CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Identity Development

Erikson's Conceptualization of Identity

Theories of identity development are largely based on the work of Erikson (1959/1980), who outlined eight stages of psychosocial development (Chickering & Reisser, 1993). Erikson's stages are generally related to age and proceed from basic trust and autonomy issues in early childhood to generativity and integrity in later life. The challenge of the adolescent years is *identity versus identity confusion,* when individuals face the task of defining themselves in relation to their environments. Establishing identity involves a synthesis of childhood self-images with present self-evaluation and future ideals (Widick, Knefelkamp, & Parker, 1978). Relationships to the external world are also an integral part of this process. Erikson (1959/1980) asserted that identity "connotes both a persistent sameness within oneself (selfsameness) and a persistent sharing of some kind of essential character with others" (p. 109).

Erikson (1968) describes development as an epigenetic process: the ascendancy of each stage of development depends on the successful completion of those that come before. Additionally, these stages occur in a predetermined order and during a specified time frame. The developmental task at each stage constitutes a crisis to be resolved before further development is possible. "Crisis is used here in a developmental sense to connote not a threat of catastrophe, but a turning point, a crucial period of increased vulnerability and heightened potential" (Erikson, 1968, p. 96). During the identity stage, the salient issues are occupation and ideology as individuals decide how to make their way in the world and what to believe in. The failure to resolve these issues results in identity confusion. Erikson quoted *Death of a Salesman*'s Biff to explain this state: "I just can't take hold, Mom, I can't take hold of some kind of a life" (Miller, quoted in Erikson, 1968, p. 131).

Erikson's theory is descriptive, but not readily open to testing and research (Evans, Forney, & Guido-DiBrito, 1998). Marcia (1966) developed a framework for studying Erikson's (1959/1980) concept of identity using *crisis* and *commitment* as organizing principles. Crisis refers to a period of decision-making, where alternatives are explored, options tried, and new ways of being imagined. Coming to commitment means making choices and settling on a self-definition. Marcia reasoned that determining whether crisis and commitment had been experienced will indicate the extent of the resolution of the identity formation task. The intersection of these two criteria produces four identity types or statuses: Foreclosure, Identity Achievement, Moratorium, and Identity Diffusion (see Figure 1).
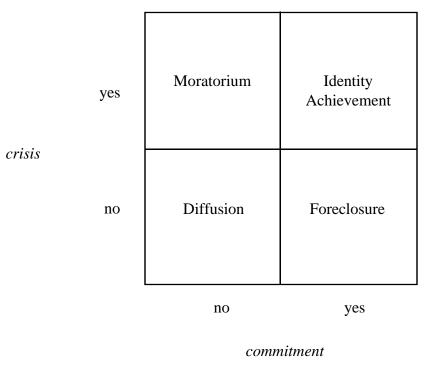
	no	yes
yes	Moratorium	Identity Achievement
no	Diffusion	Foreclosure

crisis

commitment

Figure 1. Marcia's (1966) model of identity development.

Foreclosure describes those who have not experienced a period of exploration but have committed to the values, beliefs, and ideas of their childhood without examination. They are carrying on family traditions and leading the life that is expected of them. Individuals in the Identity Achievement status have progressed through the crisis period of questioning who they are and have made a commitment about who they will be. The Moratorium status describes those who are in active exploration and have not yet arrived at the right choices for themselves. Those in the Identity Diffusion status have experienced neither crisis nor commitment; they have not actively engaged in exploration, nor are they concerned about that. These individuals might be characterized as "taking life one day at a time."

These four types represent different levels of identity resolution, but they are not developmental stages. They do not follow a linear, hierarchical pattern, although Identity Achievement is considered by Marcia (1966) to be a higher level of identity resolution. Neither are they completely stable. Marcia (1993) describes a cyclical process of Moratorium-Achievement, which he calls "MAMA cycles" (p. 280) for those persons who reach Identity Achievement relatively early in their lives. Further exploration occurs, triggering a moratorium status, followed by renewed or redefined commitments. These MAMA cycles are less likely to occur for Foreclosure and Diffusion status individuals, because they lack a strong self-definition.

Marcia (1966, 1976) used Erikson's issues of occupation and ideology to study identity in men, separating ideology into two areas: politics and religion. The experience of crises and commitments in these areas were evidence of identity status. Further research by Schenkel and Marcia (1972) added sexual standards to the interview protocol in order to study women. Continued research and refinement of Marcia's model has led to the definition of five core domains: vocational choice, religious beliefs, political ideology, gender-role attitudes, and beliefs about sexual expression (Waterman, 1993). These five areas are used to assess both men's and women's identity development.

Approaches to Adult Identity Development

Erikson looked at identity from a standpoint of personality development, placing it in a psychosocial framework of self in society. Identity in this model is one stage in a complete process of human development. Stage theories of adult development build on Erikson in describing identity throughout the life span. Other theorists propose timing models, where identity is influenced by when significant events are experienced.

Stage Models

Stage-related approaches to adult development are based on facing specific developmental tasks at age-linked times. Stages occur in a fixed, invariant sequence and are assumed to be universally applicable (Evans et al., 1998). Increasing individuation and complexity occur, prompted by internal cues rather than environmental events (Evans, 1985). If a developmental task is not resolved, further development is impaired (Rossi, 1980).

Timing Models

In contrast to stage models, timing models do not assume an overall developmental plan. Timing models argue that life-course change occurs as a result of specific personal or environmental events (Giele, 1982). Change and growth are related to the occurrence of significant events, such as marriage, career advancement, or the birth of children. Stress occurs when these events do not occur at the expected time, based on an average life cycle (Rossi, 1980). A criticism of the timing models is that they emerged during the 1950s, a period in social history that was more stable and had a more predictable life cycle than periods before or after. These models may not be as applicable in different social circumstances (Rossi, 1980).

Men's and Women's Adult Development

Identity development theories were originally developed through the study of men. The resultant models were assumed to be applicable to women. However, when measured against the male-defined norms, women frequently were judged to be less developmentally advanced than men (Gilligan, 1980). The reevaluation of the applicability of identity theory to women and the emergence of researchers who focus their study on women have led to a greater willingness to study gender differences without assigning greater value to either gender (Giele, 1982).

Adult identity has been conceptualized as occurring within two realms of experience, defined as love and work (Smelser & Erikson, 1980), affiliation and agency (Rossi, 1980), or family and career (Parker & Aldwin, 1997; Whitbourne, 1986). Men's identity is typically associated with the latter set of descriptors—work, agency, career—while women's identity is seen as tied to the relational aspects—love, affiliation, family.

Men's development. Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, and McKee (1978) developed a widely cited theory of men's development through the life span. Like Erikson's model, Levinson et al. used a stage model of progressive steps including developmental tasks. The vision of this model is a universal pattern with cultural and individual variations related to the relation of the self and the world. Choices and consequences frame the life structure and its components of occupation and marriage and family. Choices made in these components determine the life path that each man will take.

Levinson et al.'s (1978) model includes three major phases: the novice phase of early adulthood, the "settling down" period, and middle adulthood. Each of these phases is preceded by a transition period. Although marriage and family are given some attention in this model, the dominant role for men in early to middle adulthood is work commitment and career progression (Bardwick, 1980; Rossi, 1980). Developmental tasks at all levels, and particularly in the midlife period, center around individuation and career success (Giele, 1982). For men, individual achievement rather than attachment sets the standard for identity and success (Gilligan, 1980).

