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IMPACT OF MATERNAL VALUES, DEVELOPMENTAL HISTORY, AND GENDER SELF-CONCEPT ON OBJECT RELATIONS AND DEPRESSION IN WOMEN

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IMPACT OF MATERNAL VALUES, DEVELOPMENTAL HISTORY, AND GENDER SELF-CONCEPT ON OBJECT RELATIONS AND DEPRESSION IN WOMEN

By

Pratyusha Tummala

A DISSERTATION

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Department of Psychology

1996

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ABSTRACT

IMPACT OF MATERNAL VALUES, DEVELOPMENTAL HISTORY, AND GENDER SELF-CONCEPT ON OBJECT RELATIONS AND DEPRESSION IN WOMEN

By

Pratyusha Tummala

The influence of maternal values and developmental variables involved in daughters' relationships with their mothers on gender self-concept, adulthood object relations, and depression was examined in light of both object relational and developmental perspectives. Self-defeating or masochistic gender-related attitudes were hypothesized to mediate the relationship between maternal values, developmental history (lowered sense of conflictual autonomy from mother and negative perceptions of mother), and increased pathology in object relations and higher levels of depression in daughters. In the present study, 225 female undergraduate students completed both questionnaires and projective measures (TAT, Early Memories Test, and a projective stories task), and the mothers of 172 of these students completed the Personal Values Scale. Structural equation modeling indicated that although a reasonable goodness of fit (Goodness of Fit Index = .91; Root Mean Square Residual = .72) for the hypothesized measurement model was obtained, the data in the present investigation did not fit the proposed structural model. Consequently, a series of correlations among the various factors were examined to construct an alternative structural model. Although the alternative model produced a significant chi-square of 178.11, $p < .001$, other fit indices

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that are not sensitive to sample size indicated that the alternative model is an excellent practical fit for the data (GFI = .92; adjusted GFI = .90; RMR = .5). The alternative structural model indicated a causal relationship between maternal values reflecting masochistic themes and daughters' lowered sense of conflictual autonomy and negative perceptions of mother (r=.38, $p < .01$), which in turn led to higher vulnerability to depression and actual depressive symptomology (r=.63, $p < .001$). Higher levels of depression were found to be associated with increased pathology in adulthood object relations (r=.19, $p < .05$) and attachment styles (r=.70, $p < .001$). Although the findings did not indicate a significant role of gender self-concept in the development of depression and problematic object relations, they are consistent with psychoanalytic and developmental orientations which emphasize the contribution of early mother-child interactions on subsequent development.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to convey my deepest gratitude to Dr. Anne Bogat for all of her patience and thoughtfulness, and for nurturing in me a sense of appreciation and dedication to psychological research. I would also like to thank Dr. Bogat for encouraging my growing interest in integrating theoretical, empirical, and clinical aspects of psychology. I want to express my sincere thanks to the other members of my doctoral committee, Dr. Norman Abeles, Dr. Robert Caldwell, and Dr. Bertram Karon for all of their important ideas and contributions to this dissertation. Furthermore, I want to convey my gratitude to Dr. Rick DeShon for all of his patience and invaluable guidance in the analysis of the data in this study. I would also like to thank my undergraduate research assistants who devoted their time and effort in collecting and scoring data for this project. Finally, I am very grateful to my parents, family, and friends who have provided limitless support and love.

List of Figure

List of Tables

Introduction .

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Path A:
Female Se

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Path G:
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Path H:
Depressi

Mediati

Rationa

Hypothes

Method.....

Particip

Instrume

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures.....viii

List of Tables ix

Introduction 1

Developmental Psychology and Psychoanalysis.....2

Path A: The Impact of Maternal Values on Female Self-Concept..... 10

Path B: The Influence of Developmental History on Self-Concept.....24

Path C: The Impact of Maternal Values on Adulthood Object Relations.....36

Path D: Influence of Developmental History on Adulthood Object Relations.....37

Path E: The Impact of Maternal Values on Depression.....44

Path F: The Influence of Developmental History on Psychological Adjustment.....46

Path G: Role of Self-Concept in Adulthood Object Relations.....50

Path H: Role of Self-Concept in Depression.....52

Mediating Role of Self-Concept.....53

Rationale for the Present Study.....55

Hypotheses.....60

Method.....62

Participants.....62

Instruments.....62

Procedu

Results.....

