

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSONHOOD IN YOUNG WOMEN,
INDIVIDUAL, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL:
BEGINNING QUESTIONS

Frieda Armstrong
Political Science
May, 1972

Donald S. Lutz
Advisor

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(Abstract)

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The basic questions of this 110-page study are: In an age of feminist revival, a time when conflicting pressures seek to mold a young woman, how does she perceive the traditional forces, the alternative forces, and herself? What patterns of development are necessary for a young woman to grow in the direction of her highest potential?

The author chose the interview as the instrument of study because it is personal and flexible, appropriate for initial study in which the object is to broaden understanding rather than to prove a point. Six white, middle-class, high-school-age women from two-parent homes in the Houston area were interviewed for about two hours each.

The introduction explains the factors that led the author to do such research, and the methodology and content of the interviews. (The interview questions themselves are presented in an appendix.) The author discusses the basic assumptions and expectations with which she began.

The reports of the interviews follow in narrative form.

In the conclusion, the author discusses the interview findings; she had anticipated most of them but a few are quite surprising. These, she recommends, along with other questions arising in the study, should form the basis for further research; she notes methodological changes that should take place in future study.

The author makes clear her bias (commitment to feminism). She defends the usefulness of her work to political science: "If we care about the problems of our society, and if we see these young women as interesting, intelligent people who could contribute to the society and play a role in solving its problems, then we must be concerned about their individual growth."

The author is a candidate for May, 1972, graduation from the University of Houston, with a Bachelor of Arts degree in political science.

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INTRODUCTION

Believing that adolescence is a time when most young women, if confronted with feminist ideas, still have the chance to choose an alternative that is fuller and richer than the traditional feminine role, I have been working on a book that would present feminism to the teen-age woman. In preparation, I have studied work that has been done in attitude-change, social psychology, and political socialization, including Rokeach's The Open and Closed Mind, Smith, Bruner and White's Opinions and Personality, and Lane's Political Ideology and Political Thinking and Consciousness. These studies gave me only hints about the formation of ideas, the interrelationship of personal, religious, moral and political concepts, and the possibilities of change in the teen-age woman.

Most research into political socialization, as well as into the effects of personality and personal background on political involvement, has centered on the male experience. With the rebirth of the feminist movement, ideas abound concerning the socialization and formation of the female. Many of these ideas can be summed up in Arlie Hochschild's statement, "How girls are brought up has a lot to do with how women are brought down." Beginning research has revealed that societal expectations of the female role are transmitted through family, schools, churches, and the media; but very little research has been done on the way young women perceive these expectations or how they have their effect.

I decided to take a few steps in the direction of such research, because I felt that even a small amount of study would give me many clues about how best to reach high school women with feminist ideas. In addition, my work could serve as a springboard for further research into the development of personhood in young women.

I decided to use the interview as the instrument of study, because it is personal and flexible, appropriate for initial study in which the object is to broaden understanding rather than to prove a point. The interview is not a psychoanalytic probe; it does not attempt survey analysis. It is a tool for gaining insight for further research.

This study, like the book I've been writing, assumes that the ideal for each person is to become as full an individual as she possibly can. To be strong and competent, flexible, independent, creative, self-aware, and in community with other individuals is the ideal. Allport speaks of the process of "becoming characteristically human at all stages of development... the formation of an individual style of life that is self-aware, self-critical, and self-enhancing."

Maslow suggests that there is a hierarchy of needs that must be satisfied in order for an individual to approach the ideal, or, in his terms, to become self-actualizing. First, of course, are survival and safety needs. Next are social needs, the needs for love and affection, accompanied by needs for self-esteem and a sense of worth and dignity. Only as these needs are satisfied, he believes, can a person start to meet the need for self-actualization and fulfillment of potential.

The tragedy for many women is that even the first need, for survival and safety, is often filled only in a precarious way. It has been considered healthy and normal for a woman to remain dependent on someone else for food, clothing, and shelter. Her career has been something to fall back on "in case, God forbid, you ever have to support yourself." Lane mentions that "Sears has explored the need for dependency in children, finding it a motive that leads girls to achieve an appropriate feminine role, but leads boys to social maladjustment." McClelland's cross-cultural research, reported in his book The Achieving Society, has shown that boys who exhibit the need for achievement are

likely to have families, especially mothers, who encourage independence. It is likely that research would show that independence and need for achievement correlate in women as well. Neither of these qualities, however, has been considered part of the "appropriate feminine role." But unless a woman feels capable of satisfying her most basic needs by herself, she often finds it impossible to satisfy her need for self-esteem, worth, and dignity. This is why, although I do not believe a career is the assurance of a woman's liberation, I believe the ability to see oneself as self-sufficient, doing some kind of enjoyable work, is a necessary component of becoming a full person. A young woman's attitudes and the emotional tone of her life are as important as a career itself. Perhaps the concept of "vocation," a calling, is important here.

A political cosmology is another component of personhood. Seeing oneself in relation to the world at large, to other people, and to the workings of power and change is essential. It is important that a person see herself not only as part of this larger world, but as an effective or potentially effective part of it.

This study assumes, then, that ideally, each interviewee will see herself as loved and worthy, capable and strong; she will be self-sufficient and independent, yet she will be an aware participant in relationships with others and in political life.

A young woman's expectations concerning her future are assumed to be an indicator of her likelihood of becoming a full person; but they must be balanced with the realities of her present life. I assume that for a well-integrated individual, there will be some correlation between what she likes to do, what makes her comfortable, what she does a lot, and what she sees herself doing in the future. A person who has great discrepancies in her responses will be expected to have difficulties

realizing her full potential, although these difficulties could be minimized by awareness of the inconsistencies.

The questions of the study become clear. In an age of feminist revival, a time when conflicting pressures seek to mold a young woman, how does she perceive the traditional forces, the alternative forces, and herself? What patterns of development are necessary for a young woman to grow in the direction of her highest potential?

Working from the above assumptions and questions, I attempted to develop an interview schedule that would aid me in discovering a young woman's personal background, religious beliefs, political interest, sense of efficacy, relation to authority, and sense of identity as a woman and as a person. Other interviews that have been done with males and with adults contain very few questions that are transferable to the young female's experience.

Some questions on family, homelife, religion, sex education and dating would of course be asked in a similar way of males and females, but their significance may be much greater for females who are often expected--and aware they are expected--to invest much more of their life energies in these spheres and to be more deeply affected by them than are males.

I developed a "what do you like to do?" and "when are you comfortable and happy?" series of questions to reveal the life-style that was important to the person. I was interested here too in the complexity, imagination and detail of her answer, and the tie-in between her comfortable times, her everyday life, and her expectations of the future.

The woman's feelings about beauty contests, and her relationships with her best friends, with adult women she would like to be like, and with women in general, were important to explore, because they are indicators of her own self-concept and of her likelihood to see her problems as class problems rather than as individual struggles. Her understanding, identification with,

and feelings about the women's liberation movement were interesting to examine alongside her feelings about her own personal role. Autonomy, self-sufficiency, and desire to achieve were explored through questions about education, school activities, dating, and the future.

I included questions referring to power struggles between students and school officials and between children and parents because I believed they would indicate much about a teen-age woman's political attitudes. Questions specifically dealing with the actual activities of women in the political arena--especially young women--would lead to an understanding of her role-identification, her likelihood to see herself as a political person, and her sense of efficacy.

I placed questions on sex, dating, and relationships with men among the questions on political opinions in order to explore the relationship between a woman's perception of proper roles for men and women and her likelihood of political involvement. An example of this type of question is: "Conrad Chisholm, Shirley's husband, has taken a leave from his job to do background work and make sure she eats right, gets to her appointments on time, and other supportive duties to help her become president. Would you like to be married to a man like that?"

As I stated earlier, I conducted these interviews in order to gain insight, not to prove anything. But I did have expectations about the results I would get from certain questions.

I expected that, considering the social climate in which the interviews took place, I would find ambivalence and confusion in high school women over whether to identify with the traditional feminine role or to launch out in search of new alternatives. I expected that some high school women would solve the dilemma by not identifying with women at all. I expected some evidence of the much publicized female "will to fail" on which Matina Horner - has done so much research.

I expected to find much agreement with the basic social goals of the women's movement, little understanding of the subtler struggles against sexism, especially on the psychological level, and quite a bit of disapproval of "women's liberation" as a phrase. I expected this because it seems to be the general pattern of public opinion, but I was unsure of the reasoning behind it and I hoped to understand the attitude better through the interviews. I expected that the women I interviewed would get along with other women on a superficial level but would subtly express competition and dislike for them.

I anticipated some discomfort around men or even hostility toward them. It seemed that such feelings might be repressed and expressed in roundabout ways, or they might be understood, qualified, and accepted. I expected that women who had a good feeling about their sexual selves, an understanding of the exploitation that does take place between men and women, and experience with men who respected them would be more likely to be feminists than would women who were insecure about their femininity and worried about gaining male affection. Many variables are interacting here and it seemed that various combinations of them would result in nontraditional women.

I anticipated that one general tone of personhood would cover most aspects of an individual's life. If confidence and expectation of achievement or fear and uncertainty set the tone for any aspect of a person's life, they would color all aspects, personal, social, and political.

I expected that a person's attitudes would be similar in various areas; for example, religious conservatism, political cautiousness, and acceptance of the traditional feminine role would cluster. I expected that a sense of personal efficacy would carry over into other areas of life, correlating highly with political efficacy.

I expected that, as the psychologists tell us, childhood experiences would have an effect on later development. I ex-

pected that a little tomboy whose parents were achievers and who had strong female role models would be more likely to grow up to be a nontraditional woman than would a little girl who played dolls, wore ruffles, and stayed close to a housewife mother.

These expectations and the results will be discussed in the conclusion.

I interviewed a total of six high-school-age women, each for about two hours. Each person came to me at the suggestion of a teacher, friend, or older sister or brother who knows me. These sources of interviewees are all somewhat sympathetic to women's liberation, so there is a likelihood that the women I talked with may be more aware of women's issues than some other young women would be. Although my only criterion in looking for interviewees was that they be of high school age, all six women are white, middle-class, from two-parent homes in the Houston area. All have siblings. All attend school. They are in good health, although Jeannine, Tommie, Pat and Susan get headaches from nervousness and pressure.

The interviews took place at my home, at the dining room table, where I offered refreshments and tried to make the person feel at home. Before the interview, I explained that I was doing research at the university about how people develop their ideas; most of them also knew, through the contact person, that I have been working on a book for teen-age women. I explained that the interview was confidential (all names are changed), that they could refuse to answer any question, and that there were no right or wrong answers to any question. None of them objected to a hidden tape recorder which took down the interview.

My interview approach was open, and I "played dumb" quite a bit in an attempt to get the person to explain more to me, to keep from threatening her or swaying her to some preconceived notion of what she should say. I was careful to respect the privacy of each person; I did not try to force anyone to tell me

anything if she seemed reluctant to do so. For the most part, this approach was effective. I feel, however, that with more experience I would learn to recognize times when I should ask more direct questions, assuming that "of course" a person does or believes a certain "unacceptable" thing.

Here I would like to mention the few responses to interview questions that were similar for most of the women in the sample. All the women were unable to remember certain aspects of their childhood, their early schooling, or their sex education. One insisted that "all at once one day I was just thirteen or fourteen." However, they were sure that for all but one of them it was common to see their mothers dressing, bathing, and so on; for none of them was it common to see their fathers. As Susan said, "There's a little taboo there." Jeannine said this is "kinda bad" because she was shocked when she first saw an adult male body. The others accept this as "the way things are."

All the women were at least vaguely aware of the abortion campaign and the actions of Debbie Sweet and Carol Feraci; all recognized the name of Shirley Chisholm and were able to make some comment about the women's liberation movement. All could be described as liberal in some ways, but conservative in others. The case of Soni Romans was highly salient for all of them. Their feelings about sexual morality, relationship to authority, standing up for one's rights, getting by, and being in the public spotlight were brought out by this question.

All but one of the women were ambivalent about having children. All expressed feelings of closeness and noncompetitiveness toward their girlfriends, though most of them have only a few really close friends and all of them expressed hostility toward other women when they were off guard. Jeannine described her friends: "When I need them they're there, and it's equal between me and them." An ideal friend is loyal above all.

Although several of these young women suggest this career or that as possibilities for their futures, one of the most intriguing similarities they exhibit, one we will consider again later, is their inability to envision their adult futures.

JEANNINE

Jeannine is a sixteen-year-old junior in high school, built large. Twenty extra pounds seem to hide an attractive, masterful individual. Her blondish hair is long but not stylish, and her glasses are not mod. She wears no make-up because "if they can't accept me for who I am, forget it." She is pleasant and willing to talk with me, but nervous; she seems relieved when I tell her this is my first interview and I'm nervous too.

From the source who introduced me to Jeannine, I have learned that her parents have had many marital problems, that her father recently had an emotional or nervous breakdown, that her mother is unhappy in many ways. The parents questioned the source extensively about the interview to make sure that I would not be "prying" (the only parents to do so) but they did not take up my offer to discuss the interview with them. During the interview, Jeannine hesitated to answer many of the questions about her family, but was quite open on most of the others.

She has lived in the same house and neighborhood all her life, and says she "doesn't mind." The father works; and the mother and Jeannine (and her older sister when she lived at home) clean house, cook, etc. She describes her family as not very close and arguing a lot, but says that if someone was in trouble they would all come to help. When she was little they were very affectionate, hugging and kissing, and this was important to her. Her parents are very lenient, but she is "afraid they'll kill her" if she does something wrong, such as get pregnant. On the other hand, her parents have no goals for her; "By the time I grow up I should have the knowledge and responsibility to know what's right and wrong and be able to take care of myself." Later the interview reveals that marriage and motherhood are really the only acceptable future for her from her parents' standpoint; her mother is anxious to have grandchildren. Other than that, her parents do not seem to care what happens to her.

Her sister, nine years older, is the most important person in her life. "I always look up to her, she understands me." She remembers her sister as the person who took care of her when she was little. Before she began school, she tried to imitate her straight-A sister's work, and she started first grade when she was four. At school, however, she was measured against her sister and found wanting, a situation that caused tension until she changed from her parochial school to a public school where no one knew her sister. She is somewhat disappointed in her sister nowadays, both because her sister gave up trying for a nursing career and because she does not follow the wife-mother role very much. But when older, she would like to be like her sister, "open-minded, with common sense; she knows what she wants and goes after it."

Jeannine expresses many traits of strength and independence. As a child, she played mostly with boys, partly because her sister was the only other girl in the neighborhood at most times. Her favorite toy was a tommy gun given to her by a favorite uncle ("I think my father threw it away"), as well as a Dick Tracy set. She enjoyed baseball and tree climbing, and disliked playing dolls or games such as mother-may-I or red rover. In a scornful voice, she says, "I wasn't too interested in fairy tales, they just didn't turn me on, like Cinderella and Snow White and Little Red Riding Hood." Like the boys, she often went without a shirt.

At the parochial elementary school she attended, many of her classmates had older siblings in school with her sister. They would make comments about the sister, "and I'd go beat 'em up; they weren't gonna talk about my sister while I was standing there!"

Jeannine was the first girl at her high school to join ROTC and relates that she would take orders from the guys, "but I was kinda insubordinate, when they'd give me an order and I didn't like the order." She was recently passed over for a promotion to platoon sergeant which was given instead to the girlfriend

of the battalion commander. "And I felt very slighted, and very very hurt, because I felt I deserved it, because I had been in there longer and I had helped to train her..." She feels she would be much more effective at this job than Mary, who "doesn't have too much leadership ability, she's too easygoing... she lets them have their own way, they're not under control, they're very wild..."

Jeannine comes from a religious background but rebelled against the parochial school and has an independent theology. She rarely goes to church but prays on her own "because I feel that I personally am talking to God, and not through a pastor... There's a lot of things I do that might be considered wrong against my religion, yet I don't feel that I'm committing anything wrong. I ask God to understand me as a human being, I just talk to him as I do a normal person... Today's times are not the same as biblical times..." This God is neither male nor female. She thinks the Jesus freaks are "far-fetched" and "weird". She has "always been a little mad that they blamed it on Eve... If Adam didn't want to take that apple, he didn't have to!"

Jeannine is impressed with and supportive of the actions of Debbie Sweet and Carol Feraci. "That's their opinion, and to me a president should listen to the people... just in courtesy and decency he should listen to them..." She doesn't think the women were discourteous or seeking publicity. "An everyday, normal person, they just do it to be heard." Right now she is "too chicken" to do something like this, but "I'd like to be able to tell him what I think." If she did, it would shock her family and friends, "because right now I don't express my opinion very much because I don't know what they're going to think... but in a matter where it's really important I don't think I'd care too much about what they thought."

There should be no law against abortion, Jeannine says, because of the freedom of individuals to make decisions. This sentiment is echoed when she explains why she, like Soni, would

take the Channelview schoolboard to court: "It's none of their business, it's their own free will... a lot of times teen-agers have more sense than some of these adults do." Soni's classmates should not have been suspended for furthering their educations by going to court; and the suggestion that their parents could have faked illness excuses for them upsets her. It is bad for the kids' records to be messed up, but the parents should fight the school to keep them from being suspended at all. Jeannine thinks "the schoolboard is cracked" for trying to keep kids from discussing sex. "Sex is something that is just open. Back then it was talked about behind closed doors, but now it is open." She goes to school with pregnant students, married and unmarried, and feels this is just a normal part of life.

She has steadily dated one boy for quite a while, and since the first date, she says proudly, she and a girlfriend have arranged everything, each detail of where they go and when. When asked how she feels about this, she replies, "It doesn't really bother me, because sometimes boys just can't think." She is as likely to pay for a date as he is.

Recently, Jeannine was kicked out of ROTC for skipping school one day with her boyfriend. Her mother is helping her challenge this punishment, and for this she thinks her mother is "great." The dean has told her that she will be expelled if one more incident occurs, but this threat has been made before and she is having her name sent in on the absentee list just to challenge the rule, "just for meanness."

Jeannine disapproves of marches and demonstrations because she believes that individual action is "better;" but she does not believe there should be a law against marches because "if they did that they might as well take the constitution away... it's the freedom of the people."

Jeannine has an egalitarian streak; she liked changing to public school "because I was treated equally, not any better or worse." She is a C-student who has made several F's; "I never have thought much of making straight A's, big deal, make your parents happy but... I've just been happy as long as I've been passing and I learn a few things." A good teacher is one who "doesn't think she's any better than the students," who is patient, who "talks to you on your level."

"I feel a woman (in politics) could do just as good as a man," she says; "sometimes these men make a bigger mess than what a woman could do." She is one of the few women interviewed who believe that sexual arousal happens at about the same rate for boys and girls. She feels both have equal responsibility to hold the line, that they should discuss this, plan how far they want to go, and know the consequences for each of them. "If you love someone, she says, "sex is okay." If she got pregnant right now she would run away and try to make it on her own, because "I couldn't stand living the rest of my life knowing he may not have married me for love, he married me because he had to."

