person receiving support. The emergence of the Satisfaction category suggests that for many of the sample of this study, (who may be described as essentially normal, college-educated, helping-oriented adults), the opportunity to contribute to others has supportive value. (p. 85)
The importance assigned to Mutual relationships in which both participants give and receive facilitation as described in the present study is consistent with the special significance that Pearson (1982) assigned to giving support to others as a form of self-support. However he did not consider the Mutual relationship, nor did he reflect on the relationship of Satisfaction to his other categories by analyzing it to reveal how it supports the giver as the present study has done.

Wright's (1969) Friendship Model includes three factors that make the relationship worth forming and maintaining: Stimulation Value, Utility Value and Ego Support Value. Affirmation is similar to Ego Support Value. Inspiration is similar to Stimulation Value, and Challenge is similar to Utility Value. However, the three facilitative dimensions are more focused respectively, on the self-actualizer's strengths, aspirations and needs than are Wright's more general factors. Mutuality is similar to Voluntary Interdependence, Wright's criterion of friendship, although the facilitative dimension is more complex. The concept of Mutuality in the present study as the highest level of facilitative relationship seems consistent with Wright's conception of Voluntary Interdependence as the criterion against which the level or intensity of a friendship is measured.

The similarity of the present findings to those of Rogers (1951), La Gaipa (1977), Pearson (1982), and Wright (1969) supports the validity of the dimensions identified in this study. Relationships which facilitate self-actualization share
common elements with therapeutic relationships and with social relationships. This is consistent with the overlap identified by Davidson and Packard (1981) between therapeutic relationships and good relationships between women friends. The present study demonstrates how this overlap also applies to relationships that facilitate self-actualization.

The study reveals, however, that the dimensions of these facilitative relationships have unique flavours or emphases that differentiate them especially from more generally supportive social relationships. Thus, although it appears that therapeutic, friendship and social support relationships share common elements with relationships that facilitate self-actualization, there are particular combinations of these elements and particular emphases (more active, more involved) that make for self-actualization in particular, for women such as those in the study.

2. PRACTICAL SIGNIFICANCE

In the client-centered tradition, the counsellor's task is to establish a growth-facilitating relationship with the client. The counselling relationship is more generally focused on personal growth than is the relationship that facilitates self-actualization. The counsellor helps the client solve her problems or resolve her neuroses. The facilitative relationship, as perceived by the subjects in this study, is more actively focused on the development of autonomy-in-relationship or interdependence. This relationship bridges the gap between role modeling and friendship. The model of
facilitative relationships developed in this study, then, provides counsellors with a basis for understanding the dimensions that are relevant to this specific aspect of personal growth.

The model ought to help counsellors work with clients who are functioning at higher levels of development. On Maslow's (1954) hierarchy of needs, they would be at the second highest level, striving to satisfy the esteem needs (self-responsibility, adequacy, mastery, competence) or at the highest level, seeking to self-actualize. They would likely be older adults, for example, involved in career transitions. The counsellor should assess the level of the client's development before employing the study model, since it would not be suitable for everyone.

Since the subjects in the study experienced facilitation particularly in times of need, stress or vulnerability, the model seems particularly relevant for counselling relationships which are usually established at these times. The importance of the person-situation interaction suggests that counsellors would be well-positioned to provide these types of facilitation.

The notion that the facilitative dimensions may reflect a developmental progression also has implications for counselling. A client who is at the Inspirational level, for example, may not be ready to be Challenged. Counsellors can assess what they should be providing for the client—Inspiration, Affirmation, or Challenge—depending on her level of development.

A general objective of counselling is to help the client
become more able to meet her own needs in the world. This study has revealed that, for women, an important need is for growth-enhancing relationships. Therefore it is probable that examination of some of the client's relationships, if not her entire social support network, will occur in the course of counselling. Counsellors might draw upon the notion of progression through the dimensions to guide their interventions with the client, or, alternatively, they might offer it as a theoretical model, and participate with the client in exploring and assessing her relationships from that perspective. The client could be encouraged to identify both what she is receiving from her friends and family and what she is offering to them. The behavioural descriptions that have been developed for each category would be useful in helping the counsellor and client identify and plan the specific behavioural changes with which she might experiment in her efforts to enhance particular relationships.