Structu

Measure

Structu

Comparis
Developm

Comparis
Early Me

Discussion....

The Impac
Developme

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Vulnerabi
Depressiv

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Implicati

Appendix A: De

Appendix B: Pe

Appendix C: St

Appendix D: Pr

Appendix E: Sc
Stories Task...

Appendix F: Cl

Appendix G: De

Procedure.....78

Results.....80

Structural Equations Modeling.....80

Measurement Model.....81

Structural Model.....85

Comparison of Psychoanalytic and Developmental Measures.....87

Comparison of Responses on the Early Memories Test.....88

Discussion.....89

The Impact of Maternal Values on Developmental History.....91

Impact of Developmental History on Vulnerability to Depression and Depressive Symptomology.....93

Impact of Depression on Object Relations.....99

The Role of Gender Self-Concept in Psychopathology.....104

Diverging Perceptions of Maternal Values.....106

Limitations of Present Study and Future Directions.....107

Implications for Treatment.....111

Appendix A: Demographic Information.....131

Appendix B: Personal Values Scale.....132

Appendix C: Student Attitude Survey.....135

Appendix D: Projective Stories Task.....139

Appendix E: Scoring System for Projective Stories Task.....142

Appendix F: Close Relationships Questionnaire.....143

Appendix G: Depressive Experiences Questionnaire.....144

Appendix H:

Appendix I:

Appendix J:

Appendix K:
Early Memorie

Appendix L:

Appendix M:

List of Refere

Appendix H: Beck Depression Inventory.....148

Appendix I: Psychological Separation Inventory.....151

Appendix J: Early Memories Test.....153

Appendix K: Interpretation of Responses to Early Memories Test.....154

Appendix L: Rating System for Early Memories Test.....155

Appendix M: Decision Steps in Structural Equations Modeling.....156

List of References.....157

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Psychoanalytic and Developmental Models.....113

Figure 2: Structural Model.....114

Figure 3: Measurement Model.....115

Figure 4: Hypothesized Structural Model.....116

Figure 5: Alternative Structural Model.....117

Figure 6: Alternative Measurement Model.....118

Table 1: Dem
Yea
Table 2: Demo
Table 3: Demo
Table 4: Demo
Table 5: Pers
Table 6: Pers
Table 7: Stud
Table 8: Psyc
Table 9: Alte
Table 10: Rel
in
Table 11: Com
Dev

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Demographic Information: Age and Year in College.....119

Table 2: Demographic Information: Parents' Education.....120

Table 3: Demographic Information: Parents' Occupations....121

Table 4: Demographic Information: Race.....122

Table 5: Personal Values Scale (Daughters).....123

Table 6: Personal Values Scale (Mothers).....124

Table 7: Student Attitude Survey.....125

Table 8: Psychological Separation Inventory.....127

Table 9: Alternative Measurement Model.....128

Table 10: Relationships Among Latent Variables in Alternative Structural Model.....129

Table 11: Comparison of Psychoanalytic and Developmental/Cognitive Measures.....130

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INTRODUCTION

The influence of the mother-child relationship on the development of self-concept and overall psychological well-being of the child has been a central concern of theorists in both psychoanalysis and developmental psychology. Both theoretical perspectives conceptualize the mother-child relationship as a guiding force in forming important attachments in adulthood, and in transmitting value or belief systems. During the past several decades, the two disciplines have flourished in distinct, but parallel directions. Psychoanalysis refers to "a theory of personality and development based on reconstructive techniques and data derived chiefly from therapeutic work with adults and children suffering from pathological conditions" (Leichtman, 1990, p. 921). Developmental psychology, on the other hand, has traditionally referred to a theory and the study of personality and development derived from observations of normal children (Leichtman, 1990; Sroufe & Rutter, 1984). Specifically, both psychoanalysis and developmental psychology have offered theoretical insights into women's psychological development which is the focus of the present paper. The present investigation attempted to examine the impact of mother-daughter relationships on daughters' development of self-concept, object relations and psychological adjustment from the perspective of object relations theory and developmental research concerning the mother-child relationship. In addition, the influence of maternal values on daughters'

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self-concept, and the mediating effects of self-concept on the relationship between maternal variables and object relations, as well as that between maternal variables and depression were investigated.