Women's development. In contrast to the male model described by Levinson, women's development is often described in affiliative terms (Bardwick, 1980; Giele, 1982; Gilligan, 1980; Miller, 1986; Rossi, 1980). When asked "who are you?" women will most often respond in terms of relationships—mother, wife, friend, daughter (Gilligan, 1980). Connection to others is the primary theme of women's identity. Components of identity for women include family roles, career paths, interpersonal relationships, and self-concept (Evans, 1985). Josselson's (1996) model of women's development includes connection as a core construct but also adds competence as a second core. Josselson's model, which is described in detail in a later section of this chapter, holds particular value in her redefining competence and connection as neither rigidly dichotomous nor specifically gender-identified. Competence can apply to success in both career and relationships; connection can occur in both relationship and work settings.

While women's identity is most often associated with relationships, career and competence issues also play a role (Baruch, Barnett, & Rivers, 1983). No one role in a woman's life is solely responsible for her sense of competence and self-esteem. These factors depend on the structure of the role and the value attached to it (Giele, 1982; Whitbourne, 1986). Studies of depression and well-being in women show that they are affected by women's sense of competence and efficacy (Giele, 1982). Additionally, different life paths for women such as career orientation or family orientation are not

related to an overall sense of well-being; therefore identity in women draws its source from more than just career or family (Vandewater & Stewart, 1997). Women's identity is more likely related to a personally appropriate balance between these two domains.

Difference between men's and women's models. Comparisons between men's and women's developmental models center around the agency/affiliation dichotomy: men's identity is egocentric and women's identity is interdependent (Bardwick, 1980); men are concerned with separation in defining the self and women are concerned with attachment to the human community (Gilligan, 1980); individuation is more important for men and relationships are more important for women (Giele, 1982).

These developmental assumptions about men and women are not universal. Some believe that viewing men in terms of work or agency and women in terms of family or affiliation falsely dichotomizes the importance of both aspects in both genders' lives. In both men's and women's development, there is a crossover effect that occurs in later life (Giele, 1980). Men become more affiliative and women become more agentic (Rossi, 1980). Bakan (1966) described the chief developmental task for both men and women as integrating agency and affiliation.

Social and historical context. In her analysis of adult development theories, Rossi (1980) found that "most of what we know in American social science research about middle age has … come from people who were either born during the Depression or spent their early childhood in families which experienced it" (p. 14). Thus, the social and historical context must be considered when examining theory (Hulbert, 1993). During identity construction in youth, historical and cultural norms define appropriate work, marital, and social roles for men and women (Giele, 1993). Adherence to or divergence from socially constructed norms, therefore, would define expected development for men and women.

After the broad changes effected by the women's movement in the 1970s, social norms became more accepting of women's work outside the home (Giele, 1982). One impact of the feminist movement was a change in the balance of work and family roles. In Parker and Aldwin's (1997) longitudinal analysis of women college graduates, they found that career importance for women increased in the 1979 graduates, compared to the 1969 sample. This balance shifted in the 1991 cohort, with that group committed to a dual-role lifestyle, raising the importance of both career and family. Giele's (1993) research similarly found that "the most common—and, apparently, the most rewarding—role pattern for educated women in the late twentieth century is a multiple-role pattern, which combines traditional wife-mother duties and paid employment" (p. 36).

Josselson's (1996) theory of women's identity provides a good basis on which to build a study of feminist identity. Her conceptualization of connection and competence as complementary and overlapping is a more comprehensive view of identity for women than some previous theories. Josselson places women's identity in a social context and allows for the possibility of multiple roles for women. Her theory is described in detail in the following section.

Josselson's Theory of Women's Identity Development

Josselson (1987) built on earlier work by Marcia (1966) to develop a theory on "the internal and developmental roots of identity formation in women" (Josselson, 1987, p. 33). By interviewing women during their last year in college and again at ages 33 and 43, Josselson collected evidence of the ways that women form and transform themselves and their identities. Over the course of 22 years, Josselson talked to women about their lives, using as a basis Marcia's interview protocol, which poses questions in four areas: occupation, religion, politics, and sexual values.

Although all three of Josselson's studies looked at identity, her specific research questions varied. The first study of women in late college years focused on the process of identity formation (Josselson, 1987). These 60 women were, in late adolescence, at the point of establishing identity based on Erikson's model. The critical question at this stage was how identity formed for women and what accounted for differences among them in this process.

In the second study, conducted 12 years later when the women were 33 years old, Josselson interviewed 33 women from the original group (Josselson, 1987). At this point, she was searching for dominant themes for women's development and the different pathways to identity. She was also looking to see if the developmental issues uncovered in the first interviews were resolved in the expected ways, for example, if women who had not yet reached the commitment point in college had done so by early adulthood.

The third round of interviews with this group of women occurred 10 years later at age 43. Thirty of the women in the previous group were located and agreed to be interviewed again. Josselson (1996) wrote that the purpose of this third study was:

> to discover what the differences among these women could
> teach me about identity in women. What are its
> components and what are its crucial determinants? How
> can we name and appreciate both the commonalities and
> the differences among women as they construct their
> identity and, in doing so, weave their lives? (p. 41).

Through the lives of these women, Josselson paints a picture of how identity is formed and revised over the life course, what its important elements are, and how it is expressed differently by different individuals.

Identity Defined

At its most basic level, identity is how people make sense of their experience and how they communicate their meaning systems to others (Josselson, 1987). The central questions of identity are:

What matters to you? What goals do you pursue? How do
you want others to think of you? What do you believe in?
What guides your actions? Whom do you love? What
values do you hold dear? Where do you expend your
passion? What causes you pain? (Josselson, 1996, p. 29).

By answering these questions, consciously or unconsciously, people define who they are
and what they consider to be important.

Developing identity is a uniquely personal process, yet it takes place within an
interpersonal and a cultural context. On the personal level, identity is the core of being.
Even as other aspects of the self change, there remains a central set of characteristics that
make a person recognizable to others. This sense of self is not a singular phenomenon.
Identity is not one thing; rather it is a combination of roles, beliefs, and values, each of
which works together to form the whole. Josselson (1996) described this through the
metaphor of a tapestry, each strand woven together in multiple layers to create the
complete work.

Identity takes place in an interpersonal context. By comparing themselves with others,
people determine who they are and who they are not. They identify themselves both by
comparing with others to see what goals and values are shared and by contrasting with
others to see what is unique (Josselson, 1996). Identity is also culturally defined. People
see themselves in relation to their degree of adherence to society's shared beliefs, goals,
and attitudes.

Identity is how we interpret our own existence and
understand who we are in our world. I am a woman, but my
identity as a woman is my unique way of being a woman in
the culture in which I live. (Josselson, 1996, p. 30)

How Identity Forms and Reforms

Coming to identity is a process of creating the self through making choices and decisions.
It is a simultaneous negotiation of deciding who one is and who one is not (Josselson,
1996). This process of identity formation is unique to each individual and occurs
gradually rather than all at once (Josselson, 1987). Personality structure, childhood
conflicts, cultural norms, and family dynamics are some of the factors that may influence
the choices available and those made.

Erikson (1959/1980) described adolescence as the time for searching for and trying on
identities; Josselson (1987) echoed this, describing the identity that a young woman
forms in late adolescence as the foundation for her adult identity. This adolescent identity
is not the end, however. Growth occurs throughout the life course as identity is
reexamined and revised.