The findings also suggest a potential source of difficulty in the counselling relationship. If the counsellor and client understand self-actualization in different terms, (i.e., the one basing it on Maslow's (1954) model and the other on Miller's (1976)), then their expectations of one another and their styles of relating may conflict. For women who are receptive to homosocial relationships, the feminist model of counselling with its emphasis on affirming strengths, modeling the competency traits and making the counselling relationship more mutual would seem to be most appropriate.
The findings regarding the importance that self-actualizing women assign to the competency traits have general implications for understanding women and girls growing up. In self-actualizing, they seek to balance the nurturant attributes that they have developed in their relationships with their mothers (Chodorow, 1978; Dinnerstein, 1976; Flax, 1978) by adopting self-assertive, self-protective and self-expansive attitudes and behaviours that represent the agentic principle (Bakan, 1966). It is therefore particularly appropriate that they be exposed to models of the range of competency traits who will inspire them to develop that part of themselves. This implication is consistent with the work of Baruch and Barnett (1983) who have found that mastery (the instrumental, doing side of life) and pleasure (the feeling side, the quality of one's relationships with others) are both essential components of women's sense of well-being.

Finally, the results have general significance, for women in affirming their capacities for growth-enhancing relationships and in raising their awareness of the significance of these bonds. This affirmation can contribute to the development of women's concepts of themselves as potentially effective self-nurturers and self-actualizers.

There may be some men for whom Miller's (1976) concept and this model is more suitable, just as some women in this study were self-actualizing without facilitation from homosocial relationships. Therefore the study may provide a source of ideas for those men who are finding self-actualization in and
through their relationships. As Bakan (1966) and Block (1973) have envisaged, when post sex-segregated values emerge, and men incorporate these styles, society as a whole will be enhanced.

C. LIMITS OF THE STUDY

Applicability

Since the subjects were a homogeneous group of North American career women, aged 35 or older, who scored in the self-actualizing category on the Personal Orientation Inventory, the generalizability of the findings is limited to that population. However, there is converging evidence from a variety of sources that women's same-sex friendships are enduring and affectively rich (Brittain, 1940; Davidson, 1983; Davidson & Packard, 1981; Faderman, 1981; Lamb & Hohlwein, 1983; Lustig, 1983; Seiden & Bart, 1975; Smith-Rosenberg, 1975). Hence, it seems likely that the facilitative dimensions identified for the study population would be found in women's homosocial relationships more generally, (albeit with less consistency or intensity), even though the women were younger, more traditionally employed, and/or less self-actualizing than the women in this study.

Validity of Subject Selection

As noted in Chapter III, the Personal Orientation Inventory is "fakeable" by psychologically-sophisticated people, which the present subjects certainly are. In addition, the test is based on Maslow's (1954) description of male self-actualizers, a description that, as the study has suggested is not appropriate for female self-actualizers.

However, in support of the validity of the POI results,
these women's achievements in careers that demand high levels of personal development offers some assurance of their being self-actualizing.

Exploratory and Descriptive Approach

The focus of the research was to employ the critical incident technique to explore the domain and to organize the data collected into categories. Since there were no hypotheses formed and tested, the findings are suggestive rather than conclusive. Hence, replication of the study with statistical hypotheses testing would be necessary in order to obtain conclusive results.

D. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study has identified and described four dimensions of facilitative relationships and it has delineated a model that indicates how these dimensions are related to one another. The understanding that this study has thereby provided of the relevance of homosocial relationships to self-actualization then provokes questions for future research.