The relationship between developmental psychology and psychoanalysis

During the past 25 years, psychoanalysis has recognized the value of developmental theory and research. In particular, three realms of developmental research had a significant impact on contemporary psychoanalytic theories. The first area of research involved the study of cognitive, perceptual-motor, and language skills in young children (Cairns, 1983). The second was guided by the psychoanalysts Sander (1962) and Spitz (1965) who expanded psychoanalytic theory through their study of ego functions and early relationships. They placed greater emphasis on the roles of the ego as well as actual interactions between the mother and the child than Freud who suggested that libidinal impulses are the focal point of early mother-child interactions. The third area of research was instigated by Mahler (1979) and other theorists who wrote primarily for the psychoanalytic community. They studied specific issues of interest to psychoanalysts through naturalistic observations of individuals in which the theoretical standpoints of the observers played an important role. However, this approach had several methodological limitations, because the observations were almost exclusively reliant on subjective interpretation (Leichtman, 1990).

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Psychoanalysis is presently an area of contending theories which offer divergent views on human development. During the past decade, psychoanalysts have turned toward developmental research and theory in an attempt to integrate these disparate perspectives (Leichtman, 1990). Both Hartmann (1958) and Bowlby (1976) recognized that the integration of psychoanalysis and developmental psychology played a critical role in developing psychoanalysis as a science which utilized observational methods in gathering data and testing theories. Hartmann (1958), who believed that psychoanalysis is a science, suggested that psychoanalytic methods contribute to the study of phenomena which are difficult to measure through the observational methods of developmental psychology. Specifically, the assessment of conscious and unconscious attitudes and beliefs allows for an understanding of events outside the realm of objective methodologies. At the same time, he criticized psychoanalysis for neglecting processes involved in normal development, or the "nonconflictual sphere," which has traditionally been the domain of developmental psychology. Furthermore, a multiplicity of methods would provide a more comprehensive picture of the clinical phenomena under study (Leichtman, 1990). Hartmann (1958) thus argued for an integration of the two disciplines of psychoanalysis and developmental psychology.

Similarly, Bowlby (1960) attempted to deal with the problem of contending psychoanalytic theories by approaching early relationships from a standpoint of developmental

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psychology. He utilized empirical methods to study the impact of early experience, and ultimately elaborated the fundamental psychoanalytic notion that unconscious processes are the foundation for the "ongoing power of early experiences and the role of relationships in reworking such an experience" (Sroufe, 1986, p. 841). Furthermore, Bowlby viewed the individual as playing an active, adaptive role in his/her own life. He also contributed to developmental psychology with respect to the problem of continuity of human experience. He believed that individual adaptation is a dynamic process in which a person reacts to and shapes his/her interpersonal environment through internal working models of both self and others (Bowlby, 1973). However, early experience, particularly the quality of attachment between a caregiver and the child, is of paramount importance as it directs the child's underlying self-structure. In light of these theoretical propositions, Bowlby addressed the criticisms of psychoanalytic research, which included the question of testability of psychoanalytic theory. Ample validation can be found for Bowlby's theory of attachment in contemporary developmental research (Sroufe, 1990).

According to Leichtman (1990), the disputes centering around the nature of early development and its impact on personality formation and accompanying methodological problems have led psychoanalysts to become increasingly interested in developmental psychology. In a similar vein, there has been a shift in developmental psychology from an emphasis on global theories to specific issues of interest to psychoanalysts,

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including attachment theory and early parent-infant interactions (Sroufe, 1979). These notable changes which took place in both disciplines throughout the past 40 years necessitate the integration of theoretical and methodological traditions in order to attain a more accurate understanding of the impact of mother-child relationships on psychological development. According to Leichtman (1990), it is essential for psychoanalysis to draw on cognate disciplines, particularly developmental psychology, if it is "to advance claims to being a science, if it is to define itself as something more than an interpretive discipline" (p. 943).