But Jeannine is a paradox. Despite her independence, rebellion, and belief that "a woman could do just as good as a man," she has accepted a very traditional, passive, inferior position for herself. When she joined ROTC, the boys "said now they had to treat me equal, which I don't too much approve of really, because I never felt equal to a boy; I consider them a little bit, just a tiny bit better than I am, because you know they are boys, and they're supposed to know more than I am. Not at the level where they can start bossing me around and telling me I have to do this and I have to do that... but I always felt they were a little bit more superior..." Without resentment, she explains that she and Mary were not allowed to handle the guns like the boys were; they "would pick them up once in a while and the guys would all scatter."

In response to the Graham quote, Jeannine said, "I don't know any connection with religion, I really don't know what God would want, but I feel my duty is as a wife, and as a mother, and not as a breadmaker. I don't believe in going out and working. I'll do it if I have to, but I feel my place is at home, and to take care of my husband and his house -- well, our house -- and the children, and to be there, when he gets ready to, when he comes home, and to have his supper ready." Her "most comfortable situation" is lying with her boyfriend with his arm around her, and her expectations for five years from now are to be married and have a family. In fact, she hopes to marry as soon as she graduates from high school. She wants a house but expects an apartment because they won't have much money; she seems to be embarrassed about this.

What will she be doing twenty-five years from now? "He already has the floor plans drawn for our home, it's like a mini-mansion..." If she has children within five years, in twenty-five years they will be grown and gone, but she has no other ambitions. She doesn't even see herself actively involved in their lives while they are at home, but rather will be "just taking care of them." She sees her other interests, such as tennis and baseball, "just sort of fading away" and doesn't think she'll do these things at all after marriage. She will just be "cleaning house and cooking dinner, or as my boyfriend would tell me, burning the dinner... It'd be considered ho-hum, just everyday routine, but I think I'd find enjoyment in that."

She is indeed comfortable right now with a routine that others might call "ho-hum". On dates, she and her boyfriend mostly sit around and talk; they are "used to each other." She expresses bewilderment at friends who date more than one guy, especially if they "love" more than one or one after the other. In contrast to her tomboy days, she is now not at ease with guys except for her boyfriend, and tends to clam up around them. She does protect men's egos: "if they feel good

then I feel good." Although she believes that "if my boyfriend is unhappy with me then it's his right to go to somebody else," she feels "very" jealous if he pays attention to other girls. She likes a boy to be more sexually experienced than a girl, and most of what she has learned about sex she learned from her boyfriend. This is ok, but sex should be taught in the schools; also parents should be more open. She remembers her mother telling her not to let her father hear their discussion of sex, and disapproves of this attitude.

A risky and challenging situation would not be at all comfortable for Jeannine; "I think that would be a nervous situation, it would be very nervous." In a bored voice, she reels off various childhood ambitions (ballerina, teacher), but wife-mother is the only serious one. Even though she was a tomboy as a child, she has always daydreamed about a boy coming by and saying, that's the girl for me, and carrying her away. A job as Senate page does not appeal to her. She thinks the Senators didn't want girl pages because men still look on women as being... not as intelligent as men are...well, I know I'm not, but..." The men have control: "They just won't allow them to do it."

Jeannine would not like to be married to a man like Conrad Chisholm. "I wouldn't want one who would wait on me... I could see more or less me waiting on him, I don't know why. It just doesn't appeal to me, having a man do my every little whim and whine." Since she does not want to be president, there is some confusion about how she really feels about the Chisholms. She finally concludes, "But if I was in her situation, and if I was running for president, I think it would come out a lot better if he helped me along... well, his confidence in me would help... Like if I was in her position, I don't think it would be that bad having him helping me."

My question about mixing politics and religion is "over my head, I don't really understand what's going on in politics, I guess it's something I'm really not mature enough to understand yet." She does understand why the Berrigans and others would be in the peace movement: "A very religious person would automatically believe war is wrong, so he would work against it." She expresses understanding and anger, as well as a little despair, over Nixon's pulling troops out of Vietnam to appease the public, while sending more back or increasing the bombing. She expresses great concern over the boys dying, and ranks war and poverty as the greatest problems of the world. To solve war, one would just have to "get our guys out," and to solve poverty, one would "just help feed the people who don't have food." But she doesn't see herself involved in solving these problems; it would take know-how, intelligence, and willingness, and she "wouldn't know where to start, I'd feel lost". She has little information about Nixon's performance at jobs other than ending the war, and hasn't picked a candidate for president. "I don't really know what's going on, it's out of my line."

Jeannine did not know there were any women in the Senate or the House of Representatives. "The only one I hear about is Martha Mitchell... she seems a little cracked. Well, I guess she's just voicing her opinion, which in a way I guess is right, but I really haven't paid much attention." What does she think of women being in politics? "I don't think there's anything wrong with it, really." Why are no more women in Politics? "It could be that they just don't want to run, or, uh, or else they get outvoted by men..."

In some instances, Jeannine's philosophy of individual freedom breaks down: she believes, for example, that some underground newspapers should not be allowed to circulate on school grounds: "like one, it was on communism which I'm

against completely." Don't these students have the right to spread their opinions? "Well, it wasn't really opinions, I don't know, well, I guess in a way, this was different, I don't know."

Although her older sister supports many of the women's liberation movement's goals, Jeannine says she gets most of her information on the movement from her boyfriend, who brings it up whenever she goes against an idea of his. The major goals of the movement, Jeannine says, are "from what I gather, that men should treat them as they do men, and that I don't believe in. I feel I'm a woman, at least I'm a girl, and I... should be treated with a little bit more respect, a little more courtesy. I can't endure much pain; I'm big but not very strong. I think a lot more of a certain boy when he helps me to do something than if he made me do it." After being questioned, Jeannine admits that she supports equal role choice, equal job opportunity, equal pay, childcare centers, abortion law repeal, and men sharing childcare. She can't feature her boyfriend vacuuming the floor, but if she has to work the housework should be divided equally. The sisterhood quote means that "Women united are powerful," but she doesn't know how she feels about that. Somewhat defensively, she will give no opinion on a woman changing her name or why this custom exists; she has heard of the title "Ms." but probably won't use it.

Jeannine used to want to be in a Miss America contest because she thought her mom and dad would be proud of her; now she says that being looked at would "make me nervous." Her boyfriend, however, "wants me to be in a competition against Tina, because Tina's got a cute figure... he always wanted me to lose weight so I could beat her and all the guys would look at me... I know what would happen if I did, because he is a very

jealous person and he would get in a fight and I cannot stand fights."

Perhaps part of the key to Jeannine's paradox is in her answer to, "Do you think there is a purpose for people's lives?" "I haven't ever thought of that," she replies. "I just really don't know." And although she would like to have some of her sister's qualities when she grows up, she adds, "But really I don't know any women I'd look up to and want to be like... that would be a question I'd have to think an awful lot about." Lacking female role models that are attractive to her, admiring men and their activities, she has decided to latch on to a man, live vicariously, and thus be a success. This is the role her mother plays and although she is unhappy in it she accepts it and urges it on her daughters. In Jeannine, enough seeds of independence and strength are present, however, that it is not unrealistic to expect her to grow and change considerably in the next several years.

TOMMIE

Tommie's mother married at eighteen and worked to put her husband through school. Tommie reports that she is always saying, "'Tommie, do something with your life, go to college, be something different.' And I want to be something different, but it's just driving me crazy her saying this constantly ... She says if possible just don't get married, and by all means I'm not going to get married, I formed that opinion years ago, I want to have too much fun ... And my dad wants me to go to college ... and I'm the first one in the family so they're trying out things on me."

Tommie never thought about her ambition till a year ago. She decided to major in English, then in sociology, and now she is thinking of chemistry. There is a pause. Then: "It sounds stupid and out of the question, but I'd really like to be a lady criminal lawyer, I think that would be the most fantastic thing to be, and different, you know. I want to do something different, that no other lady's ever done before, or not that many. Or a lady detective ... " It would take a lot of work, but Tommie believes that if you want to work, you can do anything you want to. She would enjoy working for the goal as much as reaching it; going to class would be exciting; "whatever I do will be what I want to do."

Tommie is used to working for what she wants, and enjoying it. In junior high she was a cheerleader, which she loved because she likes football. Now she is on the drill team and in the National Honor Society. She would like to be in the French and science clubs, but "either I want to be in a club and give my all or just not be in it." She's running for office in both of the organizations she belongs to. "I don't think I really could be happy if I wasn't an officer ... I'd much rather lead than follow, especially my senior year ... I've been on the drill team a year and a half, and what's the use of being the same old thing when you have a chance to be something better?"

Well, not better, but more experienced, you know, and more responsibility."

Petite, dressed in fashionable, casual clothes, Tommie is a sixteen-year old high school junior who has lived in Houston for two years after moving from small town to small town in Texas for the earlier part of her life. Moving is, in general, okay with her, and she likes Houston. City kids, she reports, are more aware of the world, form ideas sooner, are more mature, and don't get pregnant as much because they are smarter than small-town kids. She has friends of all types, from "religious freaks" to "potheads". Her only lifelong friend is a step-cousin that she has always been close to. She has two sisters, five and nine; there is no great closeness or hostility toward them. She gets along best with her mother, with whom she talks a great deal. She gets along "okay" with her father, who rarely talks, and doesn't go to church or participate much in family activities. Her father likes his work, she says; "he's like me, he's got to have something going all the time."

Tommie was named for her father, and when she was little she went hunting, rode horses, shot guns, and climbed trees with him and her boy cousins. She had no special restrictions or privileges: "I just wanted to be one of the boys." She didn't like dolls or fairy tales; her favorite toys were guns. Her older stepcousin "taught me what she knew how to do, and that was playing guns and cowboys." Children being undressed did not panic the adults; she often swam or played in the sprinkler with just her underwear on.

Tommie stayed in nursery school for a while when her mother worked; then her dad's mother kept her, a happy time with memories of a garden, favorite foods, and a grandfather who took her everywhere.

When asked for her ideas on how children should be raised, Tommie said, "Let me think, well, first of all it depends on the

sex of the child. Boys, I think, take a stronger hand than girls ... girls are easier to raise ... but it seems like now, it's just as bad to raise a girl ... because girls just do everything the boys do now" as Tommie did herself. She expresses an idea that parents should be strict and lenient at the same time, and adds, "I've been raised in a Christian home, I think that's good ... I've been mostly able to think for myself, my mom trusts me a whole lot, you know."

Tommie has been raised a Baptist, but doesn't believe in denominations. She speaks with excitement of a youth room and youth activities at her church, "but I just can't seem to get into it; I go to Sunday School and that's it." Although she defends her mother against labels such as "staunch" or "religious freak", she herself is attracted to the Jesus-freak movement. She believes in speaking in tongues and in the power to get kids off drugs. The essence of nondenominational faith would be belief in "Jesus Christ as God's son, to be saved that's all you have to believe in" but she indicates that "Catholic and Jewish" do not believe this. "But I'm really kind of mixed up as far as religion is concerned." She expresses vague doubt about the existence of God but adds, "But I'm sure there really is one." She mentions the philosophy that if you believe in God, you win if there is one and if there isn't, you don't lose. She also questions some of the moralism of her religion, such as drinking being wrong.

The Genesis story is the explanation for women giving birth in pain and men having to work. "I don't think it really affects me; I guess it's just part of life, you just have to sort of accept it." She puzzles over the significance of Jesus Christ's maleness. Then: "If you really think about it, how does anyone know he was really a male? Cause nobody's seen him ... Is he really male? (laugh) Or, is it really a male? ... As far as the significance, well, in a way I can see because men now have, uh, are said to have, are supposed to be higher, more power, women are more or less supposed to be there to help

them, to comfort them ..." Me: "You say 'supposed to be'; do you really believe that?" "Uh ... (pause) ... I don't know! (laugh) ... I think when you get married, yes ... it seems like the men do the most, usually in most families ... go out and earn a living ... That's just the way it is, but with the women's lib movement things are changing."

In her own family, her mother no longer works outside the home; her father earns the money and her mother does all the work at home. "I don't have time," she explains, "I really don't, and I feel bad because my mom has to do it all." She describes her mother as happy, but she seems ambivalent: "My mom loves us a whole lot, and that's why she doesn't work, because she thinks she should be a full-time housewife and take care of us, and I really love her a lot, but I think she doesn't have enough time to herself ... we kind of run over her a lot, we kind of take her for granted ..."

Yet Tommie's picture of herself in twenty-five years is very similar to her mother. By that time her children will be in their teens and she will be a full-time housewife, although she will have "outside interests." She wants to marry someone who, though not rich, can support her comfortably. Prior to this are college years, then traveling and living with "a bunch of girls," continuing to be a leader rather than a follower, perhaps even being a "lady detective." But at some point, the vision ends in following her mother.

Tommie's close step-cousin also wanted to "do something different" but now she is engaged and her ambition is to have a nice home. Another girl cousin once planned to work in the United Nations as an interpreter. Her friends are vaguely dissatisfied with the world and "starting to think, but we see that there's really nothing you can do; people have tried before but haven't succeeded."

Tommie is not as involved in politics as she would like to

be, because she hasn't had time to do the necessary reading. But she will be taking civics during the election year and plans to be ready to vote at eighteen. Usually she is a happy-go-lucky person, but her "most comfortable situation" is a utopian meadow with no problems, and recently she has gone through some very depressed times because she has "seen things as they really are." The worst problems of the world are that the leaders are crooks, and that they send money to India's cows rather than feeding and housing Americans. "If every politician was a good Christian, I don't think there would be any problems," she says, and adds that "getting everyone to agree on one thing would change things too; but this is impossible." And "what's the use of thinking about it and getting all depressed because you can't do anything about it. You ought to just think about good things I guess." Tommie calls herself a "deep optimist."

Tommie was surprised to learn that teen-age girls are allowed to serve as pages. The Senators didn't want them because they think men are more capable, "and it is a man's job, it's really important, even though a lot of men are so dumb they don't know which foot to stick in the right shoe ...". She would love this kind of job because she would learn a lot. She believes she has less chance to change things than a man would, because of the way society thinks. "It's not because of my potential a man running for senator, people look up to him more than they would a lady running for senator." Tommie likes challenges, but is "comfortable" when they are over. Being excited is the climax, she says, before being comfortable.

Tommie has barely heard of Shirley Chisholm, and would not like to be married to a man like Conrad. "I like the guy to have a hand on ya, and keep you thinking all the time ... but then don't slop you around ... I don't think there's anything wrong with it (the Chisholm arrangement), but I just couldn't be comfortable." Tommie has had a chance to run over guys before, but she doesn't like to.

Although she has little information on Nixon's performance as president, Tommie believes he has done the best he can. She believes the actions of Debbie Sweet and Carol Peraci were "real disrespectful, and the wrong place to do it ... it just shows ignorance. They're going to get publicity but it won't work." If she did something like this, "my radical friends would say good going; others would say I was pretty stupid." Her family would be shocked. An example of a proper action would be a "rally for Calley" which she helped organize in American history class last year. It went smoothly and orderly, with no objections from the authorities and with good publicity. Tommie's attitude here is part of her polite, upper-middle-class Southern Baptist respect for her elders. It is related to her use of "lady" before the name of a woman's profession (she also mentions lady preachers and lady missionaries). It is reflected in her calling me Mrs. Armstrong until I asked her to use my first name, and in her persisting to say "Yes Ma'am" to me even when she called me Frieda. In the Rally for Calley, the manner, rather than the subject of protest is important. Right now Tommie's political opinions are obviously phrases she has heard adults use; but with more information, her own ideas are sure to form. At that time, her enjoyment of political activities for their own sake (indicated by the rally and her campaign for leadership of the drill team) may lead her to become Lasswell's "political type."

Even when you're young, Tommie believes, you can join groups to change things that upset you; later when you're more qualified you can help a cause even more. If Tommie were in Soni's situation, she would take the schoolboard to court. Her parents, especially her dad, would back her in this. Students should be able to go to court during schooltime because school should be tied in with the real world. The school officials think sex is dirty, but it should be openly discussed.

Tommie, however, would never be in Soni's situation, because

"I'm too smart to do that." She is totally against premarital sex, and her parents would be crushed if she got pregnant; her mom because of the immorality involved, and her dad because she would be messing up her life. When she was small, sex was explained straightforwardly in connection with having babies. She talks vaguely of learning later of "girls who go out and, you know... and that's where kids start thinking of it as dirty, and it's not, it's really beautiful." Tommie thinks of sex as "something that's pure, you know? ... and something for only married people... That's just the way my mom brought me up." Abortion should be legalized, however, because of all the girls who do get pregnant, and because of the population. Tommie doesn't believe killing a human being is right, but it is better than making it live without a home.

If a wife doesn't know anything about sex, her husband is the best one to teach her. But if the husband doesn't know, she can teach him; they can sit down and talk about it and learn together. Tommie expresses no anxiety about this, or need for specialized roles. She believes that both of them should be "pure" and expresses discontent with unequal laws excusing a man for shooting his wife for running around, but punishing a woman who shoots her husband for the same reason. There is some sentiment that a guy should share responsibility for holding the line when a couple is dating. The girl, however, has the primary responsibility because boys definitely get aroused more easily. "Girls can do some of the least little things, and zap! And you wouldn't ever think." She doesn't think boys necessarily should be more sexually experienced than girls, "that's just the way they are, it's just human nature."

Tommie went steady for two years with someone two years older than she; he was a friend with whom she did things like discuss poetry; he treated her like a queen. Now, she dates a lot of guys who all treat her very nice and around whom she feels at ease. Tommie just doesn't believe in protecting men's egos. "They're gonna find out anyway that you are (smart)

if you date 'em for a while." Although they also eventually find out what you look like, at first special looks are important. "This is bad, but most guys look at you first, if you're not nice-looking they won't ask you out ... After you get to know them they accept you for what you are."

Although Tommie says she has a hot temper and used to have childhood tantrums, rubbing her ankles together until they bled, she does not exhibit this trait in any particular area. She does not get jealous over guys' friendships with other girls, for example.

Once when she was going steady she paid for one show, over her boyfriend's objections. But guys open doors for her and she likes it, although she understands women's liberation's objections to chivalry as exaggerations to show that women can do things for themselves. A woman changing her name is significant "because they become one, they work together, that's what marriage is all about ... well, they're individuals but they're together." It is okay for them to keep their names or both change their names, but when they have the same name "it's more symbolic of what the whole thing is about." Tommie is confused about whether she might use "Ms." "I don't know, well, if I was available ... well, the same way with a man too ... I guess if I was married I'd want it to be Mrs., 'cause I wouldn't want anybody to have any doubts ... I guess ... I don't know, it really wouldn't make any difference."

The major goals of women's liberation are understood and approved: Equal pay, equal work, men sharing housework and especially child care. Child care centers are okay if a mother has to work, "but I just can't see being raised in a day-care center ... I wouldn't want to do my kids like that." The sisterhood phrase means that women working together can get a lot more done than just one person working alone, and this is "definitely true."

"Heavens no," Tommie hasn't been in a beauty contest ...

"Well, it would be nice to be a candidate, but it's not that big a thing." She feels sorry for some women who are "really beautiful, but really dumb;" others who are beautiful and intelligent she admires.

Tommie enjoys school for both scholastic and social reasons. She mentions that "people really get uptight because I make good grades" but hastens to assure me that they are just joking and that in fact, they admire her. "I just do the best I can,"

Three teachers are the women she would like to be like when older, "because they're so vibrant, always happy." They enjoy what they teach, relate it to today's world, and give opportunity for expression of student opinion.