1. Are the four identified dimensions equally effective facilitators of self-actualization? Or is the impact of certain ones greater than that of others? Is a particular dimension more important to cultivate than others? As noted, the dimension of Mutuality seemed to the researcher often to be described by the subjects with a richness of detail and an enthusiasm that suggested its special significance. Based on the suggestion in the present study that the categories reflect
a developmental progression, it seems likely that at particular points in a woman's development, particular dimensions would be most facilitative.

2. How significant is the intensity of the relationship experience in determining its facilitative effect? As noted, the subjects reported incidents and relationships that were similar in their dynamics, but that varied in the intensity of their impact (positive or negative). An Inspirational relationship might be more intense or salient than any other relationship experience for a particular individual. It would seem that intensity is an important variable, but that it would not make different dimensions equivalent, (ie., if a particular dimension would be most facilitative at a particular point in a woman's development, the intense experience of another dimension would not be as facilitative as experience of the appropriate dimension would be).

3. Is there a developmental progression inherent in the experiencing of these dimensions? Does the experience of one dimension prepare the woman to be receptive to experience of the next? In this study, Challenge has been found to subsume Affirmation, and Mutuality has been found to subsume some or all of the other dimensions. This suggests that the dimensions may reflect developmental stages either in terms of relationship maturity or in terms of the individuals' levels of self-actualization or in terms of an interaction of the two processes. Concepts of stage development tend to be too rigid and simplistic to adequately capture the variability of
intrapersonal and interpersonal phenomena. However, examination of the basis for the apparent interrelatedness of the dimensions would seem to be an obvious and possibly fruitful research direction.

4. The fact that about one-quarter of the sample of self-actualizing women did not consider homosocial relationships to have facilitated their development raises questions about the generalizability of Miller's (1976) theory to all women. A significant proportion of self-actualizing women in the study espoused a more autonomous model of self-actualization or had facilitative relationships with men rather than with other women. It seemed that experiences in early hindering relationships deterred some women from establishing facilitative homosocial relationships thereafter. However this was not true of all subjects who described early negative relationships. Women who had facilitative homosocial relationships also described negative ones, but said they had left these rather than allow them to impede their self-actualization. What then makes the difference between the two groups? It may be that the impact of the women's movement in validating the importance of bonds between women has been more significant for some women, than for others. There may be a difference in this impact for different generational cohorts.

5. Finally, the impact of the mother-daughter relationship that was described by almost all of the subjects provokes questions about the relationship of that experience to women's capacities for facilitative relationships. Are there certain
qualities of those relationships that are prerequisite for a woman's being able to engage in further facilitative relationships? Are there other qualities that deter her? Recent literature concerning the mother-daughter relationship cited in Chapter II has focused on its impact on female role conditioning and hence, homosociality. Clarification of the link between mother-daughter relationships and facilitative relationships that follow it would seem an interesting objective for future research.

A study designed to answer these questions would include some of the following elements:

a) The method of peer nomination would be employed to identify more clearly self-actualized women. Rather than using achievement as psychologists as the criterion, women in a wider range of careers would be asked to make this selection. In this way, a sample could be drawn that would reflect the concensus of their understandings of the emerging concept of women's self-actualization as distinct from men's. This procedure would also result in a broad heterogeneous sample with respect to occupation and career path that would support the generalizability of the results.

b) Since a measure of female self-actualization is not available, an instrument that measures a construct closely related to self-actualization such as mastery (Baruch & Barnett, 1983) would be used to validate the selection of subjects. the POI might then be used as a check on self-actualization.

c) An existing instrument that measures friendship
dimensions, such as the Friendship Inventory (cited in La Gaipa, 1977), might be modified for validating the facilitative dimensions of the relationships that were explored in the interviews. A measure of sex-role identification such as the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (Spence et al., 1974) would also be useful in interpreting the subjects' responses to the interview questions.

d) In order to study the relatedness of the dimensions, as framed in the research questions discussed above, both the subjects' homosocial and heterosocial relationships as well as their group experiences would be examined.

e) A definitive description of women's self-actualization would be developed. The four themes that emerged from the subjects' definitions in this study would be used to develop a list of aspects of self-actualization that subjects would rank order according to which were more and less important to them. This procedure would result in a more precise conceptualization of women's self-actualization on which to base exploration of questions such as those identified above.