In her analysis of the interviews of women at age 33, Josselson (1987) observed growth in the women since adolescence. She defined this growth as "increased internalization, increased ability to stand alone, to set individual goals, to be aware of who one is" (p. 180). In the follow-up study, Josselson (1996) used the term "revisions" to describe the process of "making meaning and thinking about the self in new ways, effecting fundamental transformations in experiencing life" (p. 245). This process of growth and revision expands identity without altering it completely. A central core of constancy in identity remains, providing continuity amid the revisions. It is likely that for some women feminist identity comes as a result of this revision process. While some women find feminism early, for others it comes later in life (Astin & Leland, 1993). Becoming aware of feminist ideologies can cause a revision in how women think about themselves and their environments, resulting in an identity transformation.

Whereas Erikson (1959/1980) viewed identity as one stage in a larger process of development, Josselson's approach has been to focus on identity as the central issue for overall development in women. Reinharz (1992) argued that stage theories make value judgments with their implications that later stages are inherently better than previous stages. Josselson's approach to identity as not stage-related but rather as a unique process of shifting patterns in competence and connection allows for a positive evaluation of each of the four identity statuses.

Identity Statuses

Josselson (1973) followed Marcia's (1966; Schenkel & Marcia, 1972) protocol to assess the identity status of women in late college. Questions about the women's experience with crisis and commitment were asked in four areas—occupation, politics, religion, and sexual standards. From these interviews, the participants were placed in one of the four identity statuses: foreclosure, identity achievement, moratorium, or diffusion. Josselson later renamed these types as Guardians (foreclosure), Pathmakers (identity achievement), Searchers (moratorium), and Drifters (diffusion) to reflect language that is more accessible and descriptive than the previous terms (Josselson, 1996). In subsequent interviews, questions about life history, general circumstances (for example, health and financial status), and personal growth were added.

Once assigned to a status group after the college interviews, the women in Josselson's study were not reclassified based on later interviews. The original assignments were retained to keep comparison groups intact (Josselson, 1987). Although she emphasizes that the type by which women approach identity is not fixed, the categories still serve to frame the general themes of development and the ways that development differs among the four groups. Josselson stated, "As the complexity of life increases after college, so do the differences among them, and they divide less neatly into well-marked groups" (1996, p. 41). Because there are no adequate psychological instruments to classify identity in adults, the four types serve as a frame of reference from which to examine developmental themes (Josselson, 1996). These classifications do hold up to describe life course development, although the labels may not be an accurate reflection of an individual's

current status. The descriptions relate to the process of development, not necessarily to the end state. Josselson's four types are described below, including themes of growth and development.

Guardians

Also called foreclosure, this status includes women who have made identity commitments in the absence of crisis or exploration. These commitments are primarily an extension of parental or childhood choices. The person in the Guardian status has a high need for security, which she derives from maintaining close connections with her family. A Guardian has a strong desire to please others and to do what is expected of her—to be a "good girl." This is related to her need to feel loved and cared for (Josselson, 1996).

The Guardians are uninsightful about themselves, having made unexamined commitments to parentally determined roles and values. This is accompanied by a strong sense of duty and strong moral values. Women in this status have a high degree of self-esteem and a low degree of anxiety about their lives (Marcia & Friedman, 1970). They have the courage of their convictions, having made choices they believe are morally right and based on tradition. Occupationally, Guardians may be described as hard working, responsible, and capable. Their perfectionism and strong sense of purpose lead to a high degree of career success. Women in a Guardian status are not likely to espouse feminism, holding more traditional views passed down through family tradition (Josselson, 1996).

As they grow older, Guardians remain more rigid, moralistic, and suspicious of change than women in the other statuses. Their lives are founded in family, heritage, and duty; success depends on finding a mate who shares these values. Maturity for these women brings greater self-awareness while still maintaining structure. Guardians in midlife learn to rely on their own authority rather than granting that authority to a parent or partner. Themes of growth for Guardians include getting to know themselves and giving voice to what had been silenced for approval or security. For Guardians, "the strong convictions of their youth, opened to question only much later in life than for many other women, paved the way for more independent decision-making in midlife" (Josselson, 1996, p. 70).

Pathmakers

The Pathmakers, also known as identity achievement, have arrived at commitments after having considered alternatives and making deliberate decisions. There are different paths to this status. Some women go through a crisis period of actively searching and questioning; others begin from a foreclosure state, moving from pleasing their parents to greater self-reliance and internalized self-esteem gradually rather than through conflict. Of the four status groups, the Pathmakers are least likely to follow the same paths and are most proud of having made their own way to identity (Josselson, 1996).

The predominant theme for the Pathmaker group is independence. Pathmakers rely on their own accomplishments for their self-esteem rather than on the approval of parents. Along with this independence comes a greater degree of self-reliance and greater ability to form progressive relationships with partners or friends. This group is most likely to have a strong, supportive network of friends and a partner who supports their independence. In contrast to the Guardians who are not able to separate and individuate from parents, the Pathmakers are individuated and able to be critical of their parents, often resulting in deliberate distancing from them (Josselson, 1996).

Pathmakers are no higher in intelligence than other groups, but are more likely to value their own competence and afford it high standing in their personality structure. This carries through to all aspects of their lives as they achieve balance among work, relationships, and other areas. Women in this status could be described as pragmatic and realistic. They take a practical approach to work and place it in perspective with other priorities, such as partner and children. They are professionally ambitious, but aim for personal success rather than fame or status. Pathmakers carry their pragmatism to spirituality and tend not to have connections to religion. Most Pathmakers are supportive of feminist causes, but are no more likely than women in other statuses to call themselves feminists (Josselson, 1996).

In later life, Pathmakers are settled, but not rigid. The balance achieved among their multiple roles allows them to be ready for further growth. One area in which this growth frequently occurs is in reestablishing relationships with parents, putting aside previous difficulties and developing closer ties. Themes of growth for Pathmakers include balancing their inner resources with what society can offer them (Josselson, 1996).

Searchers

The Searcher is in a moratorium status, actively exploring alternatives and struggling to make choices. Perhaps the most challenging aspects of this status is that the Searchers are looking for the *right* answers to resolve their identity issues, convinced that there is a right answer somewhere to be found (Josselson, 1996).

Guilt is an omnipresent theme for the Searchers group. Searchers are likely to have overprotective parents from whom they are actively disentangling themselves. This frequently means doing things of which parents would not approve and then feeling guilty. Searchers turn to peers, friends, or partners to validate their behaviors and replace the support system no longer found with parents. A strong need for relationships is characteristic of this group. Supportive others are necessary to help the Searchers develop an independent identity (Josselson, 1996).

Compared to the other statuses, Searchers are more insightful, more self-reflective, and more sensitive. They are also more emotional, given to greater extremes of highs and lows. They tend to have grandiose daydreams of success and to idealize others. For the Searchers, "the deeper, knottier problems of identity lie in relationships, in belief, and in feeling at home in who they are" (Josselson, 1996, p. 130). There were many examples of

feminist consciousness in Searchers, as they explored these ideas on their quests to identity. Many women in this status had been active in political issues during the late 1960s when they were in college. Increasing commitment to feminism occurred later for some of them; others did not pursue feminist causes although they continued to believe in feminist principles (Josselson, 1996).

In adulthood, Searchers had widely varying paths toward identity. Themes of growth for this group are found from drawing a pattern from one of the other groups. They may reclaim their previous identity, like the Guardians; they may integrate old and new aspects of themselves, as the Pathmakers do; or they may seek to contain the contradictory fragments of their identities, like the Drifters. Most Searchers do find a way to resolve the identity dilemma and create a coherent sense of self (Josselson, 1996).