For Tommie, life in general is much more positive than it is for Jeannine; her self-image is higher, her image of her mother is more positive, and the alternatives to the traditional role are much closer to her grasp. Yet she too sees herself in twenty-five years as much like her mother. We can only guess which influences in her life will prove the deciding factors. It may be that the area in which Tommie is most "unliberated" in one sense, the area of sexual morality, may lead her to remain an autonomous individual long enough to grow into a different adult role. Jeannine's rebellion in the sexual area, however, may be just another form of the traditional role and may close all other avenues of rebellion.

RACHEL

Rachel's eyes are clear, blue and green; there is a spattering of freckles across her nose, and her long blond hair is very shiny. She is small and wears bright, casual clothes, unusual and attractive. Fifteen, she is a sophomore now but by taking summer school will be a senior next year. Her father hopes she goes to Rice University, gets honors, and becomes a successful Houstonian. Her good grades seem very important to her, and she has "always wanted to be a psychiatrist."

Well, she corrects herself, once when she was younger she wanted to be a pediatrician; but she has always been interested in the medical field, and has discussed her career plans with her doctors. "I won't do anything unless I enjoy it," Rachel says; "Life should be a pleasant thing ... You learn by bad experiences too and I'm sure I'll have many of those, any normal human being does ..." But she expects to enjoy both working for her goal and achieving it. "I think everybody was put on the earth for a purpose ... but some people are living just to die ... and others have a specific purpose like to be a doctor, and that's my purpose, I'd like to help out others."

Rachel's family is moderately religious, not Orthodox but conservative Jewish. They attend services, and she goes to Sabbath School every Saturday. "I believe everyone should have some god or some feelings toward God ... It's just a good feeling I think to know that someone up there cares about you, if all else fails (laugh). I feel it's good for the emotions physically and mentally to have ... some powerful being to pray to and stuff like that. If you follow the teachings of your religion I think it can help you in all aspects of life, understanding others, not being prejudiced, stuff like that."

How does she feel about Jesus freaks? "All I know is that Jesus is everything to them ... I'm not for anything in extreme movements, but if that's how they find happiness, I can understand

it ... I'm kind of neutral; if they don't cause any trouble, fine."

Rachel's father owns and runs a metal factory, and her mother works for him as bookkeeper and secretary. Around the house, her mother cleans up, her father does handy things, and she and her brother, though not forced to, help out. No one else is paid to do any of the work around the home. Her mother is lenient and her father is strict, she reports, but "nothing is a definite no or a definite yes until after we've discussed it." She has been well disciplined, with a share of freedom. Discipline is good, she says, "but everything should be done sensibly, calmly, so nobody will get upset."

Five years from now, "hopefully I'll be a success in everything I do. (laugh) That may be egotistical, but ... By that time I think maybe I'll get my degree in psychiatry ... I don't know." Ten years from now, "I don't know, I've often asked myself that ... I kind of live from day to day, see whatever turns out ... I'd like to see myself as a happy person, and whatever makes me happy at that time."

Rachel likes to be with friends and ride bikes, play tennis, and visit other friends, but "sometimes I just feel like being alone." Her friendships, it seems, are fleeting. Although Rachel was born in Houston and has lived around here all her life, she has no lifelong friends; she usually makes friends during a school year and then doesn't see them again. When she was a small child, there were not many children around for her to play with. Her father had fled from Germany where most of his relatives had been killed; her mother and brother (two years older) kept her during her pre-school years, "because my father was a foreigner and we didn't really know that many people." Partly because of this isolation, her family became "definitely close." She is especially close to her mother, and then to her brother.

Rachel's favorite childhood pastimes were tree climbing, running around, being creative by drawing, building things, and coloring. She loved to read and spent a lot of time studying. She didn't like toys or dolls, but she loved nursery rhymes and fairy tales: "Snow White, Cinderella, mostly fantasies, Little Red Riding Hood of course, that was one of my favorites." These are the same fairy tales that brought a tone of scorn into Jeannine's voice.

Before she was old enough to go to school she longed to attend with her brother, and she has always loved it since she first went. From nursery through third grade she attended a private Jewish school and the transfer to less personal attention at the public school was not especially easy; but her favorite time of school is right now because the people have "more mature minds, a lot more people thinking alike."

As a child, Rachel "mostly kept to myself a lot." She didn't join groups. "I more or less consider myself anti-social; I'm extroverted but so much that I'm introverted (laugh). I'm mostly friends with everybody, groups tend to be too snobby. I joined one group, just a group of girls, and I didn't find any enjoyment out of being with them." She was once president of her class, but she treats this as a silly quirk; she wasn't really interested in that kind of thing.

Rachel has a great variety of friends and doesn't really like to date. She refers to herself as "fickle" in several contexts. "I like to go with a group of people, I might be called anti-social ... it's a lot more fun at my age, then later on you can settle down a lot more. Too many of my friends have been so-called going steady, getting their promise rings and stuff, and everything's broken off and it seems like they've lost everything when they've lost that guy ... I'm just going to be friends with everyone." In superficial situations, Rachel feels at ease with guys. She is outgoing, flirtatious, happy-go-lucky; she likes to kid around and it irks her when someone takes her too seriously or gets too interested in her.

"I get more or less scared, you know." In these instances she tends to clam up and be a prude. She has never liked a guy enough to feel jealous if he liked someone else.

Will Rachel marry some day? "If I find the right guy; I'm not really too much worried about it now. I think marriage is something that is good if two people can be compatible, wonderful thing you know (laughter, awareness of the cliché). It's hard to say because I'm fickle, you know ..."

Rachel's fear of intimacy is compounded by a fear of hurting others or doing wrong. One does not see this fear immediately; it is partially clothed in an apparent commitment to pacifism, vegetarianism, and yoga. "I became a total pacifist, I just put my head together, because right now I have to really get serious about school work, I have to plan for the future (this in contrast to her other statement, "I kind of live from day to day") and I'm just sick of meat. I read about it and there are proofs that meat is really not healthy. Also, in practicing yoga and meditation, they say you really can't fulfill your meditation without being a vegetarian ... I don't wear make-up, because make-up is animal fat ... I don't believe in a plastic look, I believe in natural everything, pure organic. I didn't want to kill anything, I didn't want to do any bodily harm to any other living being." Her brother has been a vegetarian for two years, and her mother would be, "except she likes meat too much. My father is stubborn about it but he won't reject our ideas completely."

Religious beliefs are "not really" part of the reason for Rachel's being a pacifist. "It's just something inside of me that told me, just to think of life more carefully, to think of it more precious than I had been before." The something inside of her seems to include a feeling of being uncomfortable in chaotic situations. The only times she has disliked school have been when the "students would all sit around screaming and the teacher wouldn't teach." Rachel's most comfortable situation,

"other than being asleep," is "probably just going to the park ... maybe just lying down on the hill, or flying a kite, talking to friends, meeting people." She is wearing loose-fitting clothes and the sun is shining. "When I'm happy I just feel contented, feel secure ... when everything's relaxed and I don't really have that much to worry about ... also, when I meditate I find comfort ... within myself, like sitting in a yoga posture, sitting back, just closing my eyes."

When asked if she might ever feel comfortable in a risky, challenging situation, Rachel replied, "I don't really see how the two mix ... it could be risky if I'm in a comfortable position and somebody says get up (laughter); when I'm comfortable I don't really like to be disturbed."

What would Rachel do if she were disturbed while she was comfortable? What would she do if someone attacked her? She would "just walk off, that's the best thing."

Rachel believes in protecting men's egos: "I try not to crush anybody, whether they're a boy or a girl ... I'm naturally dingy (laugh); sometimes a guy will try to make a good impression on the girl, like tell a joke that's really not funny, and sometimes their ego is damaged if nobody laughs. I don't know, I like to make whoever I'm with feel happy that they're with me, happy with themselves ... I just try not to hurt anybody, I just want to be real peaceful and not do anybody any harm ..."

Rachel sees discrimination "and of course war" as the main problems of the world. What would it take to solve these problems? "People don't believe in themselves a lot, they don't really know what life is all about, they don't know that life is so short ... I could never see myself doing anything hostile." Does she see herself involved in solving these problems? There is a smile and a soft laugh; "I'd like to do all I can but there's not really too much say-so that I would have, of course everybody would like to see something done about it, for instance pollution, ecology, but there's only so much a person can do. I think if everybody worked together, but not

just one person." Rachel doesn't know if training, knowledge or position would make any difference. Although she herself feels powerless, she believes that being a woman makes it "easier in most cases" to make changes, "because everyone thinks of the woman as the nice sweet gentle person who should always have her way." There is a soft approving laugh. "I think in most cases things work out better if you're a woman ... I think ... because of the image we've created ever since Adam and Eve."

Rachel is not aware of any woman who is using this image-power to make changes, however, or to help "everybody work together." About politics, she says, "I'm not really that much involved in it; I'd like to see the right man win, of course, ... but I'd rather stay out of it because it's just one big hassle if you ask me (gentle laugh)." She hasn't picked a candidate; "I suppose I should take it more seriously, I suppose when I get old enough to vote I will, but right now it's kind of a slough-off, you know." "I know some names of women in the political field, I don't know exactly what seat, like Shirley Temple Black. I hear this name a lot, I don't know what she is, she might be an actress for all I know: Martha Mitchell? um ... and the first lady!" Women are not in politics more because they are "not interested, because now there are equal opportunities, I just think women aren't as interested as men are ... they're not that demanding, to be the leader, I think, many of them think they just won't get anywhere anyway, a lot of them have a negative attitude because they are women, or they think, I won't have any supporters because the woman's supposed to be the weaker of the two sexes." Rachel doesn't know if women are capable of being political leaders or not.

Senators were reluctant to let girls be pages because "I think it can be risky, they're always on the go, messengers are, they have to be sure and deliver this, and I think

a lot of men they think the woman won't get the message straight, she'll goof off." The opinions of the men are reported in a cliché-voice, as though they were obviously false; but Rachel's reason for not wanting a job as a page is that "I'd always be afraid I'd mess things up and I wouldn't want to do anything wrong in politics, you know. (laugh)" Here I mentioned that the job of page has one thing in common with the ambition she had chosen, that she would be a woman working with mostly men. How did she feel about that? "Well, I don't think I'd necessarily be working with men. There are a lot of women interested in the field of psychiatry ... I don't think sex should really place a burden on anybody; I think everybody should be treated equally, but I'm not for any drastic women's lib movements or anything."

Rachel is "pretty sure" that Shirley Chisholm would be capable of the presidency; "I think if she can prove what she's screaming about, I think she should be given an opportunity ... (dubious laugh) If she's capable of it, the people will show it in their elections!" The information about Shirley Chisholm's husband's role confuses Rachel; she seems to get the impression that he is forcing her to run for office. "I'm the kind of person that I don't like to be pushed around, um, well, he's helping her out doing that, isn't he? I think that's ... oh, it's hard to say! I guess I wouldn't know unless I was put in that position. I think if she has to be forced to do anything, that's not good." I explained that, the way I understand it, this is what she really wants to do, and he's just trying to help her. "Well, then that's good, if someone has that much faith in you that he'll support you, that's real good."

By this time Rachel was impatient with my continuing political questions. Asked for her views on how Nixon has done his job, she replied, "As I said before, I'm not really that much into politics ... I think he's done the best he can at the time." I probed for her views on Vietnam, attempting to see the link between politics and her pacifism. "I think he said

he was withdrawing all troops by 1973 or something ... I think gradual withdrawal is a good idea, except they say that if all the troops are withdrawn the United States will be in depression because there won't be enough jobs for the boys that come back, ummmm, I really don't know. I'd hate to be in a position of president. You know you have to try and please everybody and you can't please everybody." Still trying to find her pacifism, I said, "especially when you do oppose war ..." She replied, "Right, and so considering everything I think that he has done the best he can." Rachel is aware of the actions of Sweet and Feraci, and while she thinks Debbie "did it in a little more respectable way," Carol Feraci was in "bad taste, I think she could have discussed it privately, I think she just did it for attention really ... I think she just wanted to be on a variety show ... she wanted some sort of credit for saying that to the president." The possibility that these women were sincere, that they were pacifists, that she might like to do the same thing, was out of the question. Demonstrations of any kind are "just adding to the confusion ... I think rioting is not a way to get anything done. It takes reasoning, and understanding between the two conflicting groups of people." Writing one's senator "might be more effective than rioting and picketing; I don't think anything is really effective," Rachel laughs nervously.

One might expect that abortion would be the issue that would call forth a pacifist's convictions, if war did not. But abortion is not a very salient issue for Rachel, either. On probing she agrees that each woman should have the right to make up her own mind. "There's the idea of the potential baby, killing life, but if it's still a fetus they say that it's not killing a human." The issue should be defined and clarified, she believes, and settled one way or the other.

If pacifism is not a reason for political involvement, perhaps religion would be. "What would motivate a religious person to be politically involved?" I asked. "Since the Jewish religion is in the minority group, it's supposedly some pride to see a Jew to be president or something like that ... It's

kind of like the Negroes ... I don't think religion should enter politics, you know."

Rachel is afraid of intimacy with other people; she is afraid of being blamed for doing something wrong, for "doing harm." She refuses to commit herself politically; as a pacifist president her task would be to please everybody rather than to end the war. One should not add to the confusion; one should not be in bad taste. All these feelings are part of a constellation of insecurity and guilt; and her sexual self is located within this constellation.

Rachel's parents are "happy with each other" and when she was little "you could tell when you were in the same room that they loved one another, just little hints." Rachel mentions too that with "this coming generation, sex is not as reserved as it once was." Yet if she got pregnant right now, "I'd feel ashamed of myself, I'd be scared ... I think I would see about maybe getting an abortion, probably, because I think I'd feel very guilty bringing a child into the world and it being illegitimate, not having a father." "I think my parents would disown me" (laughing) "which in many cases most parents would, I think ... even as close as we are, they would never dream anything like that would happen (serious now) and they're be so much in shock. I'd probably be all on my own, and I'd have to probably get some counseling or something, but I think I would look into abortions."

"A lot of parents are really too embarrassed to explain sex to their children," she says; "a lot of kids just learn it off the street and what they hear becomes disgusting to them, so I think sex education (in the schools) is good." It should be taught to boys and girls together, so there wouldn't be embarrassment or misinformation.

On the other hand, "To me life and sex seem more beautiful when you find it out from your own understanding than when somebody

is explaining it to you ... I never really asked that many questions, I found out mostly on my own because I was pretty naive ..."

There were few babies in Rachel's childhood neighborhood, and she never babysat, but she was curious about where they came from. "At first I was told that they come from the stork, and then I would get more curious, and my parents said my brother came from Weingartens on the shelf for ten dollars, and that I cost a hundred dollars at Battlesteins, and a big fat black lady started to walk with me out of the store, and my father said no, and I started to cry and said 'I want that man over there' --- my father's got a crazy imagination --- we used to kid around like that. Then I slowly got more curious, I read up on it by the time I was old enough to get into all those scientific studies ..." This whole story is told with much laughter, but it seemed to me a sign of nervousness and forced lightness, rather than a sign of acceptance and enjoyment of this type of sex education.

At any rate, Rachel did not receive a good feeling about her physical self in this manner. At a day camp she attended, children of both sexes used to change clothes in the same room, and she would be shy and go in a little room by herself. "My brother and I used to take baths together when we were little but we'd both have our underwear on ... a lot of times I heard it as disgusting, bad, I never heard it as it's okay to undress together ... that's an exploring age, though ... I used to be curious of the male body; I was pretty curious, but I never paid too much attention because I was a shy kid. (laugh)" Once she sneaked a look at her brother when he was going to bathe and saw him naked. "I always had the idea it was nasty and bad, not necessarily from my parents, that idea just sort of arrived out of nowhere. I just felt protective of my body."

Obviously, Rachel was intrigued by the differences between males and females when she was a child; she also had

some acquaintance with sex roles: "Some times my father would bring home surprises, and he'd bring home my brother a baseball bat and me a little doll, things like that." This is reported with a laughing but accepting tone, with no sarcasm or resentment, although "at that time I would have rather had the baseball bat." Rachel's real awareness that she was a girl came with physical changes as a pre-teen. "Because I was a tomboy before; I used to love to climb trees;" then she began to distinguish herself from her brother: "I think I just looked in the mirror."

Now there is a great difference between the sexes. Usually boys get sexually aroused faster than girls do, unless they're "both completely attracted physically." A boy should be more experienced; he "usually makes the first move, and he's gotta know what he's doing, I think! The boy can always go all the way; I think limitations are usually set by the girl; she has to be careful not to lead the guy on" because "she has a lot more to worry about than a guy; she has the risk of getting pregnant... If they both discuss it then the guy would be careful..."

The sexual content of Soni Romans' case is very important to Rachel. She doesn't think Soni should have been kept out of activities because she would have been reluctant to talk about sex (but anyway there's a lot of discussion about sex.) In making such a rule, the schoolboard was "violating a personal view" but she isn't sure that they didn't have the right to do so. She herself, at any rate, would not have taken the schoolboard to court. "I don't really want to be noticed for anything bad happening... I'd be embarrassed or ashamed" over "being married and divorced and having a baby in the world. It would be a loss of self-esteem."

Rachel approves of friends of hers who have worked to change the dress code at school; but her feelings about being personally involved in trying to change things would depend on "who I'd be involved with, and which authorities I'd be up

against ... I don't think I could just sit around if some situation bothered me that bad, I'd go and talk to whoever was on the authority ... in an orderly fashion, that is." There do not seem to be any situations that would bother Rachel that much, however. She would have been interested in going to Soni's trial, for instance, and believes the school should have allowed students to go to court without suspending them; but rather than challenging this action she would probably have lied and said she was sick. She doesn't believe in lying, but it would be preferable to being suspended. Her parents would tell her not to miss school for the trial in the first place.

On some levels, Rachel defends the "okayness" of being a woman. When I mentioned the Jewish prayer, "God, I thank thee that I am not a woman," she explained, politely but defensively, "You didn't finish that. That's what the men say, and then the women say, 'God, I thank thee for not making me a man.' The prayer is meant mostly to say, I'm proud to be a woman or I'm proud to be a man ... I guess you didn't get the right meaning out of that." Rachel imagines that religion would in some way influence the roles of men and women, but "I can't really say, I'm not too much up on that." Rachel thinks it's important for boys to know how to sew and cook; it's important for girls to know about cars "so they won't have to ask for help, they'll just do it themselves." She says that she doesn't feel competitive with other women.

However, if she were forced to choose between a group of girls and a group of guys, she would "go to the girls first, then if they weren't doing anything but gossiping I'd go to the boys ..." If the girls are the "clique, gossipy type" she would rather be with boys, on whom she puts no "if" requirements or expectations. Beauty contestants are "a small group of women who think they're beautiful; they're trying to compete and see if their beauty can get them anywhere." Although Rachel herself is lovely, sometimes she has felt envious of

a contest-winner, but "not that envious because I still haven't heard her speak, you know!" There are no women that Rachel would like to be like when she is older; "I haven't really thought about it that much."

"Sisterhood is powerful" is a puzzling phrase for Rachel. It means "mmmm, I guess ... women's rights are powerful ... I guess? Oh! or that women are capable of doing a lot, maybe? Or, women stick together and things will get done, they really do have power?"