Another direction for future research based on the present study would be to conduct a parallel study with men instead of women. The comparison of the two studies would then highlight differences between the sexes with respect to facilitative relationship experiences. It would also reveal whether men's definitions of self-actualization also differ from Maslow's (1954). As noted, most men have been culturally conditioned to be more independent and less emotionally vulnerable than women.
Although there are indications of the beginnings of social change in this area (Czarnecki, 1984; Farrell, 1974), it is hypothesized that significant differences between women and men would emerge in such a comparative study.

E. SUMMARY

The results of this study support the contentions of current feminist theorists that women have a special capacity for growth-enhancing relationships as a product of their relationship-oriented values, their interpersonal sensitivity, their emotional expressivity and their efforts at this point in time to develop more authentic identities.

More specifically, the study has suggested that a large proportion of self-actualizing career women understand their self-actualization in terms of interdependence and that a majority of them consider their homosocial relationships to have facilitated their self-actualization. These women described those relationships in terms of four dimensions: Inspiration, Affirmation, Challenge and Mutuality. These dimensions seem to form a progression in which the latter two dimensions subsume the former two. They are consistent with the dimensions of therapeutic relationships, which would be expected since these have a similar though more general function. They overlap somewhat less consistently with the dimensions of friendships and social support relationships, the facilitative dimensions having a more active, focused emphasis.

The women also described (with less frequency) some
negative aspects of homosocial relationships: Disillusionment, Rejection, Dependence and Competition, which are consistent with feminist theory that explains how women react through in-group aggression to their devaluation in patriarchal society.

The model developed in this study provides counsellors with a basis for understanding of the specific relationship dimensions that are critical to their women clients' self-actualization.

The study also has heuristic value suggesting future research questions concerning the effectiveness of the different dimensions and their interrelatedness as well as the relevance of the mother-daughter bond.

In essence the study provides some weight of evidence regarding women's development toward and through interdependence that suggests that this concept warrants further examination.
REFERENCES


I'm a graduate student in Counselling Psychology conducting a research study on women's relationships with other women, eg. female relatives, friends, teachers, workmates, neighbours. I want to explore the impact of these social bonds on women's self-actualization, as they understand that construct.

I want to interview women members of the British Columbia Psychological Association who are 35 years or older. If you meet this age criterion, I hope you'll consider participating as a subject.

The research is in two parts, the first being a questionnaire that I will mail to you. It will take about 20 to 30 minutes to complete.

The interview process, which will take about one or two hours, will, I believe, be an interesting and enjoyable opportunity to review and reflect on aspects of your personal experience within a stimulating structure. The material will be treated confidentially and, of course, I would respect any decision you might make to withdraw from the process at any point. I will arrange to conduct the interview at a time and place most convenient to you.

I'm hoping you'll be able to find time in your busy schedule to help me with this project. I'll telephone you within ten days to answer any questions you may have and to make arrangements if you decide to participate.

Yours sincerely,

Jean Harris
APPENDIX B - LETTER TO PREPARE SUBJECT FOR INTERVIEW

In preparation for our interview on __________, I want to give you the questions I would like to explore with you. Since they involve the recall of specific past experiences of yours, you may want to begin to reflect on them in advance of the interview.

1) The test you have completed measured self-actualization defined as "functioning fully and living an enriched life by developing and utilizing one's unique capabilities and potentialities". What is your personal understanding of this term? How far along in the process of self-actualization do you consider yourself - beginning/on the way/advanced/well-advanced/approaching completion?

2) I want to focus on the women who have been important in encouraging or facilitating your own development in the direction of self-actualization. These women might be mothers, sisters, grandmothers, aunts, cousins, friends, neighbours, teachers, workmates or any women you've known personally. What are the first names of these women? What are their relationships to you?