Drifters

The Drifters, or identity diffusion, are the most difficult to classify because of their diffuse and unformed identities. These are individuals who have not made commitments and who are not concerned about that. One characteristic of this group is their failure at internalization. They have experiences, but are not able to incorporate them into their personalities and translate that into change. The Drifters have typically been unable to form a positive identification with either parent and are therefore unable to internalize childhood experiences. As a result, they have to invent themselves absent parental direction (Josselson, 1996).

Drifters are aware of all the possibilities but are unable to choose. This often leads to a sense of regret over missed opportunities. They may take up feminist issues as one form of possibility, but are not likely to become lifelong activists. Drifters are very aware of their feelings and are often quite talented. They have wishes and dreams, but do not have the means to put them into action (Josselson, 1996).

This status can be resolved in many ways. Some women find others to define them, granting authority to a partner, a job, or a religion. Others become more aware and accepting of themselves, gaining greater consciousness and control. They apply a sense of organization to their lives and become more stable and committed. These women are more likely in their 30s and 40s to speak passionately about political issues than they were in college. For others, identity is never fully resolved and they continue to drift, changing according to new experiences or influences (Josselson, 1996).

These four statuses represent different ways of being in the world, with the distinguishing characteristic of women's readiness to claim their place. Although the paths are distinct, by midlife they converge and most women arrive at similar places (Josselson, 1996), having grown through "increased internalization, increased ability to stand alone, to set individual goals, [and] to be aware of who one is" (Josselson, 1987, p. 180).

It is tempting to look at the four statuses as developmental stages, where an individual would begin in foreclosure, experience a crisis that causes them to drift, go through a period of searching, and ultimately achieve identity (Widick et al., 1978). The sequences are not linear, predictable, or hierarchical, however. Josselson's (1996) research reveals multiple paths to identity and multiple ways of negotiating work, family, politics, religion, and sexuality to define the self.

Themes of Identity

Other theorists have identified two spheres of human existence, defined as work and love (Freud, as cited in Baruch, Barnett, & Rivers, 1983), agency and communion (Bakan, 1966), or mastery and pleasure (Baruch et al., 1983), among other terms. Each of these conceptualizations dichotomizes the experience. Josselson (1996) instead theorizes that women's identity is formed in the overlapping domains of competence and connection. Competence refers to the feeling of being effective and doing things of value; connection refers to having ties with others.

Competence and connection, as used by Josselson, are broader than Freud's view of work and love. The traditional male-identified definitions of work and love do not fit most women's experiences. Competence goes beyond employment and connection goes beyond relationships with partner and children. "Competence includes the sense of having meaningful import in others' lives and connection embraces skill in making deep and abiding ties" (Josselson, 1996, p. 179). Erikson (1968) holds that occupation and ideology are the core concepts for identity formation. For women, this is only true if these concepts are redefined to include connection (Josselson, 1996). "Women bring relatedness to the workplace [and] they also bring working to relationships" (Josselson, 1987, p. 184).

Competence

The theme of competence in Josselson's (1996) work addresses women's feelings of agency and efficacy in multiple realms. A sense of competence is manifested in work roles, from non-work sources, and in relationships.

Work. Competence at work for women is tied to relatedness rather than ambition. For the women in Josselson's study, occupation was what they did rather than who they are. Identity in occupation is related to the degree to which the work is meaningful to others and has impact in their lives. "The issue for women is no longer *whether* they work outside the home but *how* they work—with what meaning, what investment, what expectation, and what reward" (Josselson, 1996, p. 182, emphasis in original).

Josselson found that women rarely view their work as central to their identities. The specific job could be left or changed without losing the core sense of self. What is more important is the sense of community in the job setting. Similarly, money or salary are not as meaningful for women. Even when well-paid, women may not feel a sense of

competence in their work. "Success is measured in human terms. Power is sought in order to be of use to others. Effect is measured empathically rather than numerically" (Josselson, 1996, p. 184).

Non-work sources. Competence for women is not only related to occupation. Home, community, church, or political organizations are also sources for feelings of effectiveness, meaning, and value. The women in Josselson's studies derived competence from such activities as building, decorating, or remodeling a house, gardening, entertaining, and doing volunteer work. Feminist women are likely to include activism as an area of competence. A sense of accomplishment enhances the identity-relatedness of pursuits, whether work-related or from other sources.

Relationships. The overlap between competence and connection is seen most in interpersonal relationships. "Women derive their sense of competence (and, therefore, identity) from within an interpersonal web" (Josselson, 1996, p. 195). Competence in relationships comes from feeling personal success at maintaining relationships. Accomplishments such as success in raising children and having long marriages were reported with pride by Josselson's participants. "Women bring creativity, ingenuity, and ideals to their relationships, whether at home or in the workplace. Skill and success in relatedness therefore become keystones of identity. A woman does not make a clear separation between relating and work (Josselson, 1987, p. 184).

Connection

Identity expresses both our separateness from others and our way of connecting ourselves to others—who we are as individuals and who we are in relation to others. The cultural locus for identity is in individuality and solo achievement. For women, however, identity resides in feelings of connection. "Communion, connection, relational embeddedness, spirituality, affiliation—with these women construct an identity" (Josselson, 1987, p. 191). Connection provides the core of women's sense of themselves. The realms of connection include family, friendship, and spirituality.

Family. For women with partners, the integration of identity necessitates interweaving the self-identity with the partner's needs. Negotiating a partner relationship, therefore, affects how identity is expressed and developed. The connection and commitment to a partner becomes an integral part of the self-identity as a woman says, "I am a wife," or "I am a lover," or "I am a partner." The self, then, becomes entwined with the partner's identity by this connection.

For women with children, their children are an integral part of their identities. Women describe mothering as the single most life-changing event of their lives. The permanent, unbreakable connection adds a new dimension to mothers' identities. Identity as a mother is more than the title itself, but is also rooted in being successful in this role—being a "particular sort of mother with carefully etched values and goals: a good mother, a loving mother" (Josselson, 1996, p. 219). Thus, the element of competence comes into the

connection as a mother. Josselson found that women without children also rooted their identities in connection, just not to their own children. This often occurred through other people's children, as an aunt, godmother, or close friend.

Being a daughter and a sister is also important to identity. Josselson found that even at midlife women held much of their identity in relation to their family of origin. From age 33 to 43, many of Josselson's participants looked to renegotiate their relationships with their parents, with the aim of being accepted as an adult. Relationships with family members are not equally important to identity. Fathers play a more important role in adolescent identity formation, but are not as influential in later life. Siblings are not as important to identity, although in some cases they have a strong influence. The relationship to mother, however, is central to identity definition. Josselson reports, "the intricacy of a woman's connection to her mother is so profound and far-reaching that I have come to the conclusion that one can learn more about who a woman 'is' by knowing about her relationship to her mother than any other single aspect of her life" (1996, p. 229). As a woman decides who she will be as a mother, she accepts or rejects aspects of the mothering she received. Therefore, the link from mother to mother is inextricable.

Friends. The connection to friendship is most influential to identity during exploration. Friends serve as a mirror by which to test identities and try out different ways of being. Friends also provide feedback and support during a period of redefining who to be. They provide a context outside of the family for checking beliefs and assumptions as the separation and individuation process proceeds.