Rachel has a fairly good understanding of the goals of the women's movement: "to be recognized not as sex objects, not to be known as the gentle sweet woman, not to be discriminated against, to have equal opportunity and as much say-so as men." But what does she think of these ideas? "In a sense it's good ... oh ... I don't know why it could be good. I'm personally not for the women's lib, well I don't believe the woman's place should necessarily be in the home, I believe that both sexes should be given equal opportunity ... but instead of being called women's lib movement it should be called equal opportunity movement ... (laugh) If the woman wants to be treated like a man, fine, if she doesn't, fine too."

Rachel is in favor of child care centers and men sharing housework and child care. A woman's changing her name to her husband's, however, is "part of the ceremony, I'm just for the good old-fashioned name change ... the marriage bond, you know. Hyphenation takes too long ..." What about the man changing his name? "Well, I'm not for that, really ..." About the title Ms., Rachel says, "I guess that would be okay ..." and applies her ultimate criterion: "Nothing wrong with it I guess, it's not doing any harm."

Although Rachel wants to go into psychiatry and expressed eagerness to participate in the interview because my efforts to understand people are similar to her own interests, she seemed

the least able of all six women to examine her own motives and ideas.

Her constant laughter, quite inappropriate at times, seemed to indicate embarrassment, eagerness to please, and hope that the discussion would stay light and enjoyable.

This interview, unlike any of the others, was interrupted several times by door bells, phone calls, and a bee in the house. It was my second interview in one day, and towards the end of it I began to feel quite tired. These factors would account for some of Rachel's nervousness and uneasiness. I do not believe, however, that that is the total explanation.

The daughter of a people who have been persecuted and hated unjustly, a vivacious young woman fascinated by sexuality in a family that tells her she was bought at Eattlesteins and a society that wants her to be "the nice sweet gentle person," the recipient of dolls when she wanted baseball bats, an intelligent citizen of a country whose leaders think "the woman won't get the message straight," the one who must worry about pregnancy and abortion while "the boy can always go all the way," Rachel has cause to feel much hostility and anger. Yet these feelings are completely denied. They are partly projected onto the world and people around her, from whom she must then withdraw to protect herself. She also seems to use reaction formation, "a device whereby," Lane says, "a person behaves and thinks, in his conscious mind, along lines directly opposite those indicated by the motive he fears and despises in himself. In this way the conflicted person can maintain his self-image as one totally dissimilar to the person he fears unconsciously that he really is..."

From her history Rachel has learned that one does not fight injustice; one escapes it in order to survive, and then one tries not to be blamed for anything ever again. From her childhood she has ideas of her sexual self as "disgusting," and any impropriety or addition to confusion is to be avoided rather than risking guilt and shame. Rachel expects to prove her

worth scholastically, but her worry over the possibility of crushing anyone else's ego may well close this avenue of assertion. Her fear of intimacy and of harming others is compounded by her dependence on authority. This dependence is shown by her constant use of "they say" as well as her deference to the office of the president, her unwillingness to cause any trouble, and her refusal to stand up for anything she believes, even for the central concern to be peaceful.

The fact that Rachel's conflicts and problems are so much deeper than either Jeannine's or Tommie's indicates that she may be deeper, more sensitive, and in fact capable of a very intense and full life. If she were able to recognize and accept her total self, physical, emotional, and mental, she would no doubt be ready to accept involvement with other people and commitment to causes that now frighten her. Her intelligence, sensitivity, and creativity would be released from her protective shell. Still, we must ask, how likely is this to happen?

PAT

Pat had to cancel our first appointment to help a pregnant friend find a place to stay until she could get an abortion. When we did meet, she arrived breathless and busy, on her way to a conference for planning abortion law repeal strategy; during the interview, however, she was relaxed and involved. Tall, with strong features, wearing nondescript shorts and blouse and carrying a back pack, Pat is noticeably unconcerned with making herself up to fit the feminine image. From her straightforward manner one gets an attractive picture of integrity and honesty.

Pat, who just turned fifteen, was referred to me as an atypical suburban high school woman, and this is the way she refers to herself. In contrast to Rachel, Pat has a great need for intimacy, commitment, and involvement. She is highly political and acquainted with complex concepts. She tries to examine her own ideas and beliefs.

Pat joined the socialist movement while she was still fourteen, having been a sympathizer since Debbie Leonard started running for mayor. "I think it just came as a realization that the mass movements were doing a lot, I wanted to be in the position to organize these mass movements, I just didn't want to be somebody who marched, I wanted to be somebody who had decision-making power, and could decide what was best, I wanted to get involved, whole-heartedly. And they're an organization that's always involved, covering everything." Pat says she knew there was no difference between the Democratic and Republican parties. She expresses support for La Raza Unida party and hopes for a black party, "but for a WASP, the Socialist party was it! It was revolutionary, it was different, and it wasn't just something someone had made up overnight ... I really wasn't that conscious when I went in, but there's a high level of education, so now I know more about it."

I asked her if she'd heard of the New American Movement which I'd read about in Space City! She hadn't. "They're probably ultra-leftists; a lot of things they cover in Space City! are kinda like that." Pat defines ultra-leftists as yippies or SDS members, or people who march in the park at three in the morning, or people who pour urine in the streets. "In the YSA we have democratic centralism, which means that all the decisions are made by the body, and the decisions accepted by a democratic vote are the ones that are gonna be carried out. No allowing to be different. You can't vote for your resolution, have it fail, and then continue to do what that resolution said. You've got to conform to what everyone has decided after a long study is the best thing to do. But with the SDS, you do what you want to do, there's no leaders, it's a fluid organization and you never get anything done ... It's people that realize there's gotta be a revolution but aren't making any constructive efforts." For a person who wants to be a leader, a leaderless revolution is distasteful.

What are the most important problems of the world? "Well, I'll get down to capitalism; the people, the exploitation that's so rampant on the little person ... All the big people have money, and all that don't, well then just damn 'em. If you have to live in a roach-infested apartment, and no food and be on welfare ... and have a lot of shit thrown at you every time you try to get something that's rightfully yours, that's the problem, it's just the whole inequities." What is necessary to solve these problems? "Truly socialism, where the person controls his own life. He controls his own factories, he controls the wealth. ... We have got to make a revolution, we have got to change it before they change us."

Pat does not believe the revolution can be built by individual people. "I don't believe in counter-institutionalism," she explains, stumbling a little on the word. "You know like Space City! or running your own food commune ... you've got to demand that the government provide enough money because if

the only way you can eat is by getting a food co-op if they're exploiting you at the supermarket, you've got to put your foot down, you've got to organize and you've got to take back what is rightfully yours."

How would you do that, I ask, say just in reference to a supermarket? Pat is a little surprised, and her answer is a little confused. "What would I do? I would have a total boycott; I would get everyone in the neighborhood who is being exploited, tell them, to stop buying their food there, and then this food supermarket would be forced to ... say it's just one supermarket, say it's just Mom & Pop's, because these huge chains you can't do anything with because they're all over the nation ... but I think in one example if you organize everyone to go against them, then they'll have to give in ... maybe to buy them out or something like that ... You just, you really can't do anything unless you make a revolution, you've just got to throw 'em out, put people in... who are of the lower people, but just have a council run that food store, have the neighborhood run it. The neighborhood decides how much the bread's gonna be, and what kids work there; they're gonna start hiring kids that live in the neighborhood, not somebody that drives his Porsche down."

Pat sees herself involved in causing changes because "change has got to come, or we're just gonna suffer, we're gonna die. I think that I'm doing something because people that I'm around will be affected. I think that I can cause a revolution by the people that I know, and that's good. But I don't know how I can affect the world scheme of it; I'm not such an egotist that I think that anybody's gonna remember me after I'm gone except the people that I knew." Thoughtfully, she continues, "I think that if it ever comes (the socialist revolution), I'm gonna be a leader of the people around me, not of any national thing, but people, say like in my neighborhood. If they feel threatened, they're gonna come running to me to ask me what does this mean, you know? So I think I'll

just carry on the revolution in the people around me, and try to help everything go smoothly in the revolution ... I'm gonna be in the party, in the vanguard, but I'm not gonna be the leader of the vanguard."

Pat has lived in Houston since she was five; before that she lived in Oklahoma and several places in South America because of her father's work in oil. She, her ten-year-old sister, and her parents all share the housework, but it is the main basis of family quarrels because her mother wants everything cleaner than everyone else does. Pat describes her family as very open, including openness in the expression of anger. "But I think it's a good family, we respect each other."

"I don't know how I was raised," Pat says; "I wasn't really conscious of growing up, it just seems that one day I was fourteen or fifteen years old." This phrase was repeated many times during the interview. The family always had a maid until Pat was twelve; she describes her as a fantastic, happy person with whom she had a close, positive relationship. She also spent much time with her mother, however, going on trips and "doing a lot" with her.

Her mother, whom she calls by her first name, came from Appalachia and worked to achieve a Ph. D. in psychology; she does drug research. "My mother is fantastic," says Pat; "I think it's more of a big sister relationship that we have for each other, we respect each other and the only time we don't get along is when she gets into that mother role, like very petty things like she expects a freshly ironed cloth tablecloth even though it does take two hours to iron it ... Most of the time we just do beautifully ... She's working with NOW, and they're really reformist ... it gets on my nerves sometimes because she sees the socialist program and knows it's the best one, and she still works with them ... People used to tell me, I know she's a reformist but she's a fantastic person, and everybody has the same feeling about her ... I don't know, she's going through a phase. I hope she comes out of it. She's still doing a lot of good work for both of us so we're all happy."

Because her mother is involved in NOW and she is a socialist, we discussed the antagonism between these two groups. There is a lot red-baiting, she explained. "Why have socialism because people in NOW are professional women and that runs counter to everything they've ever been taught. They're gonna have 100% tax on everything over \$25,000, that would take money away from them; they would abolish the nuclear family, they would do very revolutionary things, change the whole mode of government. If they're gonna work for a woman in the Democratic party, then to abolish the Democratic party is not in their best interest, so they feel threatened ... also they think we're gonna run away with their movement."

Pat contrasts her father, an engineer working in computer programming at a "shit job," with her mother. He is very intelligent, she says, but doesn't want to use his intelligence. "I think that's the main reason that I really don't like him very much, is that my mother is ambitious and always doing something creative ... and he just sits around and lets himself rot ... My mother and my sister and I, we understand each other, but I really don't know how my father fits into it, I'm not sure ... I really don't know what he does, I mean he brings home the money but other than that ... My dad ... well, it's more just being able to stand him ... he doesn't really know how to express love or anything ... my mother will say I love you, I love you four, five time a day, and she acts like it, and she's very open and responsive and he's not, and so, I just don't respond to him at all, it's kinda don't climb on my back and everything will be fine."

Pat's whole extended family still lives in Appalachia; they are rednecks, she says, lower middle class. She visits them often and has good rapport with them except they think she should change, should be dating and having fun right now. "I don't think you can cut off your family," she muses.

Pat started kindergarten at four, first grade at five. Last year she was a high school freshman, but this year she

is a junior and she will graduate just after she turns sixteen. Interested in literature, science, "anything that's relevant," she says, "I've always enjoyed excelling in things." In grades four through six she was making D's; "I can never explain that." She supposes that in those years they just didn't teach her anything she wanted to learn. Her mother threatened her with having to stay back a year, and since then she's made A's and B's. A good teacher, she says, is friendly but expecting you to excel; she is relaxed and "pretty young, not older than sixty," a good disciplinarian, smart, methodical, and attentive to individual students and their problems.

Pat transferred from the public school to a "very liberal" Catholic school this year, partly in order to skip her sophomore year. In the public school, she says, the women only wanted to get married; "it was very depressing." She used to give seminars on women's liberation and abortion, and she was laughed at. They called her "the girl from women's liberation" and she did not like being singled out in this way. The public school was dirty and the people there were catty, immature, anti-achievement, not interested in serious things. She feels that she should go back because she is letting her money buy her out of what everyone else has to suffer through; she should experience it to get a better idea of what has to be changed. But she was just too tired and couldn't cope with it any longer.

The Catholic school has its problems; the students are sheltered just by taking up their time with "sometimes six or seven hours of homework a night." The hour-a-week of religion is a drag but it doesn't matter.. She loves the fact that it is an all-woman school. "The sisterhood and the feelings together are just so, I don't know, it's just love! The deep togetherness that I think -- I think maybe it's chauvinism but -- I think women are just much better than men! Or at least the men I've met." There is no competition among the women at the school. Everyone's interested in each other's stories of finding a guy, but since there are no men around, no one is jealous;

men are just people, not sex objects. "I think my relationship has become a lot more mature because it's more, I'm his friend. And there's none of that dating bullshit that I used to go through."

Pat's first awareness of being female came with the growth of the women's liberation movement. "I just became so proud of it." Women are "very gentle and very tender ... I think it started out with my father; he never impressed me, so I didn't think too much of men; and the women I've met, in any organization they're always the leaders, they're tough but yet gentle, they've always said the nice things, they've always been the very fine people with personalities ... Most of the important people in my life have been women. They've got to achieve, and it's good ... They're revolutionary just by their whole aspect of living ..."

Pat feels at ease around most guys. "With guys I won't put up with too much shit; I'll put up with almost anything from a sister. But guys, I can take 'em or leave 'em ... I'm very relaxed with those that I associate with, because we get along, they're my very good friends." She describes dating as "a lot of ass-grabbing ... You never get to know the person, to have any rapport or relationship ... It's exploitative, when you make someone pay for your six-dollar ticket." Going out in a group to have fun is "friendship," not dating, and she does a lot of it. As for protecting egos, she won't say anything that she knows will hurt a man or woman she likes, although she can be openly antagonistic to those she doesn't like.

Pat's favorite pastime as a toddler was to take off her clothes and play in the sprinkler; she still loves water and swimming. Her doing this was fine with her mother, but down the Oklahoma street a twelve-year-old boy was always called into his house when she did it. "People had children, but, I just never really thought about it. I knew where babies came from, my mother had babies, but I sure didn't know why

she had 'em ... It didn't really make any difference ... And I still feel that way, you can if you want to but if you don't want to, that's fine because that's just as normal. A lot of people say that if you don't have sex, that's not normal, but I don't think so. You can go like for six months ... and if you want to with one person then fine, you don't have to do it with everybody just to prove you're liberated or whatever."

Pat thinks back to her first sexual relationships several years ago and relates that there was so much she didn't expect, and naivete about technique. "You learn, you learn fast, but you're sure surprised ... a lot of it is the idealism they shove down your throat ... People use each other and you should know about things like that so you can make value judgements before you do anything that you regret." Sex education should include relationship-judging: "Judge for yourself what kind of relationship you're in and decide for yourself what is appropriate. Is it friendship? Would you like to be a lover? Is this somebody you'd like to get married to, is this somebody you'd like to care a lot about, or is this just, you know, a one-night thing? Also, you should tell people that sexuality is normal, so anything you want to do is fine. Don't be inhibited, and expect what comes, there's no set pattern ..."

"Also in sex education I think you should teach women not to let themselves be exploited, not to be concerned what other people thought of them about it ... well, I think also the danger of women's liberation is that we've all gotten this I've-got-to-be-liberated thing, and that's just as conformist as anything else."

If Pat got pregnant now, she'd feel she'd been very stupid, would get an abortion and then be more careful. Although her mother supports the abortion law repeal campaign, she thinks it's a tragedy to kill life. Pat, however, feels "It's your body, it's like having a cyst or a tumor, you have it removed and that's it! ... I think I'd have a lot of static from my mother on that line, but I wouldn't have the kid anyway, and I wouldn't

feel bad about having the abortion ..."

Pat participated in Brownies and other activities as a child, but was never an officer or even a good member; she was not happy. "Those years were just kind of dull except for my mother ... I was just sitting around waiting to be ... born! I was dead."

Of those years she says, "I never have had a whole lot of friends ... I don't think I'm very open toward people, kind of shy ... when I know someone enough I'm very open ... If someone is friendly, I love talking to people ... When I'm talking about a real friend ... I'm talking about someone I ... really love, and value." Pat knows many people she likes, but expresses a requirement of real intimacy and trust before she would call them friends. Now, she says, she is happier than ever before. She is associating with people who are eighteen and older, and is "not bothered with people who are immature and petty, I just can't take people like that ..."

"I'm a romantic at heart," says Pat; she loves going out to dinner with people she really loves, listening to music, sitting home and reading, baking cookies, going on trips with friends. "I like everything quiet, like right here, it's very peaceful ... I like order in my life, I like to walk into my bedroom and I have this one light, and a pillow I've had for seven years, and I like to sit there by myself and read.. But also, I like change and I like to see new people ... I like to go different places but also I like to be very regular, I like to know what's coming up, I don't like unexpected things." Pat is most comfortable in different ways under two different conditions, solitary and group. Alone, she is most relaxed at home about eight at night, with some lights on, baking, having a record on, reading a book, and maybe having a long distance call from friends who call randomly. When she's with people with whom she's at ease, she is comfortable doing almost anything. She is comfortable with her socialist friends while she was uncomfortable as the lone radical in a public school.

Pat, like the rest of her family, is an atheist. "It's kind of funny because I think, well how did all these things get here? But I don't believe in God because it's just a white Anglo-Saxon person doesn't appeal to me ...but I think there's got to be something, but I don't know what it is. I think there's got to be something greater than men, but I don't believe in anything like a God ... Man's pretty bad, he doesn't do what he's supposed to, but I think there's a better man hidden inside himself, and I think as we go along I hope we'll improve, but I don't know ..." Pat sees both a connection and a contradiction between religious and political involvement. The idea that one must do what is good stands against the idea that God will take care of everything.

"Those Jesus freaks," says Pat, "still believe woman's place is in the home, bearing children." But she is for the most part accepting of them: "Those people have found what makes them happy, and that's fine. I think that everybody, I think if anyone would deny me the women's movement, or the high-school-students movement, I would be just a shell of what I am. So I think that's fine, they've found what makes them happy, and more power to them." She knows Jesus freaks who speak in tongues; "They're crazy, it's really weird, but as long as they don't try to cram it down my throat, well that's good."

Some of her friends were taking a new convert to a camp, had a wreck and she was killed. When told about this, Pat cried, because the victim was "a sixteen-year-old woman, and I feel a lot of togetherness with those women. I don't care who it is." The friends, however, said this was a wonderful weekend in which they'd seen the will of God, calling their friend home. "And then I hated the Jesus movement because it was just an escape! But then I realized everybody's gotta have an escape, that's the way you do it. I was glad they had something; I wouldn't be able to cope with it or understand it because I don't believe in that, I would say, 'My God, I've

killed her!' But if you can justify it, then that's good, because I think guilt, guilt will get you in the end."

Pat considers Shirley Chisholm a reformist, and the Democratic party completely corrupt and ruling-class; but she admires Chisholm for being so ambitious and overcoming her background and environment. She would like to be with a man like Conrad, and admires him for overcoming sex-roles to give his all to what he believes in.

Debbie Sweet, Pat believes, must be a very sincere, emotional person. Doing something like she did "won't change a lot but it'll make you feel better." "I don't think I could do anything public, because I wouldn't be that emotional, I'd be more cold," Pat says, but she is very expressive to the people she knows. "I remember just bawling over Kent State because I know how bad politicians and everything are but to send policemen to just shoot down four innocent young people ..."