3) Now try to think of a specific incident or several little incidents (it can be something small) when each of these women you've named did something or when something happened that significantly encouraged or facilitated your development toward self-actualization. What happened? What led up to it? Why was it so helpful?

4) Then I'd like to focus on relationships with women in which you've had experiences that you consider to have hindered or inhibited your development. What are their first names and their relationships to you? Now try to think of specific incidents when each woman did something or when something happened that significantly hindered or inhibited your development toward self-actualization. What happened? What led up to it? Why was it so hindering?

I'm looking forward to meeting with you to explore these questions. The time requirement will be determined by you; I
will allow sufficient time for you to share your experience fully, including a follow-up session if required.

Yours sincerely,

Jean Harris
APPENDIX C - SAMPLE RELATIONSHIP TRANSCRIPTS

1. INSPIRATION Sample Transcript (Mother-in-Law)

I've known her twenty years. I'm close to her. I love her dearly. She's a wonderful woman. She's seventy-nine and has been losing her sight over the past year and a half. She can hardly see. Seeing what she does with her life, how she deals with losing her vision, I've been filled with admiration and respect. I know it's a horrible thing for her. She hasn't been able to see her first grandchild's face. I've been influenced by her ability to put that into perspective even though it's been a terrible loss for her. She's had periods of depression. Nonetheless her sense of humour will come back.

She came to visit last summer. I was going to take them downtown. I was teasing her saying I wouldn't take her with her slippers on. I was standing outside waiting for her while she went upstairs to get ready. She came down and her daughter and her daughter's friend started to laugh and I looked and she had two different shoes and they thought she had done it as a joke, but she hadn't. She'd flown across the country with two different shoes because she hadn't seen the difference.

It was so clear. You could see the expression go across her face of embarrassment, loss, anger at her own stupidity, anger at circumstances, momentary hurt that everyone was laughing, and then grasping that they thought she had done it for a joke, not laughing at her disability. It all whizzed by on her face and then she grinned and said, 'Well I needed a new pair of shoes and you were taking me shopping anyway.'

Her ability to just flip that one over when she could have wallowed in it and it would have stopped her from the very process that I believe self-actualization is--it impressed me with what's possible. It was a good cause for being depressed, hurt, angry, and she refused to let it do that. I thought, 'I hope that I'll have that kind of courage and guts when I have circumstances in life like that to face. I'm growing older. This will happen.' She was an example of how you can live with that in a positive way. I feel very blessed with her.

2. AFFIRMATION Sample Transcript (Department Head)

I decided to go back to university, but had a terrible time deciding what to go into. I went around interviewing people and a lot of the men I talked to were very formal and unresponsive, very cut and dried. I stumbled into her office and she was just incredible. She smiled a lot and she told me yes, indeed, the department would welcome me with open arms. What you'd done
before was not necessarily what you could do and she could see that there were other things that were more important that I could do. She encouraged me to go on and not to get discouraged by the whole process.

Words of support and smiling and being willing to take the time--really positive. If I hadn't run into her, I don't know where I'd be today because I was getting really discouraged and running, looking. It was so hard to find that person and it was finally her. That gave me the courage to go on.

It was her personality; she was direct, she made it clear she really liked me. She said, 'I think you'll do fine.' There was an openness. I could ask her questions like, 'How do you know I'll be able to get two first classes?' I was more assertive at this time in my life.

3. INSPIRATION & AFFIRMATION Sample Transcript (Grandmother)

She was my primary source of love and affection. She had ten children. I knew her when she was retired and they were all grown up and so she had time for her art. I was special because she had lots of time which she devoted to me. I was important in her life and she was important to me. Mom and I lived with them and then we lived a block away and my mother worked which is why my grandmother became very important to me. Prior to school, that's who I spent my day with.