Spirituality. Women also experience connection through spirituality. Although religion has not received adequate attention in psychological theory, its importance is evidenced by Josselson's sample. More than one-half of her interviewees place part of their identity in spirituality. These women gave more importance to social and religious issues than political or occupational ones. This provides further evidence to support the idea that connection and communion is more central to women's identities than agency and competence.

It is important not to equate connection with selflessness. As Josselson says, "To find oneself with others does not involve obliterating the self any more than identity in competence means annihilating others" (1996, p. 210). Connection in women's identity involves working at relationships so that they are mutually beneficial and equally fulfilling. The women in Josselson's studies viewed ideal partnerships, for example, as egalitarian and coequal. Connection in this type of relationship allows both partners to develop fully as individuals as they maintain a support system for each other. This notion fits with a feminist ideal of marriage as equal partnership where both partners bring equal value to the union.

Feminism in Identity

The women in Josselson's study came of age at the dawn of the modern women's movement. Few of them were involved in feminist causes during college, as "ideas about full equality for women were just emerging" (Josselson, 1996, p. 20). None were leaders in campus politics. Later in their lives, they became increasingly aware of discrimination against women. Women's issues became real rather than abstract for some of the women, yet they did not pursue organized activism. Few of the women converted a sense of moral beliefs in women's equality into social action.

By age 43, all of the women in Josselson's study espoused beliefs in the feminist principles of equality and freedom, although only four participated in women's groups or identified themselves as feminists. "A few identified themselves with the women's movement. Most had not considered themselves feminists at any time in their lives, although nearly all remain passionately committed to the idea of equality and choice for women" (Josselson, 1996, p. 25). For some the political is personal, as they raise their daughters toward feminist ideals.

Multiple Aspects of Identity

Although Josselson's theory is compelling, the research on which it is based has limitations. Her sample is composed exclusively of white women; there is no way to draw conclusions about the applicability of this model for women of color. Similarly, it is not possible to explore differences by sexual orientation because of the low number of lesbian or bisexual women in the study. Very little subsequent research has been conducted using Josselson's model as a basis (Evans et al., 1998). Further study is required to explore the multiple ways that connections and commitment impact women's lives.

One study to look at multiple identities was conducted using college students (Jones, 1997). Basing her research on Josselson's (1987) study, Jones (1997) used a grounded theory approach to understand multiple dimensions of identity development in women. Interviewing 10 women diverse in race, culture, religion, and sexual orientation, Jones identified 10 key categories which when combined form one core area of the contextual influences on the construction of identity. Five of the 10 categories could be seen as relating to intersections of multiple identities:

1. Relative salience of identity dimensions in relation to difference.

2. The multiple ways in which race matters.

3. The multiple layers of identity.

4. Braiding of gender.

> 5. Importance of cultural identification and cultural values.
> (Jones, 1997, p. 379)

Josselson's (1996) themes of connection and competence in identity are evident throughout these key categories. The ways that women see themselves as like others or as different from others, including family and cultural identifications, is a pervasive theme. Jones's multiple dimensions of identity offer a contextual view of the development of a self definition. Many of the key categories she identified relate to values and beliefs held by feminists, such as the influence of social and cultural standards on how women evaluate themselves (Sapiro, 1990). Although feminism was not an element of Jones's study, she provides evidence of a link between identity development and feminist identity.

In addition to gender, identifiers such as sexual orientation and race play a role in identity formation. Chickering and Reisser (1993) place "comfort with gender and sexual orientation" and "sense of self in a social, historical, and cultural context" (p. 49) as important elements in the development of individual identity. Because sexual orientation and race are dimensions of difference that are expected to impact experience in significant ways, separate models of identity development have been developed on these areas.

Sexual Orientation

Two theories dominate the literature about sexual orientation identity: Cass's (1979) theory of homosexual identity formation and D'Augelli's (1994) model of lesbian, gay, and bisexual development.

Cass's Model of Homosexual Identity Formation

Cass (1979) proposes six developmental stages necessary for the successful integration of a homosexual identity into overall self concept. Stage one, identity confusion, is the beginning consciousness that homosexuality might be relevant to the individual and his or her behavior. This stage is characterized by an incongruence between the person's current thoughts, feelings, or behaviors and the previous assumption by self and others of the person as heterosexual. This incongruence starts a period of confusion and internal searching. During stage two, identity comparison, the individual makes a tentative internal commitment to a homosexual self. The task at this level is to handle feelings of social alienation. Individuals at this stage maintain a public image of heterosexuality while exploring their homosexual identity (Cass, 1979).

An increased commitment to accepting homosexuality as an identity occurs in stage three, identity tolerance. Making contact with other gay men and lesbians at this stage is important to creating a positive valuation of a homosexual identity and the gay subculture. Continuing and increasing contacts with gay men and lesbians leads to validation and normalization of identity in stage four, identity acceptance. Although the

individual has accepted a personal homosexual identity at this point, he or she continues to compartmentalize this identity through "passing" for heterosexual in some situations. As trust increases, disclosure to heterosexuals will begin in this stage (Cass, 1979).

A more positive private and public identity occurs in stage five, identity pride. Individuals here have a heightened awareness of the difference between a positive self-concept and society's rejection of homosexuality. This results in a strong connection with the gay subculture accompanied by anger toward and rejection of heterosexual society. Publicly "coming out" as a homosexual and activism are hallmarks of stage five. The final point in Cass's model, stage six, is identity synthesis. The dichotomized view of homosexual and heterosexual groups is diminished and the individual is able to look at both groups relativistically. There is a maximal congruency for individuals at this stage because of the ability to see similarities between themselves and heterosexuals and dissimilarities between themselves and other homosexuals. The personal and public identities are merged into one coherent sense of self. A gay or lesbian identity is integrated into all aspects of the self (Cass, 1979).

Cass (1979) emphasized that progression through these stages is not inevitable. A negative experience at any stage could cause the individual to foreclose at that stage or retreat to an earlier stage. However, the hierarchical nature of stages proposed by Cass implies that all stages must be experienced in the correct order for full development to occur. D'Augelli (1994) offered a different view of positive gay, lesbian, or bisexual identity development.

D'Augelli's Model of Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Development

D'Augelli (1994) rejected previous identity theory as essentialist, consisting of invariable stages and sequences of individual development which, once formed, remain stable throughout the life span. Instead, he reframed identity as a social construction, influenced by cultural, political, and societal expectations in a human development context. Assumptions underlying D'Augelli's model are: (a) individual development is a lifelong process; (b) environmental, physical, and biological factors influence the individual and create "developmental plasticity" (D'Augelli, 1994, p. 320); (c) individual development is unique to each person over his or her life span; and (d) individuals have significant impact on their own development, resulting from conscious choice and action.

Using these assumptions as a background, D'Augelli offered six processes toward developing a lesbian, gay, or bisexual identity. Each process occurs within a social, political and cultural context which influences its resolution. These processes are:

1. Exiting heterosexual identity. This includes both personal recognition of non-heterosexuality and disclosing a lesbian, gay, or bisexual identity to others.

2. Developing a personal lesbian-gay-bisexual identity status. During this process, the individual establishes an internal identity structure that integrates both intellectual and emotional processes. Adopting a personal label as lesbian, gay, or bisexual also initiates

seeking similarly-labeled people in a community. Additionally, developing a personal identity status requires recognizing and deconstructing internalized myths about non-heterosexuality.

3. Developing a lesbian-gay-bisexual social identity. "This involves creating a large and varied set of people who know of the person's sexual orientation and are available to provide social support" (D'Augelli, 1994, p. 326). The ideal social network is affirmative and allows the individual to be open about his or her sexual orientation.