A march is much more constructive than individual action, Pat believes, because people become involved in movements by building a march. "You get more inspired by a million people, I went to April 24, that's what really started, well not started the radicalization but it helped because of the unity with your brothers and sisters, ... I don't know if anything can sway those people up there but if a million people marching against the war can't, then nothing will."

I asked if she felt she needed more training or a higher position to be more effective at causing change. "Well, I think definitely you keep learning ... about Marxist thought and Leninist thought ... But I think I am in a position to do something ... even if I only bring one woman to women's liberation I've done something ... You can get them involved with reformist politics or the anti-war movement, they're finally gonna evolve and see that they're not doing anything until they work for the revolution."

About Soni Romans, Pat says, "It's just another case of people gettin' down on high school women ... It's so oppressive."

Her parents would have backed her in challenging the rule, although her father would have said, "How much is it gonna cost?" Pat would have used the struggle to build a coalition and would have gotten NOW, all the political parties, and every possible organization to endorse her fight. "I don't think it's so much my situation, getting something done about me, but affecting other high school women, getting them thinking, getting them radicalized, is the best thing that can come out of something like this."

Pat got involved in NOW about six months before her mother did, then dropped it because she felt it was not applicable to high school women. She had done a lot of thinking and reading (Sexual Politics by Kate Millett, Problems of Women's Liberation by Evelyn Reed, the writings of John Stuart Mill.) She met Kate Millett and developed pride in being a woman, "realizing it was the best thing to be" and seeing that "most people weren't like my mother, had been able to excel, most people were clerks or something. I wasn't going to be like that, I knew I had enough money, enough ambition, but most people didn't, so I had to do something about that."

The major goals of women's liberation are "to make women realize they are oppressed, an oppressed majority not minority, that they have the power to change it, and then to change it. Also, abolish the nuclear family, and to make relationships between the sexes more equal and more open, and less exploitative." Pat believes that women have the right to control, not only their bodies, but also their wealth, their minds, and everything. Beauty contests are "exploitative ... their definition of beauty is something different; I like all types of people ... they try to convince you that you're ugly because you're not five feet eight and have blond hair. I'd like to abolish them ... I don't want to sound arbitrary or like I'm just doing it to be revolutionary, but I think they're really oppressive on women." She discussed socialization processes involving make-up, fashion, deodorants, and size standards.

Better than anyone else, Pat understood my question

about what it would take to be a strong and competent individual; she answered in the most detail. "A person needs an education, for growth of thinking, a good personality, the will to achieve, and positive attitude. And a will, an ability to bend a little bit, you can't be inflexible ... You have to be kind of an idealist, you have to know what's your goal and work toward it ... A good personality is everything that's strong and good, loving and caring." The type of education necessary is to "be aware of what's going on in the world, have read a lot, be reasonable, to know historical precedent ... being able to take care of yourself, being open."

Pat expects to be comfortable and happy much in the future. "I understand myself better than I used to, so I'm gonna be very frank, I'm not gonna do anything I don't want to do, so I think I'm gonna be very happy, 'cause I'm gonna decide, am I gonna be happy here? And if I decide, then that's what I'll do."

She couldn't say, however, what she'll be doing in ten years, when she's twenty-five. "So many things I'm interested in. I may be a full-time professional revolutionary; I may be a doctor; I may be married ... No, I don't think I'll be married." (Why not?) "Uh, I've seen a lot of bad marriages, very intelligent loving people who are married to people that just are so bad! And also, people may marry, in the beginning they may be perfect for each other, but ten years later they're so opposite. I'll probably be living with a group of people or with one person, I'll be living with somebody."

Twenty-five years from now, her life is a real blank. "I'm a very indecisive person. I never can decide anything unless it just hits me in the face or, having not decided it's been decided for me ..." This statement seems strange coming from a fifteen-year-old person who is already deeply involved in many aspects of life and committed both to persons and ideas. "I'll be trying to be happy .. I don't know where I'll be or who I'll be with, sometimes I kind of fantasize that I'm gonna

live with my mother ...". Her ambition for life, in fact, is to meet a person or group of people she'll be very happy with. "I guess that I'm an idealist ... I want to find somebody that I'll be very open, and will love -- I think there's such a thing as love -- you have to nurture it, you have to make it grow and be strong. Because I could be almost anything except a housewife if I found somebody that I cared enough about. I'd be very happy."

"I'm a very complex person," Pat tells me; and who could disagree? She is highly political, but her life's ambition is to find somebody to love. She is a thinking person, analyzing life situations and her own experiences and ideas ("Judge for yourself what kind of relationship you're in and what is appropriate"), but certain questions trigger an automatic socialist-line response. She is a well-taught, dedicated socialist and feminist, but she puts her ideology in the same category as the ideologies of Jesus-freaks and others: "everybody's gotta have an escape, that's the way you do it."

Pat talks about giving power to the "lower people" so that they will control their own factories and supermarkets, but she speaks of public schools as dirty and the people who attend them as immature, petty, anti-achievement, uninterested in serious things, and says, "I just can't stand people like that." She calls her Appalachian relatives backward and "redneck." In this respect Pat is like Mintz, one of Lane's students, who "favors the 'idea' of working-class power, but does not like individual members of the working class, whom he finds vulgar." Pat considers herself a leader, a member of the elite (though not a leader of the vanguard, an interesting distinction), and places great importance on achievement; yet she is part of a movement to overthrow the "the big people," the "professional women in NOW," the leading class. Pat says the "little person" will rule after the revolution; but the immaturity of anarchy or of actions outside democratic centralism will not be allowed.

This last set of contradictions in herself was the only one that Pat refused to really examine. When I questioned giving power to immature people like those at the public school, Pat said, "Well, I think you find that in rich schools too, except that their parents have drummed into them that they have to achieve; I don't think they really want to, it just depends on who drums what into you ... Because my parents could just as easily have drummed into me that I'm gonna get married and have eighteen kids. I was just lucky and got something decent drummed into my head. You're almost gonna be what your parents want you to be. You're a product of your environment. You can change that slightly, but you're not gonna change all that much." I persisted: "Poverty and powerlessness are problems that you have never really suffered from. How do you think you feel this concern for this particular thing?" "My mother always brought me up to be responsive and loving," she replied; "I'm just a humanist. I can't stand for people to do things that are wrong, blatantly wrong, and they're getting so much out of it."

AMY

"We went through a whole spectrum of changes, we started out being like Yippie-types, just havin' fun, revolution for the hell of it type thing, then we started getting in deeper and more serious, then we saw things just weren't gonna work the way these people said they were, no matter what they said, they really didn't care that much ... Smoke dope for the revolution, fuck for the revolution, all that kind of stuff ... ridiculous! Then there were other people who seemed really sincere and dedicated, but they definitely thought police and the government were real enemies, and they had guns, they did! I didn't like that; I just got the idea, work within the system, you know, back to that. We just got fed up with the whole thing because everybody seemed to be bullshitting no matter who they were."

Amy and several friends spent about a year as radical political activists. They began in the anti-war movement, being in study groups, going to marches, "... and I was going out and trying to change people too, I hate to say it; and when we'd meet people like Jesus freaks we'd try to confront people and try to change 'em, you know, win 'em over to radical ideas, make 'em realize what was going on, what was being done to them, how they shouldn't stand for that ... I do feel I was trying to change things."

Amy spent time with the Red Coyote Tribe, the Little Red Schoolhouse and High School Rising (underground newspapers), Space City!, John Brown Revolutionary League and the People's Party.

Except in working for women's liberation, Amy says, she has less chance than a man to effect change. "We were real proud of ourselves because for a while our high school paper was all women except for one or two guys who didn't do anything, we were glad about that; but in other groups

I know I did and I think my friends did, feel like we couldn't talk, were scared to talk -- well, it wasn't just that they were men, just the others that were older, the biggees of the radical movement, you know? But I did think a lot of times, if there were men present, I'd feel more self-conscious about speaking."

Being white generally makes it easier to work for changes; "If you're trying to talk to someone, the people you're trying to reach, and they're racist against black people, it would be easier to talk to them as a white person. And again, maybe harder, since I am from a white middle-class background, people are going to say, hey, man, how do you know? So ... both ways."

Now the political activities of Amy and her friends have pretty much come to a standstill; they have "blown off everything" because it wasn't having an effect. "When you're thinking of other people as enemies, it's not gonna work, because all you're gonna end up with is some kind of war maybe ... You have to try to talk to people I think, and get 'em to understand, but if you're yelling at 'em it's not gonna work. I guess that's why I believe somehow working within the system, I don't really know how ..."

Her short body hidden by a blue work shirt and jeans, her dark hair long and thick, Amy arrived for the interview late and embarrassed because she had forgotten our appointment until I called to remind her. Throughout our talk she seemed to think she was not a good interviewee; she tried desperately to figure herself out and explain herself to me, but she felt she was doing a poor job. Sitting across from me, her face sensitive and her dark eyes troubled beneath thick eyebrows, she explained that to be a strong and competent individual, a person should "have their head straight, know themselves, like I don't ... This takes time and experience really."

Amy thinks that, with more knowledge, she might become active again and be more effective, and she expects to be

political in college. But "I hope I'll be very careful in doing so; right now I don't trust any political thing at all."

One of Amy's friends, who was active with her during the political year, recently tried to commit suicide. Her despair arose partly from very deep problems in her personal life, but also from the hopelessness she sees in the world situation. Amy encourages her friend to take courage, to think of the future which is bound to be better. To me she confides that she too is "going through bad times, I'm just so mixed up about everything there is, I'm really dissatisfied with myself." She is trying to get rid of a vague guilt that she must have somehow rejected or failed her friend; she is attempting to bring hope to her friend while she recognizes the source of her friend's despair as legitimate and real.

The worst problem of the world "and I don't think it'll ever be solved" is war. Also, "something about governments, the way certain people, no matter what, can just about have control over all the people ... the injustice of that. Like here, so-called democracy, some people are way on the bottom and others way on top, holding people down ... So I guess socialism is probably the best thing, I don't know ... I'm sure there are bad points to that too." Some kind of crisis or shock would be necessary to make people realize what is going on so that they would compromise with each other.

The presidential race is "such a big game, I don't know if I could support completely any of the candidates." Amy would like to be a Senate page. though, because it "might be interesting being on the inside seeing things going on ... yeah, I guess it would be interesting." She thinks that "in a way I could feel equal" with the male pages; "we'd be doing the same work and we could talk, but then again, probably that barrier would exist, me being a woman and them being men ... they might make different allowances."

She names Shirley Chisholm and Bella Abzug as women in

politics, and explains the absence of more women by "the whole idea of the woman's role in the home... also the idea that no matter what women get into, if it's a so-called man's field, they're gonna mess it up... like women drivers, things like that, they're just supposed to be really dumb... Most people don't think women would be competent."

Amy approved and enjoyed the actions of Debbie Sweet and Carol Feraci, especially Debbie because she was receiving an award when she spoke out. Amy would love to do a similar thing and has even dreamed of telling the president exactly what she thinks; "but I think I would have been scared to death, too... like Hoover, he'd be watching me every step for the next twenty years..." The main reason to be scared, however, would be her parents' reactions. They would think it was "really disrespectful, speaking against the government like that, the president himself. Plus they'd give me all that about my future, how it would affect it and hurt it, and hurt my parents... hurt all of us, our job futures, that people would harrass us and things like that, also just what their friends would think." This is how they felt about Amy's brother's draft resistance.

Amy is sixteen, a junior in high school. She was born in Houston and has lived here all her life, preferring living in one place to having to move all the time. She has known most of her friends about four years.

Her parents both work and often get upset about their work, but they go out a lot and have many friends. Neither of them is in good health, and her father might die of a heart attack at any time. Amy describes her family as "not close at all." She does feel close, however, to her twenty-two-year-old brother and her twenty-year-old sister, neither of whom live at home. Housework was always a "big fighting thing" in the family, with the parents trying to make the children do it and the children rebelling. Now, someone comes in once a

week and Amy herself has little housework to do.

"I can't really see anything they did to raise us," Amy says. "We always seemed to be pretty much on our own; we always felt superior to them." When Amy was in the fourth grade, her family was "real messed up." Her older sister was very rebellious, fighting especially with her father; both father and sister would throw tantrums. A family counselor failed to help, and when Amy's sister was in the tenth grade, she moved away. She has never lived at home again.

None of the children in the family like their parents' personalities, and all have rebelled against them. There is the classic problem of the parents not listening to the children and neither side understanding the other. Amy does feel, however, that her parents really care about them. Although they strongly disagreed with their son's draft resistance, they finally supported him in doing what he felt was right. And just recently, when Amy's sister told them that she is gay, she was impressed that they "took it better than she expected," even though "it was a real shock, it was hard on them."

Especially because of her parents' ill health, Amy is in a tense situation as the last child in the family with a chance to fulfill her parents' hopes. "They've had two big blows from my brother and sister and they may just expect me to do something strange too; on the other hand, they know I plan to go to college and I guess they do expect me to go on and make something of myself ... They want me to get married, have a family and all that."

One of her parents' big worries is drugs, she reports; "they know we all do anyway, so ..." Another parental fear has to do with politics: "They're always afraid we're being manipulated by someone else ... They don't hate us like some parents might, or kick us out; they just think we're wrong and someone else is doing it to us ... They don't understand that maybe it's our own free will."

Amy can't remember when she became conscious of being a girl; "my childhood is pretty much a blank." She believes that men and women usually respected each other when she was little, but she isn't sure. She remembers being sick sometimes and her mother wanting to stay home with her, but "I wouldn't want her to." As a child, Amy didn't climb trees, play dolls, or do anything I could name; "I guess I just played, you know?" She remembers no favorite toys. She played mostly with her sister and her sister's friends; she didn't know many children on her block because, like Rachel, she went to a private school from nursery through third grade.

Those first years were her favorite time at school. She dislikes the pressure, assignments, and grades in her present school life and there is nothing much that she is learning. She has some bad teachers who insult students who ask questions; but she continues to make pretty good grades and thinks she will enjoy college. Getting away from home will help her to get deeper into her studies.

For several years Amy was in Young Judea, a Jewish youth group. Her sister had gone to Israel through that organization and had encouraged her to do the same. For a while Amy hoped to do this, and for a while she liked the organization; but then she was just in it in order to go to a summer camp she really liked. She has dropped out completely now. The kids in it, she says, are "snobby; it gets down to religion, I don't know, the Jewish people I see, most of them just make me sick the way they are, I guess that could sound really bad, but - oh, I'm generalizing like crazy - they're rich, and snobby, and I just didn't like that."

Amy's parents go to temple every Friday night; she goes twice a year for the holidays. Religion is not very important to her; "I don't care too much about it, but yet I will defend it, I think. If someone criticizes something about Jewish religion or Jewish people, I think I will defend it, but I don't really care that much about it for myself ... for one thing I

don't know that much about it ... it's how I feel generally about religion ..."

"Religion, " Amy believes, "is just something to keep people down ... It makes me laugh, last year I went through all this stuff, I was real radical and revolutionary and all that, I read the Autobiography of Malcolm X, he was talking about the white man's religion, how it keeps black people down, especially Christianity, how people think they have to be good for the afterlife, also whatever happens is just gonna happen, put it in God's hands; it keeps people down in the sense that they're not gonna try to change things because they just believe God will take care of it." I asked what she thought motivated the Berrigans and other religious people to get involved in radical movements. "Mmmm, I forgot about them," she said. "They see things that are wrong, they just think they should try and change them, I guess I just have this stereotype of Jesus freaks or Southern Baptists."

Amy needed much clarification on "Imagine some time when you are really comfortable." Do I mean reality or a dream? she had to know. Either, I answered. "Mine's more of a dream, like I haven't decided if I prefer a nice comfortable life living out in the country, or if I just want to go on, get a good education, get an interesting job, something I want to do ... My ideal would be living on a farm close to the city, and every morning drive in." She would not be comfortable in a risky, challenging situation "unless I had some kind of security, unless I knew things would be all right; I guess I always have in the back of my mind, things will be okay."

A grimace was her answer to what she would be doing ten years from now. Maybe she will be working, saving money for a farm. And twenty-five years from now? "I really don't know, I hate to think about that I guess." Who would she like to be like when she is older? "I don't know that many adult women, really. One person I know, a psychologist, I'd like to be like

her because she's very open-minded, she's cool, she's kind of a freak herself; she's forty or something ... My sister said something about a couple she knows, the woman is about 35 and the man is 50, and they're both real active and into things ... I guess someone like that. In comparison with my parents who are say the same age, there's such a difference!"

Amy would like to marry eventually, but not soon. She does not feel at ease around most guys. "The worst part is just getting to know the person ... I have so few male friends. It's really bad, but there's always that understood thing that I'm a girl and he's a guy ... so if I just want to be friends, there's always that feeling, and I don't like that at all ... Once I get to know them, we can be friends and I can feel comfortable."

"The whole idea of dating," she says, "I'm not too crazy about. It's just such a little game, the talk is light and giggly, the whole atmosphere seems such an act." Some of her friends go steady, some date around, some date in groups, but for all of them it is a "definite role thing" with the boy asking the girl and paying. One friend tried opening the door for a guy and paying for herself, and it really offended him. For other friends, "messing around" is just part of the date. "If people want to go out together, it depends on the people, you have to be comfortable, not feel this is your place, this is what you're supposed to do. The girl should be able to open the door for herself, and pay for herself, unless it's a treat like for her birthday; and maybe the guy can't get the car so the girl will drive, what difference does it make? I think it should be equal."

Amy tries to protect men's egos; "I don't know if it's just their personal egos or the fact that they are men." She also feels jealous of a guy from time to time but seems very embarrassed to say so; "O-o-oh, this is crummy!" she moans. She mentions that it's hard for her to answer questions like this because she is just beginning to ask them of herself.

She would rather have a man defend her because she feels she can't defend herself; "I hate to admit it." Here she seems to see women's liberation as a standard she is under pressure to live up to.

Amy doesn't think her parents ever told her a single thing about sex or where babies come from. Once her mother gave her a booklet to read, but they never discussed it. Sex to her was mysterious and dirty. There were never many babies around and she and her parents were always fully dressed, although she doesn't think her parents would have minded small children being naked. Display of affection was not too common in her family, she says, "maybe once in the morning and once at night." She spent the night with other girls, but can't remember having a lot of friends, and doesn't remember any curiosity about other children's bodies. She did learn bits and pieces about sex from talking with other children.

If Amy got pregnant right now, she would feel "terrible." In a way, she thinks her parents expect it; "they're just kinda waiting for me to do something. I really don't think they'd be too shocked ... It would really hurt them, of course, and it would be terrible too because I don't want to have a baby, that's for sure." She probably would have an abortion, although if her parents wanted her to, she might go off somewhere and have the baby adopted.

Since parents are too scared and embarrassed to teach their children, sex education should happen in schools, with boys and girls in the same class. The idea of a woman being taught about sex by her husband is "stupid." The rule that Soni challenged was also "stupid, ridiculous," and Amy would have taken it to court just as Soni did.

The major goals of the women's liberation movement are equality in jobs, breaking down roles at work and at home, so that women don't have to be secretaries and waitresses. "So many people I know think of women's liberation as the women

want to be men, and that's stupid. Just equality, to me that's the whole thing." Amy supports family-connected child care centers, similar to the kibbutz in Isreal.