At the same time, developmental psychology can benefit from the insights of psychoanalytic theory and methodology with regard to the impact of early experience. Scarr (1992) suggested that most developmental theories are limited in the observations they encompass, and seldom address issues of causality in development. Specifically, she argued against a linear progression of development which was professed by various developmentalists, and instead suggested that children, along with being influenced by early experience, play an active role in forming their own development. A child constructs his/her own reality from the rearing environment, and that constructed reality has a significant influence on the variations among children and on their adult outcomes. This construction entails the child's perceptions of his/her relationship with parents and of himself/herself, ideas which are central to psychoanalytic theory.

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Some recent attempts have focused on integrating the theoretical insights of psychoanalysis and developmental psychology (Bleiberg, 1988; Leichtman, 1989). For instance, Bleiberg (1988) suggested that narcissistic vulnerability (the concern with self-worth and self-esteem) in adolescence can be conceptualized from both psychodynamic and family systems standpoints. In particular, psychodynamic theorists view narcissistic vulnerability as an attempt to loosen the ties to internalized parental images. Family systems theorists believe that adolescents' concerns with self-worth are related to both parents' and children's attempts to cope with various demands in the process of negotiating developmental transitions. Both theoretical views are concerned with adolescents' sense of autonomy in the development of self-esteem.

Despite the attempts to integrate psychoanalysis and developmental psychology in a theoretical context, empirical studies utilizing both psychoananalytic and developmental constructs have been scarce. However, some investigations have studied the effects of mother-child attachment and maternal characteristics on the development of the child's self-concept (Collins & Read, 1990; Egeland & Farber, 1984; Erikson, Sroufe, & Egeland, 1985; Lapsley, Rice, & Fitzgerald, 1990) and on the development of later relationships (Lyons-Ruth, Alpern, & Repacholi, 1993; Main & Weston, 1981; Westen, Ludolph, Block, Wixom, & Wiss, 1990). Other studies have been concerned with the role of maternal characteristics and mother-child interactions in the development of psychopathology (Cicchetti &

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Aber, 1986; Dodge, 1990; Fendrich, Warner, & Weissman, 1990). In addition, negative self-concept has been related to psychopathology in children, adolescents, and adults (Evans, Noam, Wertlieb, Paget, & Wolf, 1994; Glasberg & Aboud, 1981; Hammen, 1988).

Although the variables of interest in the present study, including self-concept, developmental history, object relations, and psychological adjustment, have been examined in recent investigations, they have not been linked together in an integrated model of women's psychological development. For instance, both psychoanalytic and developmental models have focused on the influence of developmental history variables on later significant relationships and psychopathology (See Figure 1a). On the other hand, developmental models have considered the influence of self-concept on adulthood attachment and the development of psychopathology (See Figure 1b). Developmental psychology has also been concerned with the impact of developmental history variables, such as maternal characteristics, on children's and adolescents' self-concept (See Figure 1c).

Therefore, both psychoanalytic and developmental models have studied these variables in the context of distinct, separate models which consider direct relationships between developmental history, self-concept, object relations, and psychopathology. The present study assumed self-concept to be a central factor in mediating these relationships. The inclusion of self-concept is based on the fact that it is an

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implicit construct in both psychoanaltyic and developmental theories that can provide a more meaningful explanation of the connection between developmental history and later development in women than can direct models. Furthermore, the influence of maternal values on the development of female self-concept has not been considered in empirical studies; to a large extent, the study of values has been restricted to the field of social psychology. This area has been neglected by both psychoanalytic and developmental researchers, despite its relevance to the development of self-concept.