4. Becoming a lesbian-gay-bisexual offspring. After an initial disruption of the parental relationship which is likely to follow disclosure of sexual orientation, reintegration into the family structure is an important next step. For this process to be resolved successfully, the family must become an affirmative support network.

5. Developing a lesbian-gay-bisexual intimacy status. Entering into a positive committed relationship is difficult in a society without models of same-sex pairings. Resolving this process requires the creation of new personal and community norms to support such relationships.

6. Entering a lesbian-gay-bisexual community. This process has an activist orientation, involving personal or collective commitment to political or social action. D'Augelli (1994) emphasized:

> To be lesbian, gay, or bisexual in the fullest sense—to have a meaningful identity—leads to a consciousness of the history of one's own oppression. It also, generally, leads to an appreciation of how the oppression continues, and a commitment to resisting it. (p. 328)

Both Cass and D'Augelli emphasize that a complete view of individual identity requires attention to all aspects of a person's life. Sexual orientation is an important dimension that cannot be dismissed in studying the whole person in a social context. Similarly, racial identity is a dimension of life for people of color and must be considered in the study of overall development for that population. The Cross (1971) model of racial identity development has been used as a framework for other identity theory, including the Downing and Roush (1985) model of feminist identity development.

Racial Identity

The primary model of African American identity development was created by Cross (1971). Cross outlined five stages of progressive development in achieving positive Black identity. In the first stage, pre-encounter, individuals view race as unimportant and seek assimilation into white society. Emphasis is placed on individual achievement, not on collective or group action. Parham and Helms (1985) found a link between the pre-encounter stage and decreased self-concept in African American students.

Stage two, encounter, is precipitated by a significant event or crisis, causing the individual to question previous assumptions. Two steps are included in the encounter stage; first, the encounter experience, and second, reinterpreting the world based on this experience. During this second step, individuals test new ideas and behaviors related to insights gained (Cross, 1971). This leads to stage three, immersion-emersion.

The beginning phase of stage three is characterized by an immersion in Black culture and a rejection of white culture. Individuals take on African-inspired dress and hair styles and use creative means such as poetry, music, and art to express their blackness. At the same time, anger and rage surface toward white people and culture. The individualism of earlier stages is replaced by a strong group identity and belief in collectivism (Cross, 1971).

As the individual begins to emerge in the second phase of stage three, dualistic views are replaced by a more complex understanding of African American experience. Not able to sustain the intense emotionality of immersion, the individual seeks to stabilize emotions. A sense of pride replaces the guilt feelings evident in the immersion phase (Cross, 1971).

In the fourth stage, internalization, the individual resolves conflicts between the old identity and the new worldview. Increased self-confidence and an increasingly pluralistic perspective are characteristics of this stage (Cross, 1971; Evans et al., 1998).

The final stage in Cross's model is internalization-commitment. During this stage, the individual "translates the new identity into meaningful activities that address concerns and problems shared by African Americans and other oppressed peoples" (Evans et al., 1998, p. 76). A strong sense of collective responsibility develops as individuals in stage five become guides and mentors for people in earlier stages (Cross, 1971).

Identity and Feminism

Identity consists of multiple layers in the construction of the self. Just as race and sexual orientation are core elements of identity for some women, feminism may be an essential self-defining element. Of particular interest to the study of feminist identity is the aspect of identity as the "sense of self in a social, historical, and cultural context" (Chickering & Reisser, 1993, p. 49). This offers an interpretation of the blending of feminist identity with feminist ideology.

Factors of Feminist Identity

Researchers have framed the concept of feminist identity development in different ways, related to attitudes toward women and feminism, self-labeling as a feminist, social identity theory, the diversity of feminisms, and experience of discrimination. This section presents several different approaches to defining feminist identity.

Attitudes Toward Women and Feminism

The extent to which an individual holds positive attitudes towards women's issues and the feminist movement influences her or his willingness to identify as a feminist. Several researchers found strong support for feminist ideology in college students. Twenge (1997) analyzed 25 years of secondary data using Spence and Helmreich's (1972) Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS) and found increasing support for liberal and feminist attitudes in both women and men. Buschman and Lenart's (1996) study of 261 Purdue University women found only 4% of the sample to be anti-feminist, indicating strong support for feminist ideology. Renzetti (1987) found similar pro-feminist attitudes among women at a predominantly white, Catholic university. These studies indicate positive attitudes toward women and feminism but did not investigate whether those attitudes were related to self-identification as a feminist. Other researchers used data about attitudes as an indicator of profeminist ideology to predict self-labeling as a feminist (Cowan et al., 1992; Myaskovsky & Wittig, 1997; Williams & Wittig, 1997).

Feminist Self-Labeling

Bargad and Hyde (1991) questioned whether one must identify as a feminist to be considered a feminist. Cowan et al. (1992) found that feminist self-labeling was positively related to a positive opinion of the feminist movement, profeminist ideology, political liberalism, collective orientation, and a positive perception of the term "feminist." Williams and Wittig (1997) had similar results, finding that feminist self identification was predicted by positive evaluation of feminists, belief in collective action, and exposure to feminism. Of those individuals who support feminist goals, however, many do not accept the label of "feminist" (Myaskovsky & Wittig, 1997; Williams & Wittig, 1997). One of the factors related to the rejection of the feminist label is social identity theory.

Social Identity Theory

"Social identity theory attempts to predict the conditions under which people will feel motivated, individually or collectively, to maintain or change their group membership and their intergroup situation" (Myaskovsky & Wittig, 1997, p. 862). Individuals who believe that they are permanently connected to a group and that collective action is the only means to improve their position will be more predisposed to social change (Myaskovsky & Wittig, 1997). Self concept in relation to group identity includes both a personal and a social aspect: personal identity distinguishes the self from other individuals; social identity is an individual's self-concept as a group member. Naming oneself as a feminist has both components—private self-labeling and naming to others are aspects of identification with group membership (Williams & Wittig, 1997). The willingness to identify with a group depends on a positive view of that group (Cowan et al., 1992; Myaskovsky & Wittig, 1997). Support of feminist goals in itself is not sufficient to identify oneself as a feminist (Myaskovsky & Wittig, 1997; Renzetti, 1987; Williams & Wittig, 1997).

Conversely, feminist identification does not necessarily imply support of feminist political beliefs. In a summary of National Election Studies (NES) data, significant percentages of women who identify as feminists agreed with statements outside of the definition of feminism (Russo, 1998). For example, 32.7% agreed that pushing for equal rights has gone too far and 37.9% agreed that less attention should be paid to equality. Although 75.5% of feminists believe in collective action, 23.5% believe that individual efforts alone are sufficient to improve women's positions. The feminists surveyed also had widely ranging opinions on such issues as abortion rights and traditional family values. Unifying issues for this group were feelings about the treatment of women in society, sexual harassment, and belief in equal roles and power in government, business and industry, and family. Clearly, the label "feminist" means different things to different people (Russo, 1998).

Diversity of Feminisms

One criticism of feminist identity research is that it is restricted to liberal feminist ideology (Henley, Meng, O'Brien, McCarthy, & Sockloskie, 1998). Other feminist theoretical perspectives, such as radical, socialist, or cultural feminism, as well as political conservatism, (Jaggar & Rothenberg, 1993) have implications for understanding feminist attitudes (Henley et al., 1998). The Feminist Perspective Scale was developed by Henley et al. (1998) to provide an alternative way to measure the diversity of feminist thought. Six subscales assess attitudes towards conservatism, liberal feminism, radical feminism, socialist feminism, cultural feminism, and womanist views. Although the research reported by Henley et al. was a reliability and validity study, further research will be helpful in determining the relationship of the feminist perspective scale to other variables such as self-labeling and social identity. This measure might also be useful in studying developmental changes in attitudes toward women (Henley et al., 1998).