When Amy was little she wanted to be in beauty contests, "but not lately." She considers them absurd, "cattle drives." There is a barrier between her and a contest winner. She has a friend who is very pretty and dresses up a lot, and it was very hard for Amy to get to know her. There is some envy, but mostly she is just uncomfortable with this definition of womanhood. She is pretty close to her other girlfriends. "My best friend and I are so alike, we're like the same person." At a party where boys and girls are separated, she would choose to be with the girls. She "would feel more comfortable, wouldn't feel that I was going into the other room to try to get paired up with someone .. So many times that's the way it is at parties and I can't stand that." She would feel pressure from the other girls, not to hang around the boys. "Sisterhood is powerful" means that "if women can work together they can pull themselves out of what they're stuck in."

Amy is confused about the abortion issue. "Most women in women's liberation are for it, I think, and I'm for women's liberation ... a lot of women, if they don't want to have a baby, they shouldn't have to, but then again, I can't help but thinking it is murder." The law should leave the decision to each individual woman, but abortion shouldn't be a common thing "where a woman can just blow off birth control methods ... It is something definitely serious." Birth control education and availability are extremely important.

A woman changing her name is not "that big a deal, but then again there is the thing that you're no longer whatever your name is, you're now Mrs. David whatever his name is, I think that's really bad because you are now part of the man, it's taken away your individuality ..." Both people changing their names seems "really good to me, it's symbolic that they

are becoming one, not just one being part of the other, they're forming something new." The title Ms. is helpful in over coming the subtleties of women's oppression: "So many of the little things ... like with women, if they're not married that will imply certain little things, like something's wrong, she can't get a guy, and then if she is married it's for men to say, stay away ... The Ms. is just kind of neutral."

Amy thinks "it would be really great" to be married to a man like Conrad Chisholm. "Because so many times it is the woman, she's down below the husband, does everything for him and is looked on as a servant; and I think that's really good, because he really cares about her and wants to help her out, make her more comfortable."

The other day Amy put her name on the blackboard on a list of people who were leaving class. When she came back, someone had written "Ms." in front of it. "That was really neat ... In that class I didn't think that many people knew how I felt."

Intelligent, educated, concerned and sensitive, with radical models in her sister and brother, Amy has much potential for involvement and achievement in the world. She understands and wants to rebel against the oppression of women. She has, however, little support from anywhere to reassure her of the worth of her personhood. An unhappy home life, parents that arouse both hostility and guilt, disillusionment with her faith, and a poor picture of her physical, sexual self, add up to very little personal efficacy. Political and feminist awareness, coupled with a low sense of efficacy, result in despair. She is, however, just now going through a time of questioning, a time of searching for new methods and new answers; hopefully, a new belief in herself and a new vision may arise.

SUSAN

Susan is seventeen, a senior bound for college and law school, given to spicing her conversation with dramatic voice changes, humorous facial expressions, and light sarcasm. Her hair frizzes wildly out from her face. Behind her wire-rimmed glasses, her eyes twinkle and her eyebrows arch to reinforce a bit of subtle humor. She is not surprised by anything I ask her; she has thought everything out in the course of living her life.

Born in a medium-size Texas town, Susan lived in Austin until she was six, then in Michigan until she was fifteen. She spent her summers in Texas, Seattle, and Hawaii, accompanying her father, an educator, on his trips. She has really enjoyed traveling, has "learned more that way." When she first moved to Houston she disliked it, but she is glad now that she came because she knows what it takes to adjust to a move.

Her hard times when she first moved to Houston came because of the conservatism of the people compared to the liberalism of her university-oriented Michigan community, and because of the "repression" in her 4,000-student Houston school compared to the freedom in her 1,000-student Michigan school. People here called her "hippie" and "Janis Joplin".

Susan says her parents have "the ideal marriage. All the other people I know, their parents sort of epitomize suburban life, they're pretty unhappy with their jobs and things, but my parents feel what they're doing is important. My mother's had pretty unhappy things happen to her (what they were, Susan doesn't say), but they're very happy, they're very close... Their basic values are very much the same, and they're the type of values that would lead toward getting along. They're very much involved in church, that's one of the centers of their life, but it's more the kind of Christianity that means 'we care about other people'... So of course you would have to work extra hard in your marriage to make that go right."

Susan has two brothers, nineteen and fourteen; they are a close family. She is not close to any extended family members; both grandfathers are conservative Methodist ministers who live far away, and her corporate lawyer uncle "doesn't think I should be a lawyer because I'm female."

Susan plans to bring her children up the way her parents have raised her. "They've considered my opinions important; a few years ago when my brother and I were getting into the anti-war thing, they really weren't against the war. But they respected how we felt. And now they agree with us. It's this basic trust. I have a lot of freedom, but I would never abuse this freedom. The basic abuse would be lying to my parents about something. I've done things they don't approve of... and they know about it, but they still respect me. I trust them to tell me the truth and they trust me to tell them the truth."

Susan has indeed had more freedom and independence than any of the other five women; "they let me take the car last summer and travel all over the country looking at colleges." Not abusing the freedom, in this case, "would just be being responsible about the car." One difference Susan hopes to have in raising her own children is to keep roles out of the family; "children should be more involved in keeping the house running, so it's really a whole total family thing." In her family, her "father earns the money, mother does the work, and we help occasionally."

Her parents' hopes and dreams for her are that she would "of course go to college, probably to graduate school, have a good job, get married and live a nice happy life..." She smirks and continues, "Especially my father sort of hopes that I do something, some sort of career. I think they would more like to see me go into some sort of social work... The biggest thing is just that I would do something with my life. They don't expect me to be as career-oriented (as her brothers), I don't have to be as successful myself, I sort of get to live vicariously through my husband, he can be successful (laugh)." Her little brother is

"expected to go right down the path to success, probably in some science." They expected that her big brother "would be the lawyer; I would be the social worker."

Her parents' main fear is that she may become too radical. "Diana what's-her-name... who started out nice and good and all of a sudden she ended up in the Weatherman bombings... Well, my father got all upset over that article and I think he's afraid I might turn out that way. Which doesn't really fit me as a person, because I'm not super-radical-- and very anti-violent. Also one of their major fears would be the whole drug bit, because my brother for a while was a speed freak."

Trust and acceptance color Susan's whole life, including her childhood; but she did not experience any radical upbringing. She spent most of her pre-school time at home, with her mother, and never went to nursery school or kindergarten. Until she was four, she played mostly with two girls next door, then mostly with the boys in the neighborhood, and in second grade began playing with girls again. She is the only woman in our group who really liked to play with dolls, and during the years that she played army ... with the boys in the neighborhood, she always got to be the nurse and the cook. She didn't like toys, but played house and loved games like mother-may-I. Susan doesn't remember liking fairy tales, and she was not athletic or good at sports; "I've always regretted," she says, "I never could climb a tree." She joined the boys in going without a shirt only until she was three, then she was "very much ruffles and frills" until the ninth grade.

Susan loved school, although she disliked having to be quiet; "I was a very sociable little girl," she says. Except for last year when she first moved to Houston, she has always done very well in school.

Susan belonged to neighborhood clubs, and participated in Brownies, Bluebirds, Campfire Girls and Girl Scouts (one at a time.) At five she took "all these lessons--acrobatic, tap, bal-

let, baton, and for two years in first and second grade I took ballet which would supposedly make me graceful, but I hated it."

"I was pretty unhappy in junior high, and when I got to high school I realized everybody is unhappy in junior high. Everybody I've talked to felt they were very inferior, especially when you talk to people who were supposed to be up in the high social levels, they were just as unhappy and felt they were inferior to everybody else, too."

Susan was a class officer in ninth grade and active in the French club. Her school now has a government grant to develop an environment week for all Texas high schools, and she has been working on the plans. Her main activities have been outside of school, however. She worked with Houston Switchboard for a while, then quit because of their "violent Red Coyote politics." She has helped organize the peace movement in Spring Branch, and has draft counseled. She has been especially active in the Methodist Youth Fellowship. In Michigan this group made up her closest circle of friends; they were a social action group and worked on an Indian reservation. Here, MYF is more of a social group but they are now beginning to get involved in action.

Although none of the women interviewed had an ideal sex education, Susan's was perhaps the most open. There have always been many babies around her; she has babysat a lot and has much experience caring for children. "My parents gave it to me pretty straight" about where babies came from. Although her parents were "pretty prudish" about children being undressed, they were openly affectionate with each other and with the children. Susan spent the night with other children often, and when she was six the neighborhood children had a very elaborate marriage-game devised in order to see each other's bodies. "I was married about twenty times," she says. She doesn't think the adults knew of this game or would have approved it; she had a friend who was severely punished, giving her the feeling that "this is

really wrong. Now it has the effect that I wouldn't want to put my children through this because this is just natural."

In fifth grade she and friends pored over True Confessions: "That was just sort of exciting, it wasn't really allowed... I suppose around junior high I realized that the only reason for sex was not just to have kids." In her liberal Michigan school, the tenth grade biology teacher let the class study whatever they wanted. They spent a whole semester on a complete sex education course. Sex education should happen in schools, Susan believes, "just even to relate to the opposite sex. I had a friend who dated a guy who was a junior and didn't know that girls had periods. I think it makes you more liberal in your attitudes, especially toward homosexuality and so on."

Getting pregnant right now is "not even a feasible question because I wouldn't run the risk of getting pregnant. I also wouldn't get married right now." All her relatives expect her to get married, have children, and run a home. "I would love to have children because I really dig kids," she says. "I'd like to have two and adopt a million. But they're not going to be 'my' children and my husband pulls in the money for them." Most of her peers, she thinks, probably believe that she does not want children; but they just don't know her well.

Dating in Houston, Susan says, follows formalized social rules. In Michigan, kids just got together and did something. Here, "it would just totally ruin some guy's view of his masculinity, and here they seem to have very strict rigid rules as to what a man should be, for a girl to ask a guy out unless it was just one of the socially acceptable ways." Most people in her school steadily date one person, but the people she's around most lately don't really go on "strict rigid dates" but rather go to the park and wander around and talk.

Susan feels at ease around most guys, unless "they're going to expect me to be this idea of (her voice drops to a whisper) a

soft gentle girl who's going to be very docile and let them do everything... I'm not at ease because I can't play that game, I don't want to play that game, My mother tells me, 'Now, Susan, you've just got to flirt with a guy.' I don't believe in insincere flattery, and everybody pretty much knows that, so when I say something they know they can trust it to be something that I honestly feel. I'm not going to tell a guy (her voice becomes very soft) how big and strong and wonderful he is, and my goodness I'm just so glad to be around you, in hopes that he might ask me out." If ego-building is justified, however, she might do it, she says, giving an example of bolstering a guy's self-concept when someone else was belittling his really good qualities.

Susan plans to marry sometime, but "I'm not gonna run any house for him, we're gonna run it together. And I'm not gonna do the dishes every night and the washing and the ironing... First requirement, he has to be able to iron... It has to be the kind of thing where he can share." Susan does not plan to end her career when she marries. "And I don't want my husband to be involved in the kind of job that would require me to stay home, like, it would be virtually impossible for my mother to, until five years or so ago when we were old enough to take care of ourselves, to have left the home because my father's out of town so often. We could organize our lives where he would be as involved in, say, raising the children."

Although she likes going to the park, being in the woods on a nice day, wearing jeans, and sometimes going to the ballet "because it's such a fantasy situation," Susan is the only person interviewed for whom being comfortable "very much so" includes challenge and risk. "I require being challenged," she emphasizes. She is comfortable discussing ideas with a group of people who are all contributing and respecting each other's ideas. It is best if they are somewhat liberal but not if they agree on everything. They must accept her for what she is, and not expect her

to play games with them. She has planned her future with this in mind, picking a college with an intellectual climate and anticipating that law associates will enjoy the same things, too. In addition, Susan is "the type of person who requires solitude quite a bit... If I'm upset, I don't like to make my decisions being pressured by a group or anything, and I like to think things out alone, and sometimes I just like to wander around alone." Being comfortable, she says, is "pretty necessary for my sanity."

Interwoven religious and political involvements are at the core of Susan's life. "I'm not really sure where my political views have affected my religious views... It's been an interacting sort of thing. They've both influenced each other... A political involvement is necessary, I feel, if you want to label yourself Christian. To be Christian you must be concerned about the world around you."

Susan's faith is not based on agreeing with the doctrines of a church. "I have sort of evolved my own beliefs," she says, "They're more how a person should live, and they're basically Christian because that was the moral structure I was brought up in, but as to believing in the resurrection and all that, I don't think it's really even important... A lot of religion, especially Christianity, is oriented to what I'm going to get in the end-- I'm gonna get saved, Ooooh!-- I think what it should actually be is, I'm going to be a better person, I'm going to contribute more. The basis of my religion is caring, about other people, so that of course would be the basis of just about anything I would do."

"I can see God on two bases, one, as an ultimate ideal that everyone is striving for, or else... I feel like when you die, your soul becomes part of the universe... At times I can feel sort of different vibrations... which I interpret to be that, and most people say, 'she's a loony mystic.' I feel that a lot

of the so-called miracles that people attribute to God are more a combining of forces of good. If you believe something hard enough, and enough people believe it, it's going to happen."

Susan doesn't think of God as male; in fact, she relates with a grin, she got to play God once in a Sunday School play. She has been in a parish with a woman minister before, although few women are Methodist ministers and they are usually in campus situations. What other roles do women play in the church? "All the subordinate ones," Susan answers brightly. "Usually director of education, if it's not paid; if it's a paid job it's more often a male. All the secretaries are women," she continues in a cheerfully sarcastic voice; "all the Sunday School teachers are women, because no men will be Sunday School teachers."

On the Biblical subordination of women, she says, "I had that verse in the Bible read to me last year, and I think that's just a reflection of the social times of when the Bible was written... and we know it's not true now." She flashes an impish grin.

The Jesus movement, Susan believes, is a lot of emotionalism. "I can't discredit it entirely because they got my brother off speed... But I think it's almost substituting one crutch for another." Last year, about half the kids at her school got "saved." "It seems to me a lot of the kids aren't doing it so much because Christ was a really good person, or the ultimate, but more because he said they were saved and that took care of everything."

Susan seems not to need any crutch; she is secure in her own worth, her own opinions, her own activities. Her activism, she says, is a way "for me to express my ideas in the positiveness of the world. There is hope. I don't see any clear-cut ways, but maybe my grandchildren will see it happen. I have to be part of the solution just because of what I am; I'm an action-oriented person. If you're not part of the solution, you're the problem. This is going to sound like the back cover of The Green-

ing of America, but I wrote it before I read it; I feel like the individuals will change and therefore the society will have to conform to them, including the institutions. It's going to have to be done partially through the institutions because they're the people with the power."

The most important problem of the world is "that men learn to live and share with other men, which of course would rule out any wars, hurting the environment... for people to learn to relax and really live." For people to be strong and competent individuals, they must be able to value themselves, to look at the past and see they have done something, or see some hope. "If you look back at the past and it's total negativeness, it's hard to see any positiveness in your future, and you have to have hope."

Part of Susan's reason for draft counseling is "I feel that women aren't involved enough in the politics of today." She is against the draft because she believes in personal self-determination. She has been intellectually against war for four or five years, and made an emotional commitment to peace during the last year. She has had phone callers who refused to believe she was the draft counselor rather than the secretary; "they didn't have enough confidence in a woman."

There are so few women in politics because "women aren't allowed, until recently it was very socially unacceptable, because it was very threatening to most men. Most men like to feel they are more important, and if a woman is president, and you have a first man, most people will say that's totally unacceptable. A first lady is fine..." Susan plans to be married to someone who would do what Conrad Chisholm is doing. If her husband were running for office she would help him, and she would expect his help if she were campaigning.

Susan isn't too interested in the presidential campaign because she doubts the major parties will offer any real choice. She wouldn't want to work as a Senate page because she believes

she wouldn't be accomplishing much. Working with men would be okay; "it would discourage me if I were working in some law firm and I were expected to do the typing and the secretarial work, but if they were respecting me as a person and my abilities, it wouldn't bother me. But I'd rather have other women working around too."

Debbie Sweet and Carol Feraci were "making the most of the situation; it's not often you get to be face to face with the president. It's the sort of thing that gets publicity" and helps to change other people's views. The women were not being disrespectful, because "he's not a king, I wouldn't bow to a king either, but...respect has to be earned. Okay, he's kept us in the war, so I can't respect him for that. He doesn't have too many women up there in office, I can't respect him for that. We didn't get a woman on the Supreme Court, I can't respect him for that." Susan would probably do a similar thing if she had the chance, though first she would consider that it could hinder her future work, especially a political career.

Susan, like Soni, would have taken the schoolboard to court, and her parents would have supported her; they believe in high school rights of all types.

Susan believes abortion laws should leave the decision up to each individual, "because I can't run another person's life. Besides, what else does our society offer women? I don't see any other workable alternative. But I can't support abortion, on the other hand, because it is a form of killing." Once Susan took several abortion-bound friends to the airport. "Here were thirty-six girls standing around several months pregnant, and they all showed, and it suddenly hit me that that was life. And ideally, it's created out of love... There should be more of a move to prevent pregnancy, make contraceptives more widely available, publicize the fact that anybody can go to Planned Parenthood and get them... I could never have an abortion myself, under any cir-

cumstances... It's just a matter of one irresponsible act to overcome another irresponsible act."

In a dangerous situation, Susan would like to protect herself because she feels that someone else trying to defend her would be more likely to strike back at the attacker than she would be. She is leery of the word "defend" and is interested only in protecting herself enough to get away. "It still would be comforting to have someone there with you...like a guy tried to rape me in Atlanta, it would have been nice to have somebody there."

The major goals of women's liberation are for women to be accepted as equal people, not to be exploited as sex objects, and to be free to choose their lifestyles. Child care centers are a must. Susan has had a good experience with the nuclear family, but she believes other lifestyles should also be available.

Susan has always had many friends who were girls, but "My best friend right now was the first girl in this area that I was aware of that had any sort of political awareness or social awareness, and I'm the first girl she's ever been friends with! But I was never like competing with other women for men..."

"I've been to a lot of parties where the women were in one room discussing (she mimics a feminine voice) fashions and other interesting things... and the guys were in another room discussing politics, and I would go in with the guys." Unlike Rachel, however, Susan puts a qualification on her desire to be with males. "If the guys were discussing football and the women were discussing social reform, I would go in with the women. When I first moved here, especially in the church group, I wasn't friends with the girls because the girls here have been really pressured, more than I've ever seen before, to be the sweet little things... they weren't aware of anything. Their whole interest was (feminine voice) who they're going to go out with and my goodness, did you see that cute new boy in town... And I wasn't really that

interested, I didn't think it was all that important to spend all your time talking about your new clothes and your upcoming date. And the guys were aware, and were involved... and so I broke a lot of social rules, and it's taken me a year and a half to get to be friends with the girls."

"In the light of so many women being socialized to have these narrow, stereotypical interests," I asked her, "do you think the phrase 'Sisterhood is powerful' has any meaning at all?" "Oh, it is, sisterhood is powerful," she exclaimed. "First of all more and more women are becoming aware that they are being oppressed and channeled... This year as I look around me compared to last year, a lot of girls are a lot more aware" even in high school and especially after high school.