Previous research has also relied heavily on self-report inventories and direct observation of behavior. Psychoanalytic researchers, however, have pointed to the problem of participants' reactivity in conditions where they are being observed or are asked to report their thoughts and feelings in questionnaire format. Participants may provide inaccurate information in an attempt to present themselves more favorably. In light of an integrated perspective, which considers the contributions of both psychoanalytic theory and developmental research, the present investigation examined the impact of maternal values and the mother-daughter relationship on the development of gender self-concept, object relations in adulthood, and depression. A multi-perspective approach, which utilized both psychoanalytic and developmental research measures, guided this investigation. In particular, this study examined the relationship between values concerning femininity transmitted by the primary caretaker, assumed to be the mother

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in most cases, and family developmental history, including perceptions of the mother-daughter relationship and the daughter's sense of autonomy from her mother, on the gender-related attitudes of women that guide their self-conception. Furthermore, the daughters' self-concept was thought to influence their psychological adjustment and present-day object relations. Masochistic themes, as defined from an object relations perspective, were explored with regard to self-concept.

The direct influence of maternal values on object relations and psychological adjustment, along with the direct influence of developmental history on object relations and psychological adjustment was examined in the present investigation. In addition, a mediated relationship between maternal values and object relations, and that between maternal values and psychological adjustment, was studied, with self-concept being the mediating variable. Likewise, the mediating role of self-concept was examined in the relationship between developmental history and object relations, and that between developmental history and psychological adjustment. The following discussion of theoretical and empirical findings addresses the variables under examination (See Figure 2), including the following: the impact of maternal values on female self-concept (Path A), the influence of developmental history on self-concept (Path B), the impact of maternal values on adulthood object relations (Path C), the influence of developmental history on adulthood object relations (Path D),

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the impact of maternal values on depression (Path E), the influence of developmental history on depression (Path F), the role of self-concept in adulthood object relations (Path G), and the role of self-concept in depression (Path H). The mediating role of self-concept in the relationships between maternal values, developmental history, object relations, and psychological adjustment are elaborated as well.

Path A: The impact of maternal values on female self-concept

The mother has been conceptualized as a primary carrier of cultural values and attitudes, thereby influencing her child's value system and self-concept. Values refer to "what is desirable, to deeply engrained standards that determine future directions and

justify past actions" (Braithwaite & Scott, 1991, p.661). Values are assumed to be key constructs in socialization. They are not only evaluative, but bear a motivational function, and guide actions and attitudes. Values therefore determine attitudes, and are more resistant to change and intimately tied to self-esteem (Rokeach, 1973). Attitudes toward femininity can be defined as favorable or unfavorable evaluative reactions toward something or someone, including oneself, that are displayed in one's beliefs, feelings, or intended behavior (Meyers, 1990). The formation of gender-related attitudes were explored in the context of identification with maternal images and sex-role stereotyping in the following sections.

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Identification and self-concept

A construct which subsumes one's attitudes about oneself in relation to the external world is self-concept. Self-concept is defined as one's image of the self that consists of beliefs and attitudes about oneself. This definition includes both private and public construals of the self. It is worth discussing a definition of masochism as it relates to the feminine self-concept. Despite its initial conceptualization in psychoanalysis as a perversion which comprises any passive attitude towards sexual life and the sexual object, the extreme instance of which appears to be that in which satisfaction is conditional upon suffering physical or mental pain at the hands of the sexual object (Freud, 1905, p. 158),

masochism has, in recent years, undergone a change in meaning. Object relations and ego analytic approaches have pointed to the importance of adaptive, defensive, interpersonal, and guilt-related functions of masochism, and a definition that has resulted in a desexualization of the concept. Cultural influences and social suppression of female aggressiveness, which shape Freud's notion of feminine masochism, along with the early developmental antecedents of masochism are discussed by these theorists (Loewenstein, 1957; Valenstein, 1973). Thus, masochism has evolved into a multidetermined psychoanalytic phenomenon which serves defensive functions as a reaction against losing parental objects of love (Cooper & Fischer, 1979; Maleson, 1984; Silverman, 1982; Virsida, 1985).

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Maleson (1984) suggested that one of the conceptualizations of masochism refers to:

> Behavior, thoughts, fantasies, symptoms, or syndromes characterized by subjectively experienced pain or suffering which seems unnecessary, excessive, or in some way self- induced in the judgment of the analyst, as based on his notions of behavioral and affective norms (p.351).