A very neat lady. Realizing a woman can do a bit of everything comes from her. She was able in a really relaxed way to have lots of friends. I saw lots of women friends coming over. She had a large Victorian house, rambling, chaotic, very comfortable. There were lots of people coming through, which seemed to me to be really nice.

She was very talented artistically and did things like taking up wheel throwing in her eighties, so I had a sense you could not only do pretty well what you put your mind to, but it doesn't really matter how old you are. There's no limit. If it seemed neat she would just give it a whirl. With her house or who she was - very tolerant - the kids all seemed to come back. There was a lot of coming and going. They really liked to be around her because she was very easy going. They would be welcomed. She would make noodles.

In Grade 1, there were tryouts for a school play and I decided I wanted the key role--Miss Muffet. I did a huge scream and got the part on the spot. I was very excited and came home. I told her. There was tremendous excitement. She made the most wonderful outfit for my part. I felt she really supported the fact that I'd gotten it. Achievement, reaching out at external goals, really trying for something.
I liked the loving and flexibility and multidimensional parts of her. That was really a good lesson. We would stay up for the late movie and eat popcorn balls in bed. It was neat. She wasn't like a grandmother.

4. CHALLENGE (BASED ON AFFIRMATION) Sample Transcript (Sister)

She always could say what she felt about me, comment on things that I did that she didn't particularly agree with or that she thought maybe weren't good for me or for the people around me. That I could do better, she knew that I could. I didn't need to fall into those ruts or whatever. Without ever making me feel rejected or even bad. She always turned me back on myself and had the effect of making me consider what I'd done because I respected her opinion so much and I was so sure that she probably knew what she was talking about. She didn't necessarily always. She just cares for me and never cared to dwell on the bad things, although she could see them, deal with them. That wasn't my essence for her.

She got me to see a relationship I was in in the light of a violent relationship. I had just taken for granted the kind of previolent interactions between us supposedly done in fun. It took her being outside looking on, commenting on how rough it seemed to her, to put it into a different perspective. I was too involved in it. She just simply said—I'm not even sure it was about him hitting me—it was about bangs on the shoulder, arm slapping and things to get attention and I think we were doing it to each other. She said it went way past what she considered normal. It wasn't anything big. I guess there had been something growing in the back of my mind that I wasn't recognizing or didn't have the right to call violent. So that when someone from outside whose opinion I respected commented, it jelled and I had some kind of confirmation of what maybe had been suspected.

That kind of very basic acceptance is very important. There seem to be very few people in one's life that you know you can always go to, that they will never show disgust, horror at what you've done.

5. INSPIRATION & CHALLENGE (BASED ON AFFIRMATION) Sample Transcript (Friend)

She was a woman who did something just a step ahead of me and whom I trusted. We've known each other twenty-five years. We met in first year university. I always emulated her. She was wasp, intelligent, she knew her way around things. She was just a little different. She would do things that were more outrageous and I liked that too. I didn't do them, but I watched her. She went off to Europe.
She encouraged me a lot. My confidence level was very low from shifting around to different areas, learning about five languages in three years, always having to struggle for friendships because I would leave one niche and get put into another one and have to form friendships constantly. I had to put the energy out. People would not come to me until I had. I had to work at it.

I felt she thought I was special. She said, 'You're different than the others and you have some interesting ideas. Why don't we go and talk about them?' She was a good student, she was Canadian, she knew the ropes, she was smart, she had a worldliness, she had a cocky way of walking.

I got married first and had a child quickly. I always felt she looked down on it. I always questioned, 'Was that what I was meant for--to just have children sort of thing?' Because she wasn't doing that, she was tripping around Europe having a ball. Later we got together again. I quit my job, decided it wasn't a career, and went into a deep depression. She came over and said, 'You've got to do something else. You can't just sit here. You can't sit and watch the soaps!' I said, 'What am I going to do? I can't stand stupid lab work anymore.' She said, 'You've got to do something else. I don't know yet. I'll let you know.' she came back and said, 'There's a crisis center opening up. You and I are going to go together and we'll become volunteers.' I said, 'Are you crazy? I can't do these things!' She physically dragged me out there. She forced me to go. She believed in me like my mother. It was like, 'I know you can do it, and so you're blind. You're a baby and I'm going to lead you. I know you can do it.' And of course she was right. It was very much my field. She wasn't about to sit down and tell me why. Reasons didn't matter. 'You can do it; what you're doing now isn't good for you.'