Susan sneered at the mention of beauty contests. "That's just exploiting a woman's looks; women have to be beautiful to be successful... That has nothing to do with what a woman is... I knew a girl who was fourth runner-up in the Miss America pageant, and she was just a horrible person to be around... I really don't like make-up, it's very repulsive to me... blue eye shadow, and tons of mascara, and very made-up hair; my first response would be, this person isn't being real. I think that make-up is just sort of a mask to hide behind." Susan says that when she first stopped wearing make-up, "I felt really naked."

A woman changing her name "is just part of the male domination" and Susan probably will not change her name when she marries. She is using Ms. now, and so are many other people she knows.

Susan, when she is older, would like to be like "women that are involved in politics, I would like that type of role; or one of my mother's and my closest friends is the type of person I would like to be. She does care about everybody, she's helped a lot of people... I'm sure she can go to bed at night and realize, hey, I really did accomplish something today."

Susan has a clearer picture of her possible future than do any of the other women in the sample. Five years from now she will be in law school; ten years from now she will be practicing social or civil-rights type law and will perhaps be married. She will live near a city but outside it, and not in a suburb, where "all the houses are the same, everybody thinks the same, everything's very sheltered, the same economic level, everybody's white, of course." Twenty-five years from now, Susan will hopefully still be in law, and maybe have a political career.

Susan has been interested in law since the fifth grade, "but I always accepted the idea that women aren't lawyers... I shifted into social work because it was very acceptable, and I was always encouraged, and I probably would be good at it." During the last year she became very interested in political science, and "I decided certainly I wasn't going to play this game of what a woman should be... That had been coming for a long time because I'd never been particularly the type that was going to be dominated by any man." It had been coming for a long time, but this last year was nevertheless important for Susan. A significant question not answered by this study is, how much of Susan's independence and certainty about her future are the result of her being older than the other interviewees and the only senior among them? This factor will be discussed in the conclusion.

Although many elements of her environment and her upbringing have sought to shape Susan into a traditional role, the main message she has heard has been one of acceptance of her personhood, encouragement and challenge to do whatever she wants to do, and belief that she is capable of just about anything. Susan shares Rachel's desire not to harm anyone; she shares many of Pat's and Amy's political views. Yet she escapes the fear of commitment and of doing wrong that haunts Rachel. She does not have Pat's acute need for intimacy and love, nor her tendency

to give a party-line answer to certain questions. She has the support, confidence, and direction that Amy longs for. Pat would certainly point out that Susan is a reformist, and one could disagree with some of the substance of her political views. She is, however, open, thoughtful, and growing. Widely traveled, flexible, independent, secure in a caring religious and political view, Susan expects a positive and full life.

CONCLUSION

Many of my pre-interview expectations were borne out in the interviews. I found the ambivalence I expected over the female role. I found that Pat, Amy, and Susan had an understanding of the complex aspects of the women's movement; they exhibited support for the movement and belief that the movement supports them. Jeannine, Tommie, and Rachel, however, while approving the basic social goals of women's liberation, did not identify with the movement or understand its subtler aspects. Even Pat, Amy, and Susan let phrases of dislike for women in general slip by unnoticed.

The responses of these women did not reveal the "will to fail" motive that I expected. It may be that this motive would be revealed much more readily using Matina Horner's projective techniques; it may be too that high school women are not yet intensely subject to social pressures to fail. Several interviewees said that from time to time they just didn't feel like studying, or got involved in "more important" things, but they insisted these were not "on purpose," and they probably were not. Tommie mentioned that "people really get uptight because I make good grades" but she seemed to consider this anything but serious. The main indication that pressures to avoid success were operating on these women was their lack of a vision of their futures, which we will discuss soon.

All the women, as I anticipated, expressed some discomfort around men or hostility toward them. Jeannine and Tommie, who accepted many of the traditional patterns of male-female relations and saw politics as a man's job, made sarcastic remarks about male incompetence and bungling: "Sometimes boys just can't think..." "Sometimes these men make a bigger mess than what a woman could do..." "A lot of men are so dumb they don't know which foot to stick in the right shoe..."

In line with my expectations, these women's relations with males were complex, interacting with many other variables. Jeannine, Amy, and Rachel all lack confidence in their sexual identities; all of them are uncomfortable in their relations with boys. Jeannine deals with her discomfort by clinging to one boy to protect herself from confronting her relationship with the others. Rachel, on the other hand, flirts with many boys, is "fickle," and wants to be popular with men in the southern-belle fashion. She has no feminist understanding of the game she plays and is comfortable around males only as long as they play the game. Amy understands her discomfort from a feminist perspective and is working toward breaking through the barriers toward more honest, human relationships with men.

Pat, we have seen, is hostile toward men; she understands this as a carry-over from a poor relationship with her father. Apparently she has also had some bad early experiences with sex and boys. She accepts men on certain strict conditions; she understands the feminist viewpoint of male-female relations. In her discussion of developing guidelines for judging relationships she seems to be working toward a more flexible and personal attitude toward men.

Tommie and Susan are both comfortable around most males, but for entirely different reasons. Tommie combines her early tomboyism with the dating game and accepts her role as a popular, pretty girl. Susan, though never a tomboy, refuses to play the dating game and makes her position as an equal clear. She understands the exploitation that does take place between men and women, but her attitude toward individual men is rational; she is hostile when it is warranted and expresses good will at other times.

A general tone of personhood, as I expected, does carry over from one aspect of a person's life to another; Rachel is generally fearful, Amy generally uncertain, Susan for the most part

confident. Attitudes are also similar in various areas; Tommie is a questioner but basically accepts traditional views in religion, politics, and sex roles; Pat is radical in all areas although she believes other viewpoints are okay for other people. The question about Shirley and Conrad Chisholm revealed, as I expected it would, that perception of proper roles for men and women has a great effect on a woman's likelihood of political involvement. Her desire for political involvement also has an effect on her perception of proper sex roles, in that nontraditional roles are necessary for her involvement. Pat, Amy, and Susan, who are feminists interested in the political world, think Conrad's behavior is great; Jeannine, Tommie, and Rachel, who accept traditional roles and are not involved in politics, are very uncomfortable with the Chisholm arrangement.

The general trend is for a sense of personal efficacy also to carry over into all fields. This is clearly true in Susan who sees herself as effective everywhere, and in Jeannine who sees herself as basically ineffective. Pat has a high sense of efficacy in some ways and sees herself as intensely involved both in personal relationships and in politics; yet she expresses the belief that maybe nothing works. Amy, although she has tried intense political involvement, has a low sense of efficacy in everything. Tommie, I expect, will gain more political efficacy when she has more information; it is likely that her personal efficacy will increase as well. Even now she often refers to her potential and to her desire to participate. Rachel is confusing because she has a high ambition but does not see a real picture of herself in that role. She also has no sense of efficacy in personal relationships or in the political world; she covers for this by disinterest in both of these.

One expectation about the effects of childhood socialization very surprisingly did not hold. The tomboys did not grow up to be feminists; the one person whose mother has a Ph.D. is no more certain of her future plans than are the others in the sample;

the one interviewee who liked to play with dolls and whose mother never worked is the most sure of her plans for career and political involvement.

This fact raises a great many questions. To begin with, what role does being a tomboy play for a girl? Is it an expression of real interests which later change or are repressed, and if so why does this happen? Is it an indication of efforts to gain parental (especially paternal) approval, which must be sought through feminine behavior when the child is older?

We also do not know the real meaning of playing with dolls, babysitting, and so on. Certainly it is not time simply to dismiss the idea that these activities train a female for her "proper" role in adult life; but perhaps when accompanied by other factors they have a different effect. Is it possible that in some cases, such activities give a girl a sense of security in her sexual identity so that she has no need to prove her femininity by having children or playing the traditional role? Perhaps all childhood games are insignificant in substance; perhaps the child's sense of security, personal worth, and potential are really more important. If so, how are these acquired?

In the introduction I presented certain aspects of personhood. The interviews were looking for strong, self-sufficient young women who have vocations and a political cosmology, who are in community with other individuals, for whom there is a degree of integration between comfortable times, everyday life, and expectations of the future.

Although these six young women have varying degrees of awareness and interest in the political sphere now, and all of them have major involvements outside their families, all but one of them emphasize the personal, familial aspects of their expectations of their futures. Even Pat, who is highly political now, is most comfortable doing things like baking cookies

or going out to dinner with people she loves; her ambition is to find someone to love and be happy with. These aspects of life are of course highly important. But if an adult person has only a familial cosmology, can she be a whole person?

It is interesting, since five of these women expect family life to be central to their futures, and since family life in America usually includes children, to examine and compare their feelings about having children. First we recall that Susan, the most independent, politically involved, self-secure interviewee, wants to have children because she "really digs kids;" she has had much experience with taking care of babies and she would "like to have two and adopt a million." She will not give up her career for them, however; child care centers are a must, and so is a husband who will plan his life with his equal responsibility for his children in mind. But how do the other women feel about having children?

Each of them is encouraged by some relative to become a mother someday. Pat's mother would like to have grandchildren, although Pat protests, "She doesn't expect me to give them to her." Jeannine's, Amy's, and Rachel's parents want them to have children; this has a great effect on Jeannine's plans but doesn't influence Amy or Rachel much. "Really what they say has no effect on me, at least right now," Rachel insists. Tommie's aunts and parents want her to "do something good," to be able to support herself in case her husband dies, but to be a full-time mother when she has children.

All five women, despite such encouragement (pressure?), fail to ratify the idea that motherhood is the state that every woman longs for. None of them has had much experience caring for babies. All of their feelings about having children are ambivalent or negative. Even Jeannine, who sees her future only in the family at this point, is extremely afraid of the pain of childbirth. Tommie, who believes that marriage and motherhood

will end her active life in the world, is afraid not of actual childbirth but of having an abnormal child or of not being a good parent; she says this fear is experienced by "every woman who gets married." Rachel says, "Right now I could never see myself having children but I'm sure like if I was married and I loved the man... I wouldn't have children unless I felt I could be responsible enough, and financially secure; I'd take a lot of things into consideration."

Amy would be "scared to death, really," to have children. "It's such a responsibility; parents, what they do whether they realize it or not can really affect kids. Mentally, they could really mess 'em up, 'cause so many times kids have really bad mental problems... their whole life would be in your hands... Maybe later I'll want to have children, I think it would be nice, but not for a long time." Pat says she has "always thought I had better things to do than raise children. If I ever had any, which I don't intend to...it should be a kind of communal thing... I don't think that as a mother you should be bothered with it if you don't want to... I think this whole business of being a lackey to a two-year-old is crazy. You stifle yourself, run yourself into a rut and nobody likes you, you're not happy, it's not happy."

It is significant that these women, who base so much of their futures on their personal lives, have a much less positive view of their personal lives than does the one person who expects to be politically and socially involved. The point is not, of course, that to be a full person one must want to have children; the point is rather that a low expectation of involvement in the "outside world" seems to correlate with a low expectation of happiness in these women's personal lives. A sense of personal contentment in Susan, on the other hand, is certainly related to her political involvement.

Perhaps I am not being fair; perhaps I am putting too much emphasis on these women's feelings about having children. After

all, Tommie has assured me that "whatever I do will be what I want to do;" Pat has explained, "I'm gonna be very frank; I'm not gonna do anything I don't want to do, so I think I'm gonna be very happy..." Certainly it is possible to live in a familial cosmology that does not include children. At any rate, when I see Tommie's, Jeannine's, Amy's, and Pat's interest, enjoyment, and involvement with so many activities outside their families now, I find it hard to believe that they will live in a strictly personal world as adults. Nevertheless, this is for the most part what they say they expect. This is, for the most part, the life-pattern that countless women have followed in the past.

What exactly does a teen-age woman's lack of a definite ambition or life-plan indicate? It could indicate a realistic acceptance of the uncertainty always inherent in the future, and a style of creativity and flexibility in meeting that future. Then again, if Sylvia Plath's The Bell Jar has universal meaning, it could point to the possibility of eventual suicide. Certainly, lack of ambition is to some extent an indicator of the probability of a woman's having a career, or, more importantly, a vocation; certainly it tends to show a lack of personal and political efficacy.

This is an area which should be explored further. How widespread is young women's inability to envision an adult future? What patterns of development accompany a woman's having or not having such a vision? And does the vision or lack of it actually predict anything about a woman's future?

In such an exploration, a comparison with teen-age boys would be mandatory. This study assumes that much of these women's lack of direction is a result of their being female at a time of great change in the definition of women's roles. But do teen-age boys have a stronger vision of their futures than teen-age girls do? My suspicion, of course, is that they do. They at least have the expectation that they will be working,

and they usually have hopes that their jobs will be exciting and fulfilling. It may be that males with the same backgrounds would give the same responses, but the fact is that "males with the same backgrounds" do not exist. As Margaret Mead explains, males and females simply live in different cultures in our society. Nevertheless, comparison of the responses of male and female teen-agers would be fascinating and enlightening, and should be done.

This is especially true because studies of political socialization have usually emphasized the importance of the father, with some footnote to the effect that "the father's absence seems to have a more pronounced effect upon boys than girls" and no further questioning of why this might be so. Each of the women interviewed is closer to her mother than to her father. For political Pat this is especially true; political Susan gets along well with both parents but spends much more time with her mother; political Amy has a poor relationship with both her parents. Interviews with more women are needed before drawing any conclusions from this information; but it is likely that the importance-of-the-father answer does not apply to women in the same way it does to men.

Future research, in seeking the meaning of the lack of future-visions, should investigate the will-to-fail motive in high school women, perhaps using projective techniques and again comparing male and female responses.

Further study should investigate young women's feelings about their sexuality, and their feelings toward other women and toward men, in hopes of discovering which combinations of these variables are most likely to lead a young woman to become a feminist.

Of course, the intriguing discrepancies in these women's childhood socialization experiences and current realities should be studied further. What is the meaning of being a tomboy?

What is the meaning of playing with dolls? What do each of these predict about a person's later development? What other variables may be important in childhood socialization?

The basic questions of this study were stated in the introduction. In an age of feminist revival, a time when conflicting pressures seek to mold a young woman, how does she perceive the traditional forces, the alternative forces, and herself? On this matter, some insight has been gained. We asked further, what patterns of development are necessary for a young woman to grow in the direction of her highest potential? From these six interviews it appears that the necessary patterns include being loved, trusted, and expected to achieve, being exposed to a variety of ideas, lifestyles and attitudes (including feminist ones), and being helped to self-acceptance physically, mentally, and emotionally. Will these patterns remain constant in further study?

I emphasize that the stories of Jeannine, Tommie, Rachel, Pat, Amy, and Susan must be used chiefly to ask many questions which could possibly be answered in future research. There are too few women here to be sure of patterns or to explain with certainty why they are the way they are. What is it in each person's background that can link her with others who will develop similarly? We know, for example, that Pat's great admiration for her mother and hostility for her father must have some effect on her life. But do other young women with similar emotions for their parents also become political activists with a need for intimacy and a tendency to rigidity in some aspects of their thinking? We know too that Rachel's family's history of escape from persecution must affect her. But do other people react to such a history in the same way? Simple, obvious answers are subject to suspicion in complex questions of human development.

Future study should not only include people of both sexes; it should control for age. At this age level, one year can some-

times make a great deal of difference in growth of maturity, and a question certainly remains as to how much of Susan's confidence, understanding, and direction can be explained by her being seventeen and on her way to college, rather than being fifteen or sixteen and anticipating a fun-time senior year in high school.

It would be interesting to interview these same women in five years. It would be good too to interview a new group of women, all of the same age or with an equal number from two or three ages.

In further studies of this nature, it would be worthwhile to interview each person more extensively, and at several different times. More interview meetings would give the person time to recall more, as well as an opportunity to get more childhood information from her parents. They would help an already open relationship between the subject and the interviewer become much freer.

A greater number of people in the sample is another must for future research of this type. This would help detect patterns in the development of young women, making a discussion of causes and effects more reliable. It would be important to seek out interviewees of various religions, and of various family, class, and race backgrounds. It is remarkable, for instance, to have even six middle-class women, picked more or less by accident, who all live in homes with both their natural parents. Thus we have no picture here of the effect of parental divorce on a teen-age woman. In addition, none of these women has dropped out of high school, and none of them has ever been pregnant. Hopefully, the insights gained and questions raised in talking with Susan, Amy, Pat, Rachel, Tommie, and Jeannine can be used in learning much more about the development of young women from many backgrounds.

My bias, I am sure, has been obvious throughout this paper, but I would like to state it plainly here. I did not know any of these women before I interviewed them, but because of my commitment to the women's movement and my previous experience working with high school people, I was predisposed to like them and to expect much of them. Obviously, I would like to see these bright, interesting young women lead exciting lives, contribute to the world, and further the cause of womankind. I do not have many more answers than they do concerning the specific methods of doing this, but I do have an idea of the components of personhood that are necessary.

As a woman I identified with the women I interviewed; many of their struggles are struggles I have experienced. For example, Tommie's belief that she should marry late because marriage will end many of her exciting activities is a belief I lived with for a long time; I recognize Pat's conflict between egalitarianism and elitism because I know it personally.

The interviewees were also not without bias. They were impressed with my "research at the university." They felt very good to be asked for their opinions on so many important subjects, a fact that may indicate that they are often not expected to have such opinions, and that they need validation of their worth. They were interested in my questions and several mentioned that the interview helped them gain insight into themselves.

I caught these women during two hours of their complex, ever-changing lives. I believe that each of them is a growing person; indeed I hope that by the time this paper is finished, none of them is exactly the same person she was during our talk together.

During the interviews, my predisposition to like each woman grew into an admiration of certain parts of her character, a delight in her manner of speaking, an enjoyment of knowing her. I also grew depressed when I discovered elements of each person that seemed to me to work against the development of her fullest

potential. I believe that these emotions, when recognized and taken into account, do not work against the reliability of my findings. No research is without bias and value judgement, although much research pretends to be.

But of what interest is it to political science whether or not young women become self-actualizing? Of what interest is it to our society? Lane reports John Stuart Mill's criterion for judging a political system as "this, and only this: the kind of intellectual and moral growth (self-actualization) it produces." If young women in a society are stunted in growth, if they have no vision of their futures, if they see no role models in the political system, if they have no sense of personal or political efficacy, it is an indictment of that political system and of the society of which it is a part. If we care about the problems of our society, and if we see these young women as interesting, intelligent people who could contribute to the society and play a role in solving its problems, then we must be concerned about their individual growth.

"Every person is a mystery
that must be learned slowly,
reverently,
with care,
tenderness,
joy,
and pain,
and is never learned completely."
- Anonymous

"Anonymous was a woman."

-Virginia Woolf

COMPONENTS OF INTERVIEW

General Information

Family and childhood

Health

School

Clubs, activities, leadership

Religious activities and beliefs

What do you like to do?

When are you comfortable and happy?

Future

Political interest

Political efficacy

Democracy/authoritarianism

} specifically in relation
to sexual mores and the
roles of women; includes
questions on Sex

Relations
with males

Dating

Knowledge and interest about women's liberation

Relations with women

Self-sufficiency

INTERVIEW

Name

Age

Grade in school

Birthplace

Have you lived around here all your life?

Where else have you lived?

How do you feel about having moved a lot/lived in the same area?

Are many of your friends people you've known all your life?

How many people in your family? Boys? Girls?

Do you get along especially well with father, mother, sisters, brothers? Others you get along with less well?