Experience of Discrimination

The final category of analysis for this discussion of feminist identity is the experience of gender-based discrimination. Research on this variable yielded mixed results. In some cases, women who have experienced discrimination are more supportive of feminist goals than women who have not experienced discrimination (Buschman & Lenart, 1996; Myaskovsky & Wittig; 1997; Renzetti, 1987). Faculty women surveyed indicated that experiencing gender discrimination contributed to developing a feminist consciousness. Further, the majority stated that feminist beliefs helped them cope with discrimination (Klonis, Endo, Crosby, & Worell, 1997). Other studies did not find a link between recognition or experience of discrimination and feminist identity (Cowan et al., 1992; Williams & Wittig, 1997). It is possible that recognition of discrimination is present in other measures of feminism, such as support of feminist goals, and therefore was not a singular predictor of feminist attitudes (Williams & Wittig, 1997). A discriminatory event may not always be recognized as discrimination, and therefore would not necessarily be linked to feminist beliefs.

Each of these factors describes one aspect of feminist identity. A comprehensive model of feminist identity development would incorporate these factors into a theoretical framework. One such model offered by Downing and Roush (1985) is described below.

Feminist Identity Development Theory

A review of literature related to feminist identity development indicates that the theory proposed by Downing and Roush (1985) has been widely cited and researched (Bargad & Hyde, 1991; Fischer & Good, 1994; Gerstmann & Kramer, 1997; Henderson-King & Stewart, 1997; Myaskovsky & Wittig, 1997; Ng, Dunne, & Cataldo, 1995; Rickard, 1989; Weathers, Thompson, Robert, and Rodriguez, 1994; Williams & Wittig, 1997). Drawing on their personal and clinical experiences in psychotherapy with women, Downing and Roush modified Cross's (1971) theory of Black identity development for an application to women.

Downing and Roush's Theory of Feminist Identity

Downing and Roush (1985) adapted the Cross model to apply to feminist identity development. Because of the parallel experiences of prejudice and discrimination that women share with minority groups, Downing and Roush believe that they will experience similar developmental processes. Directly paralleling Cross's model, the five stages of the Downing and Roush model are passive acceptance, revelation, embeddedness-emanation, synthesis, and active commitment.

The passive acceptance stage is characterized by belief in traditional gender roles, which are viewed as advantageous for women. Men are considered to be superior; discrimination and prejudice are not recognized (Downing & Roush, 1985).

Stage two, revelation, is marked by questioning of self and traditional roles. A crisis or series of contradictions, where discrimination is experienced and/or recognized, precipitates the revelation stage. Events that lead to this stage could include participation in consciousness-raising groups, divorce, or involvement in the women's movement. Downing and Roush (1985) describe this as a period of anger, where past injustices are recognized, and guilt, where complicity in their own oppression is acknowledged. Men are seen as the oppressors. Dualistic thinking is evident in stage two, with dichotomization of men as negative and women as positive (Rickard, 1989; Downing & Roush, 1985).

In the embeddedness-emanation stage, women form connections with other women, immersing themselves in women's culture and sisterhood. The anger experienced in the revelation stage is given an outlet through supportive associations. Women begin developing a new identity during the emanation phase of stage three, returning to cautious interactions with men and adopting multidimensional perspectives and multiplistic thinking (Rickard, 1989; Downing & Roush, 1985).

The fourth stage, synthesis, marks the development of an integrated identity, transcending sex roles. Men are evaluated on an individual, relativistic basis (Rickard, 1989). An accord is struck with the world, allowing appropriate responses to incidents of oppression and discrimination (Downing & Roush, 1985).

The final stage, active commitment, translates the consolidated feminist identity into a commitment to action. Social change and collective action toward ending oppression are key elements of this stage (Downing & Roush, 1985).

There are parallels between the Downing and Roush theory and Josselson's (1987) model of identity in women. The passive acceptance stage of Downing and Roush is related to Josselson's foreclosure state; the status of women is accepted without experiencing crisis. The revelation stage relates to Josselson's moratorium state, with questioning of self precipitated by a significant event or series of events. Synthesis and commitment stages are similar to the identity achievement state, focused on an integrated identity which is internally constructed.

Unlike Josselson, however, the Downing and Roush theory is presented as a developmental model, with progression through the stages occurring in a linear, predictable, and hierarchical manner. Downing and Roush apply assumptions taken from other developmental theory (e.g. Erikson, in Widick et al., 1978) to explain possible variations in progression. These include recycling through stages, stagnating at a particular stage, or reverting to an earlier stage. Successful progression is viewed as dependent on the woman's readiness and the environmental or interpersonal influences in her life (Downing & Roush, 1985).

Downing and Roush offered no empirical support for this theory, but called on other researchers to validate the constructs proposed. In response, two measures of feminist identity were developed by independent researchers: Rickard's (1989) Feminist Identity Scale (FIS) and Bargad and Hyde's (1991) Feminist Identity Development Scale (FIDS).

Feminist Identity Scale (FIS)

The Feminist Identity Scale (Rickard, 1989) measures the first four stages of Downing and Roush's theory. The active commitment stage was not included due to its behavioral, rather than attitudinal, orientation. Rickard interpreted this stage as a manifestation of the identity acquired in the earlier synthesis stage. Four scales provide data on development at each of the four stages: passive acceptance (PA), revelation (R), embeddedness-emanation (E), and synthesis (S). Earlier research by Rickard provided three-week test-retest reliability estimates for each scale as follows: PA, .93; R, .90; E, .84; and S, .83 (Rickard, 1989). Validity was tested by using known comparison groups, including Right to Life, college textiles and clothing organizations, gay and lesbian alliance, and women's organizations. The groups scored as expected on the scales, with the Right to Life and textiles organization members scoring significantly higher than the other groups on passive acceptance and significantly lower on the other three scales. Positive correlations

were obtained between the FIS scales and a measure of attitudes toward working mothers. Rickard (1989) offered these results as support of the construct validity of the FIS.

Rickard (1989) also used a study of dating behaviors in college women to test the validity of the FIS. Student participants for the study were selected to be representative of the passive acceptance, revelation, and synthesis stages. The embeddedness-emanation stage was not included in this study because of the transitional nature of the position and the difficulty of identifying an E-level group. Each of the 63 women participants monitored the frequency of specific dating behaviors over a three week period. PA women displayed more feminine behaviors (such as entering a door first), with R women displaying more masculine behaviors (such as deciding where to go on a date), and S women using both feminine and masculine behaviors. These findings were consistent with theoretical expectations and provided support for the validity of the theory's stages (Rickard, 1989). However, the study was cross-sectional, not longitudinal, and therefore provided no evidence of the developmental nature of the theory.

Henderson-King and Stewart (1997) used the FIS in a study based on Downing and Roush's (1985) theory to examine the psychological meanings of feminist self-definition. Group consciousness, as measured by evaluations of social groups, political beliefs about gender relations, and sensitivity to sexism, was examined to predict identification as a feminist and stages of feminist identity. Specifically, the researchers asked what it means to call oneself a feminist and whether feminist consciousness is adequately measured by self-identification. The results related to the Downing and Roush model include feelings about men, feelings about feminists, and sensitivity to sexism.