Later she went back to school to get her master's. I couldn't believe anyone could do that with kids. But then, if she can do it ... maybe. I remember meeting her at the Faculty Club. I said, 'I'm doing all this stuff, but I don't feel satisfied. I'm uneducated.' She said, 'So go back to school.' I said, 'I don't know where to go.' She said, 'Have you heard of counselling psychology? I know you don't want to be a social worker and hold people's hands.' she asked me the right questions. A no-nonsense person. You don't talk about things. If you talk, you go and do it. So I went and did it.

With this job, she said, 'You're not going to get stuck (where I was). You've got to do something else. You can't be a social worker all your life.' On her suggestion, I went and applied.

She's beginning to bug me now about things and I'm not listening because I'm too tired. She's been the kind of friend who's always there for important things. I can come and discuss
them with her.

6. MUTUALITY Sample Transcript (Friend)

I met her at twenty. She's my best friend. I had been fairly repressed in terms of my feelings and being free and spontaneous about things. She's very natural, spontaneous. I really liked that. You don't have to be drunk or stoned. I really wanted her to like me. I thought she was so neat, Vancouverish. We lived in a co-op house. We talked a lot, had really intense communication. Usually about people, how they ticked, what was the matter with them, what was good or bad about them, how come they were whatever. Or about religion, and we decided we were soul-mates, the 'in thing' back then. There was that real connection on every level.

Since then I've missed - she isn't an academic, didn't have the academic curiosity or interest I have nurtured again. Back then I was more developing the openness to life. She was my first experience in being close to a person, emotional. We shared a lot of thoughts, ideas, philosophy, had a lot of fun together. I told her things I'd never told people before. I'd never opened up that way before. I was fairly guarded. I trusted her a lot and I never had that proven wrong. I never felt betrayed. She initiated it. She'd say, 'Nobody else would understand the way you do,' or 'I couldn't wait to get home from work to tell you about this.'

She's the one I'd talk to now if I needed to talk even if I haven't seen her for two months. I know that it's going to be the same when we talk. I'll feel unconditionally accepted. I know she'll say the truth to me. She'll say, 'That was a really stupid thing to do', or I was being bitchy to my husband and she said, 'For Christ's sake, where's you sense of humour?' That just brought me to a halt and nobody could say that to me with that impact that I would say, 'Hey that's right. What's the matter with me here?' I trust her to give me honest feedback.

She respects me and has always believed I can do it. When I was going through some of the scarey stuff in the counselling psychology program--doing my first groups in my field placement--I talked to her before. She'd say, 'You can do it, no question.'

I would be able to talk to her with less power struggle than with my husband. I can get pissed off and stubborn with her but I'll let go of it within five minutes. I can say, 'I hate hearing that about me.' I can accept it more easily. I don't feel as threatened. I don't care too much if I'm right with her. We have fifteen years of history. She's seen me a lot more vulnerable than anybody--deaths, boyfriends, a biopsy. She was always there for me. It's the chemistry. We said if one of us was a man, we'd be a marriage made in heaven. Our
values are similar. Our feelings for each other are similar. But her curiosity is less intense - that would be a pretty big difference.

I disapprove of her boyfriend who she's been having trouble with. It bothers me because she gets hurt. I say, 'What's the matter with you? What's in it for you to keep going out with this guy? I think you're in it for your own self-esteem, ego and it's not working.' So I'm pretty straightforward with her and she takes it. Finally I said all I was doing was enabling her to stay stuck, so I wouldn't talk to her about it, and shortly after she broke up. I really struggled with it. I wanted to be there for her.