Would you say your family is pretty close, or not?

Are you close to other family members, say grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins?

When people live together, there is a certain amount of work that must be done - cooking meals, earning money, cleaning house, mowing lawns, washing clothes, taking care of pets ... How would you say this work is divided in your family? Who does what? Do you yourself have chores? Do jobs rotate from person to person? Is somebody in charge of making other people do the jobs? Which are the favorite jobs? Most unpopular? Do you pay outsiders to do some of this work?

Do you see your parents as happy?

How do you think children should be raised?

Were you brought up that way?

Would you say your parents were strict with you, or lenient? What do you think your parents hope for in your life? Are you afraid of for you? Are your parents pretty relaxed with you and the way they've raised you, or are they uptight? (differences of mother/father)

Do you recall some of the first times you were aware of being a girl? How did you get this awareness? (comparison with female relatives? comparison with male relatives or playmates? restrictions? privileges? dress? toys? tasks? in the family or at school?) How did you feel about being a girl when you were little?

How did the men and women in your background (extended family, neighborhood) get along? Did they discuss things together, talk about the same topics, sit in the same room at gatherings? Did women wait on men, or on children? Did men fawn over women? Respect? Efforts at understanding? Was there hostility between them? Was hostility expressed in arguments, teasing, silence, sneaky powerplays?

Would you describe yourself as pretty healthy? Do you ever have stomach aches, headaches, cramps, many colds? Are other things pretty much OK with your body?

How about as a child, did you ever get stomach aches before going to school, etc.? Any serious illnesses, accidents, or operations?

When you were sick, how were you treated? Pampered? Ignored? Threatened? Treated matter-of-factly? Did everyone in the family get sick about an equal number of times? How was each person treated when they were sick?

What were your favorite pastimes as a child? tree climbing, sports, dolls, bikes, pretending, skating ...

What were your favorite games? Who taught them to you? Your favorite toys? Who gave them to you? Who did you play with when you were little?

Can you remember any nursery rhymes? Which fairy tales did you like?

Did you ever go to nursery school? Did you like it or not?

When you were not in nursery school, where did you spend most of your time before going to school? With mother? Father? Older brothers and sisters? Neighbors? Relatives?

Any memories about this?

Did you look forward to or fear going to school? Why?

Did you like it once you went? What did you like most about it? Dislike most?

What has been your favorite time of school - preschool, elementary, junior high, high school, college? Why? Your worst time? Why?

Do you do pretty well in school? Have there been times you did better than others? Why? How do you feel about doing well? Doing poorly? Have you ever suspected you could do better than you were doing? Ever purposely tried to do less well than you thought you could? Have you ever been surprised when you did especially well, or especially bad?

Would you say you've had pretty good teachers, or not? What do you think makes a good teacher?

As a child, did you join groups of other children ... say, a neighborhood club, Brownies, dancing classes? What do you remember about them?

What about as you grew older, were you in Girl Scouts, clubs at school or church youth groups ... in junior high? in high school? What kind of clubs? Were these important to you, or just on the side of your main interests, or what? Did you enjoy them/enjoy not belonging to them/wish you did? Why?

Were you ever an officer, or a real active member? Was this a position you had to work for, or did you get it by accident, or what? Did you like being an officer/wish you were? Would you say you were pretty effective, that you got other members to participate?

Are you involved in such associations now? In what way?

Are you a member of any particular religion? Does your family attend religious functions often? Worship, socials, committees, business meetings ... Do you attend these too? Does your faith have a special youth organization? Are you a member of it? What kinds of things does it do? social, evangelism, social action ... What do you think of it?

Do you consider yourself a religious person? Would you say your faith is very important, moderately important, or not at all important to you? In what way? (guides major decisions, guides everyday life, determines morals, determines politics, determines relationships with other people?)

What do you think of the Jesus movement? Do you know anyone in that movement? How do you get along with them?

Dan and Phil Berrigan and other priests, nuns, and other religious figures have been active in the peace movement, and others have been active in civil rights. Do you feel religious people should participate in politics in this way?

What do you think motivates them? What relationship do you see between religion and political questions?

Many religious people believe that God wants women to be subordinate to men. Billy Graham, the evangelist, has said, "Wife, mother, homemaker, this is the appointed destiny of real womanhood." What do you think of this statement from a religious perspective?

This attitude is often based on the story of creation, with Eve created from Adam's rib as a helpmate, and with Eve sinning first and tempting Adam. What do you think of this story? Do you believe it? What do you think it means for you today?

For Jewish women: Jewish men pray, "God, I thank thee that I am not a woman." What do you think this prayer means? What does your religion have to say about the role of women? Do you believe this?

How would you describe God? Do you believe God is male? Do you believe the maleness of Jesus Christ is important?

Are any women pastors (priests, etc.) in your church body? Do women vote in your church? What other roles do women play?

What are some of your favorite things to do?

Think about some time when you are really comfortable, and try to describe the situation you imagine yourself in. What are you wearing? Doing? Outside or in? Alone or with others? Who? Where are you - country, state, city ... What's the weather like?

Would you describe the same situation if I asked you to talk about a time when you are really happy? probe

Are you comfortable and happy in the way you describe much of the time right now? In what ways yes and no?

Is being comfortable in the way you described very important to you?

Could being comfortable include being excited, challenged, in a risky situation, or are those two separate situations for you? If separate, which would you choose?

In your expectations of the future, do you see yourself being comfortable in that way very much? Happy?

What do you think you'll be doing five years from now? Explore roles, activities, material surroundings, income ... Ten years from now? Twenty-five?

Are these expectations different from your ideal future, your dreams?

Do you think about the future very much or are you pretty much living day by day?

Do you think there is a purpose for people's lives? What would you say this purpose was? How do you feel about that?

Do you have any particular ambition in life? Do you change ambitions from time to time, or have you always wanted this? What do you think it would take to reach that goal? Will you enjoy working for the goal, or will you just enjoy the goal once you get it?

If no ambition, do you feel comfortable about this? Do you think you might later on develop a particular ambition when you have had more experiences, or would you rather not? Does having a particular goal above others seem to be a bad thing to you?

Think of several adults who have been important in your life. Would you say they were very ambitious people, or not? If so, what kinds of ambitions did they have? How do you feel about them?

How about your friends? Are they pretty well satisfied with life the way it is? Are they working toward some well-defined goals? Are they dissatisfied with things but not sure how to change them?

How do you feel about the world the way it is today?

What would you say are the most important problems of the world today?

What do you think would be necessary to solve these problems? goals - methods - individual v. institutional - leaders v. common people - short range v. long range

Do you see yourself as being involved in trying to bring about some of these solutions, either now or in the future?

Can you make some efforts in this direction now, or do you feel you need more training or knowledge to be effective? What type?

Or would you need to be in a special position to be effective? Would your training or knowledge have anything to do with whether you got in such a position or not?

How about your being a woman? Do you think you have a chance to make more changes, less changes, or about the same compared to if you were a man? Why?

What about being of your particular race? Does that make it easier or harder for you to get things done? Why?

Are you very interested in politics, say, in the presidential election coming up this year? Have you picked some of the candidates that you might support, or others that you're sure you don't, or are you kind of waiting to get more information? (why, if candidate)

There are a few women in the House of Representatives, and one female Senator. Do you know any of their names, or maybe something about some of them?

What do you think of women being in politics? Do you have any ideas why there are not more women in politics than there are? (women not interested, not able, closed system ...?)

For a long time, teen-age boys have served as pages (messengers) in the U. S. Senate. Last year, after a long fight, three teen-age girls were allowed to become pages. Can you think of any reasons why the Senators did not want girls to be pages? How do you feel about their reluctance?

Would a job as a Senate page appeal to you? Would you be discouraged or glad to think of working among mostly men? Would you rather be page to a male or female senator? Would you rather work with men, women, or a mixture? Why?

Shirley Chisholm is a Congresswoman who is running for the Democratic nomination for president. Have you heard of her much? Do you think she would make as good a president as a man would?

Shirley Chisholm is black and has often said that she is discriminated against more as a woman than as a black person. Does this make sense to you? Do you think it can be true?

Conrad Chisholm, Shirley's husband, has taken a leave from his job to do background work and make sure she eats right, gets to her appointments on time, and other supportive duties to help her become president. Would you like to be married to a man like that? (probe definitions of manhood)

What do you think of the way Mr. Nixon has handled the presidency? (Vietnam, domestic issues such as race, poverty, hunger, women's rights, the economy, law and order)

Twice that I know of in Mr. Nixon's term of office, a young woman has personally and publicly disagreed with him about his Vietnam policy. About a year ago, 19-year-old Debbie Sweet accepted a good citizenship award from the president but told him in front of TV cameras that she doubted his sincerity in giving her the award until he got the U. S. out of Vietnam. This January, Carol Feraci, who was performing at the White House with the Ray Conniff Singers, displayed a banner that said "Stop the Killing" and made a speech against the war.

How do you feel about these women's actions? (mention pro and con reactions, ask if they agree)

Assuming that you disagree with these women's position on the war issue, how would you feel about using an award or a performance to try to spread your personal convictions, whatever they are?

What kind of person do you think would do something like this? (unAmerican, disrespectful, brave, show-off, committed, sincere, average ...)

Could you imagine yourself doing something like this? What do you think you would consider before you did it? How would you feel afterwards? (ask about reactions of friends, family, teachers, effect of action on future plans, etc.)

Do you think such an action is any different from marching, demonstrating, picketing to get across your views? From writing a letter to the president, or to your congressman? Do you approve/disapprove of each? Have you ever done any of these?

Speaking of demonstrations, there has been a campaign lately to try to repeal abortion laws. Have you followed this at all? What do you think of it?

The policy of the campaign is that each woman should have the right to make up her own mind about whether she should have an abortion at all. With the help of her doctor, pastor, family and whoever she decides to consult, she should decide for herself if it is moral, safe, wise, etc. What do you think of this idea?

Another part of the campaign is that there should be no laws against the use of birth control pills and devices, that again, people should make up their own minds about morality, safety, etc. What do you think of this?

How do you feel about having children? Would you really like to have children, would you just as soon not, or have

you given it any thought? Do you think your relatives or friends have any expectations of you, that you should or shouldn't have children?

What if you got pregnant right now, how would you feel about being pregnant? How would your parents feel about it? (differences of mother/father)

Do you think you may (are you now) using birth control measures? If these measures failed do you think you might consider having an abortion? (If no, ask about rape, deformed child, etc.)

When you were little, were there many babies around in your family or the neighborhood? What were you told about "where they came from?" Who told you? Did you help take care of babies? (clean, bathe, feed, clothe?)

How did your parents (or other adults) feel about children being undressed? Did you and other small girls go without a shirt like boys did (if boys did)? Did children play in the sprinkler? Bathe together? Sleep together?

Did you "spend the night" with other children, have slumber parties, etc.?

Do you remember being curious about other children's bodies? Was it commonplace for you to be undressed with other children, or did you act out the curiosity in "playing doctor" or other make-believe? How did adults feel about such games? Were you ever punished for such behavior? (or were other friends?)

Was it common to see your mother dressing, bathing, using the bathroom? Your father? Would you say this was a good or bad thing?

Were your parents openly affectionate with each other? With you?

Do you feel you have always known about sex, did you just gradually find out more about it, or are there maybe one or two experiences that you remember as when you learned about sex? (describe)

When you were younger, was sex associated only with having babies, or was it a way to have fun with someone you liked, or was it holy, or dirty, or mysterious, or what? Do you think you still look on it the same way you did when you were little, or have you changed a little? (probe both thoughts and feelings)

Some people believe a woman should be taught about sex by her husband when she marries. What do you think of that? How should sex education be carried out? As a course in school? Co-ed or segregated? By family? By friends? What do you think sex education should cover?

If you were in a dangerous situation, would you rather have a man defend you or defend yourself? Can you defend yourself?

What is dating like for most of your friends? For other people in the school? For you?

Are dates mostly in private boy-girl pairs, or in groups? Do people date around a lot or go steady? Are there many casual dates, or more formal, dress-up, special occasion types?

What do you do on dates? (movies, picnics, drive around, eat out, go parking, parties, rock concerts ...)

Do you or your friends ever ask boys out or suggest a place to go? Do you pay for some of the dates? Or do boys formally ask a girl out, decide where to go, pay? Do boys open doors for girls, hold coats, etc.? How do you feel about each of these?

Do you feel at ease around most guys? Some? Do you talk pretty frankly with boys or do you usually clam up, or tease or flatter? Would you say many boys are your friends? Do you feel better wearing nice clothes and make-up around guys, or does it matter?

Do you try to protect men's egos, for instance, acting dumb and helpless to let them feel smart and competent? How do you feel about this?

When you like a guy, do you feel jealous if he pays attention to other girls? Has a boy ever come between you and a girlfriend? How do you feel about that? If not, do you think this could happen? How would you feel about that?

Do you believe boys or girls get sexually aroused faster, at a younger age, and more often? Or do you believe it is about the same for both?

Should boys be more experienced than girls sexually? Why or why not?

Should a girl be the one to hold the line to keep from going too far, or is this the boy's responsibility? Why? Have you ever been in this role of holding the line? How do you

feel about it? Did you ever talk this over with a boy to try to get him to share the responsibility? How did that work out?

Soni Romans is a 16-year-old high school student in Channelview, close to Houston. She was married and had a baby which she gave up for adoption, and then was divorced. She has good grades. The school had a policy against married or divorced students participating in extracurricular activities, such as choir, clubs or the honor society. Do you think such a policy is a good idea? Why/why not?

Do you go to school with any students who are married or divorced, or who have had babies? How do (would) you feel about such students? Do you think they would disrupt?

Could you imagine yourself in Soni's situation? How do you think she felt when they first told her about the rule? What would you have done?

Soni challenged the rule in court and the judge declared that it violated her constitutional rights. What do you think of her taking the schoolboard to court? (challenging the authorities, accepting the way things are, causing trouble, standing up for rights, radical, American???)

What do you think of the judge's decision? What part of the constitution do you think the rule violated? Do you know whether teen-agers who can't vote actually have any constitutional rights?

Thirty of Soni's classmates went to court for her appearance there, to see how the court operated, to see what would happen to her, and to support her. Would you have been interested in being there?

Have you been to court before? As an observer or participant? What did you think of it? Or did you know people could go down to the various court rooms and watch the proceedings? Do you think you might like to do that sometime?

Do you think a person who is interested in that sort of thing should do it on their own time, or do you think they should be able to go during school hours? Do you feel watching a court in process has anything to do with school, education, etc.? How?

Do you think it is important for a person your age to find out about how the courts work, or should you wait till you get to college or out on the job?

Soni's thirty classmates brought notes to school saying they had their parents' permission to go to the court session, but they were suspended because the school only allows absences for illness. What is your reaction to this? (explore causing trouble, injustice, rigidity/flexibility of rules, wait till after high school to change things?)

Maybe the parents should have lied and said the kids were sick, so the students would not have been suspended. Do you think so? (authority, getting by, standing up for rights, taking risks, what about your records and getting in to college or job)

Suppose that you found yourself in a situation like Soni's. Would your parents help you challenge the rule, would they urge you not to cause trouble, would they believe you should be punished, would they be ashamed to say that you were their daughter, would they support you but feel helpless to do anything about it, or what?

How would you feel about your parents for that?

Suppose you were a friend of Soni's and wanted to go to the trial. What would your parents think of that? What would your parents think of Soni's parents?

Would your parents fake an "illness" excuse for you? Would they give an excuse that said you had their permission for the trial, and try to get the school not to suspend you? Would they give permission for the trial, but say you should just accept the suspension?

How would you feel about your parents for these reactions? (explore hostility, pride, resentment, affection, guilt, debt, etc.)

The schoolboard's reason for the rule was that married and divorced students participating in extracurricular activities would discuss sex with the other students. Unmarried students who had had babies were not subject to the rule because the schoolboard thought they would be reluctant to discuss sex. What do you think of this?

What do you think the school officials think of sex? Do you think the school officials know their students very well? Do you think the rule accomplished what they wanted it to? Do you agree that high school students should not discuss sex with each other?

Do you discuss sex with your friends? Do you believe most of your friends are pretty knowledgeable about sex, or not? Do you think many of them are sexually experienced?

Soni challenged a rule that had to do with sexual conduct. You have probably heard of high school students who have challenged rules that said they could not wear armbands, or long hair, or short dresses, or pantsuits; or others who have opposed rules against distributing underground papers on campus. Do you see any difference in sex rules and other rules? Have you ever known any students who challenged any school rules? How do you feel about such students? Have you ever done anything like this? Why/why not? Elaborate.

How about your parents, would they see a difference between Soni's action and someone who wanted to pass out an underground paper? Elaborate.

How about the school officials, do you think the sexual content of this situation was extremely important, or would they have been just as upset if Soni had worn an armband to school?

Would you say that in general it is good to try to change things when they upset you, or is it better to put up with them until you have the experience or position or authority to change them? Have you ever done the first? The second?

Some schools have had rules that girls must take home economics classes to graduate, others have not allowed girls to take shop or other "boys' classes". Do you agree with rules like this? Does your school have rules like this? Would you see any reason to try to change such rules?

Have you heard much about the women's liberation movement? Does it interest you? What have you read about it? Have you been to many meetings, speeches, etc.? Which ones?

What seem to you to be the major goals of the movement? What do you think of these goals? (probe equal pay/equal work, child care centers, socialization processes, men sharing housework and child care, abolition or reform of marriage, free choice of role for men and women)

What do you think is meant by the phrase "Sisterhood is powerful"? Do you agree with that?

Are you pretty close to other girls, or do you feel competitive with them, or both? (explore - girls you know, women in general, why ...) What would your ideal friend be like?

Say you're at a party where most of the women are in one room talking and the men are in another group talking, which group would you want to choose to be with? Why? Would there be any pressure on you one way or another? Would you actually choose the group that you wanted to choose?

(probe interest, comfort, nervousness, competition.) Or, maybe you could think of some other alternatives, such as leave the party, think of a way to mix the two groups together, etc. What do you think of this idea?

Have you ever been in a beauty contest? Wanted to be? How do you feel about women who win beauty contest, or women you see who look like they could win a beauty contest? (envy, identify, imitate, pity, ignore, feel friendly ...)

Do you know any adult women that you would like to be like when you are older? Why, how?

If a woman marries, it is customary that she change her name to her husband's. Do you think this is significant? Some women now are keeping their own names when they marry, and some couples are changing both their names. What do you think of this? Have you heard of the new title for women, Ms.? (If not, explain what it is.) What do you think of it? Might you use it?

What does a person need to know to be a strong and competent individual? (Probe skills, how to get places alone, self-defense, understanding of identity and how it's formed, history, relation to other people and to institutions) Do you want to know these things? Do you want to be a self-sufficient person? Is your education teaching you these things?

Anything else?

INTERVIEW TIME SCHEDULE

Jeannine. Tuesday, March 14, 1972. 3:30 p.m.

Tommie. Friday, March 17, 1972. 3:30 p.m.

Pat. Saturday, March 18, 1972. 1:00 p.m.

Amy. Sunday, March 19, 1972. 10:00 a.m.

Susan. Tuesday, March 21, 1972. 1:00 p.m.

Rachel. Tuesday, March 21, 1972. 4:15 p.m.