Feelings about men were positively related to passive acceptance, negatively related to revelation and embeddedness-emanation, and not related to synthesis. This is consistent with Downing and Roush's theory that attitudes toward men change over the stages, from a view of men as superior in the passive acceptance stage to a negative view of men through the revelation and embeddedness-emanation stages, to a relativistic view of individual men in the synthesis stage. Positive feelings about feminists were most strongly related to embeddedness-emanation, which is expected as women immerse themselves in women's culture. Being more sensitive to sexism, including such things as a heightened awareness of sexist events and concern about how to respond to sexism, was most strongly related to the revelation stage. These results provide support for Downing and Roush's model (Henderson-King & Stewart, 1997).

Although their results show support for the Downing and Roush theory, Henderson-King and Stewart expressed reservations that the theory is a developmental model. It could be an arrangement of different, though non-sequential, experiences of feminism. The primary benefit of the Downing and Roush model is that it breaks from a dichotomizing mind set. Henderson-King and Stewart (1997) indicated a need for further research into the diversity of feminist experience.

Feminist Identity Development Scale (FIDS)

Bargad and Hyde (1991) developed the Feminist Identity Development Scale to operationalize the Downing and Roush (1985) theory. The researchers developed a 39-item scale which yielded five factors, relating to each of Downing and Roush's five stages. Reliability, measured by standardized alpha coefficients for each scale were as follows: Stage I, .85; Stage II, .75; Stage III, .82; Stage IV, .65; and Stage V, .80 (Bargad & Hyde, 1991). To test the construct validity of the FIDS, it was administered to students in women's studies courses at the beginning and end of a semester. Control group data were obtained from students on a waiting list for women's studies and from psychology students who expressed no interest in taking women's studies.

No significant differences were found between women's studies students and control groups on the pre-test for each scale. Significant change did occur for women's studies students over the course of the semester on four of the five scales, with these students showing a decrease in scores for passive acceptance and an increase in scores for revelation, embeddedness-emanation, and active commitment. The synthesis scale scores did not show a significant change over time. Control group scores did not show change over time on any scale (Bargad & Hyde, 1991).

Bargad and Hyde (1991) reported that this study provides support for the validity of the scale and its relations to the Downing and Roush model, but raised several questions about the model itself. First, Downing and Roush do not include self-labeling as a feminist in the later stages of the model. Bargad and Hyde wondered, "does one have to call oneself a feminist in order to develop a feminist identity?" (p. 197). Second, the Downing and Roush model reflects liberal feminist and heterocentered values. Its utility for radical or lesbian-centered feminists may be limited. Third, the experiences of women of color are not addressed by Downing and Roush. Bargad and Hyde stressed that no singular model of feminist identity is all-inclusive due to the diversity of feminist perspectives.

Both the Bargad and Hyde (1991) and Rickard (1989) scales were tested in a study by Gerstmann and Kramer (1997), with the goals of exploring the reliability and validity of each measure and examining the relationship between the measures. Further, Gerstmann and Kramer sought to replicate Bargad and Hyde's study, adding a measure of cognitive development, which was described but not tested in Rickard's model.

Gerstmann and Kramer (1997) administered the FIS and the FIDS to female undergraduates in women's studies or psychology classes at the beginning and at the end of a semester. The results showed general support for the validity of both scales and for the relationship between the measures. Rickard's (1989) assumption that the active commitment stage was most strongly related as a behavioral manifestation of synthesis was contradicted by this study; on both measures, the FIDS active commitment scale showed a stronger relationship to the embeddedness-emersion scales than to the synthesis scales.

Construct validity of the Downing and Roush (1985) theory was tested by comparing psychology students who were interested in taking a women's studies course with those who were not interested. Those students with interest in women's studies scored higher on both feminist identity scales, though the FIS demonstrated stronger validity. Comparison of women's studies students at the beginning and end of the course yielded changes in expected directions, with a decrease in passive acceptance and an increase in revelation scores (Gerstmann & Kramer, 1997).

The relationship of the feminist identity model to a measure of cognitive development also produced results supportive of the theoretical expectations. Absolute or dualistic thinking was correlated with passive acceptance and dialectical or relativistic thinking was correlated to synthesis on both measures (Gerstmann & Kramer, 1997). Dualistic thinking refers to a dichotomous view of knowledge as right or wrong, good or bad, true or false (Perry, 1970). This is consistent with a passive acceptance stance where gender roles are not questioned. Relativistic thinking views knowledge as contextual, relying on evaluation of merits to make a case (Perry, 1970). Downing and Roush (1985) described the synthesis stage of their model as a time when women use their personal value systems as the basis for judgments and evaluate men as individuals rather than based on stereotypes. Gerstmann and Kramer's (1997) findings support the idea that Downing and Roush's model includes stages of increasing cognitive complexity.

The FIDS was also tested by Ng, Dunne, and Cataldo (1995) to determine its cross-cultural validity with a New Zealand population. This study also examined the relationship between feminist identity and advancing self-concept through individual-oriented strategies or group-oriented strategies. The researchers postulated that group orientations would be related to higher levels of feminist identity, based on the feminist movement's values toward collective action.

A factor analysis of the FIDS yielded four of the five hypothesized scales. The revelation scale received no support in this sample. This may have been due to cultural differences or to sampling differences (Ng, Dunne, & Cataldo, 1995). As expected, positive correlations were found between individual-oriented self concept strategies and passive acceptance and between group-oriented self concept strategies and active commitment. However, other self-concept strategies were correlated to feminist identity scales in a more random pattern, suggesting that either the self-concept scale used or the feminist identity stages are non-linear and non-developmental (Ng, Dunne, & Cataldo, 1995).

The FIDS was also used as one comparative measure by Fischer and Good (1994) to determine factors related to perceptions of campus environment. Using only the passive acceptance, revelation, and embeddedness-emanation subscales, the FIDS was a significant predictor of women's perceptions of the campus environment in terms of detection of sex bias and discrimination and the invisibility of women in the curriculum. Scores indicating higher levels of feminist identity development were related to greater levels of awareness on both areas of campus environment (Fischer & Good, 1994).

In a study based on the Downing and Roush (1985) model, but not using either the FIDS or the FIS, Weathers et al. (1994) looked at the relationship of racial identity and feminist identity on career development in African American women. The authors developed scales based on Cross's (1971) model of racial identity and Downing and Roush's (1985) model of feminist identity which consisted of paragraph descriptions of each stage. Participants were asked to rate themselves according to which statement best described them. The researchers found that feminist identity stage predicted higher scores on the value of balancing career and family; they also found that this career value was negatively related to the passive acceptance scale (Weathers et al., 1994). Racial identity was found to be a predictor of achieving self-fulfillment, with the pre-encounter stage more highly correlated to this career value (Weathers et al., 1994). These results should be interpreted with caution, however, as no reliability or validity data were supplied for the instrument.

In this review of literature, I have explored the groundwork for a study of feminist identity development. The two primary models examined are Josselson's (1987, 1996) theory of identity in women and Downing and Roush's (1985) theory of feminist identity. These two models have parallels in the language used to describe identity statuses and feminist identity stages, but are based on divergent principles. Downing and Roush clearly view feminist identity as a developmental stage process that follows a predictable order. Josselson, on the other hand, rejects the idea of stages, describing identity as a process of development within relatively constant states. If feminist identity is an element of overall identity for some women, a research study is needed to explore this particular notion.