This definition of masochism, which was utilized in the present study, acknowledges the evolution of new conceptions in psychoanalysis, particularly regarding women (Herron & Herron, 1985).

One of the contemporary psychoanalytic theorists who has abandoned the notion that femininity and masochism are inextricably linked is Esther Menaker (1979), who has proposed that object relations and sociocultural determinants have a meaningful impact on the identity development of individuals. Menaker's theoretical ideas propose a conception of masochism as a general life attitude, which is similar to Freud's notion of moral masochism. In this perspective, the loss of identity and sense of worthlessness that characterize the moral masochist derive from ego development within the mother-child framework. Attachment theorists such as John Bowlby (1977), Mary Ainsworth (1978), and Margaret Ricks (1985) have emphasized the impact of the troubled affectional relationship between the mother and child, and its potential for emotional distress and personality disturbance.

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In the present study, masochistic or self-defeating themes were studied in the context of attitudes related to the female self-image. According to Markus and Oyserman (1988), women are more likely than men to have a "connected" schema for the self. Self-schemas are thought to influence thinking about not only the self but about all objects, events, and situations. The different experiences of men and women with others throughout development result in differing conceptions of the self and others.

One explanation for these divergent self/other conceptions is provided by Menaker who proposed that the female self-image and, in general, femininity, is guided by processes of the daughter's identification with the mother image (daughter's image of her mother) which serve as the building blocks of personality development (Lerner, 1979). In conceptualizing identification, Menaker (1979) stated that the ego is an active "structurer" of experience in service of its own survival from an early point in development, rather than a passive culmination of perceptions and experiences that result in identification. Early identifications and object relations are crucial for the development of sexual identity, feminine roles, and attitudes toward mothering. The female child's fear of loss of love and of separation from the mother acts as the driving force for superego internalization. The formation of the female superego includes an ego ideal with feminine ideals and values, and thereby directs feminine interests and later aspirations. The maternal ego ideal is considered to be a

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powerful organization within the female ego ideal which subsumes a value system (Blum, 1977).

Furthermore, Chodorow (1989) suggested that the primary identification with the mother is characterized by the daughter's sense of oneness with her. A mother is assumed to be more likely to identify with a daughter than a son and to experience the daughter as an extension of herself, implicating a process of "double identification." The daughter's identification with the mother is with her general traits and values. According to Chodorow, feminine identification is based on a gradual acquisition of familiarity with daily life, as exemplified by the mother. In fact, features of social structure, which are regulated by cultural beliefs, values, and perceptions, are internalized through the family and the child's early object relations.

The internalization of social values is essential for human survival as well as for psychosocial evolution (Menaker, 1979). Menaker described the process of internalization as involving both conservative and radical components. In its conservative function, internalization of values provides social cohesion in the form of transmission of values from one generation to the next. Meanwhile, it is radical because changes occur in social structure due to shifts in population, scientific and technological advances, and the emergence of individuals who have altered patterns of identification for a given society in the guise of ideology. These radical social changes necessitate changes in values, as well as changes in

the relationship of individuals to one another and in the functioning of psychic structures.

The period of rapid change which we are currently experiencing in contemporary American society represents, in Menaker's view, a "transitional" phase in an ongoing process of psychosocial evolution (p.136). Such transitional phases can be highly unbalancing both to societal and individual development. More specifically, it is possible that these changes create a conflict of values in women between those values that have been introjected in the course of their familial experiences (ego-ideal) and the accepted norms of a changing culture or society. Menaker (1979) further indicated that the persistence of a culture depends on the transmission of traditions and values to youth through processes of identification with older members of society. It is reasonable then to consider that difficulties in identification with parental objects resulting from over-investment of parents who either foster the child's narcissism and inhibit her capacity for relatedness to others, or transmit values which are disparate from those prominent in the outside culture may threaten normal identification processes. From this theoretical position, problems with ego development derive from failures in identification caused by conflicting values.

The current zeitgeist of American society reflects a value system of self-actualization and individual autonomy (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Menaker pointed out that in the present day, pathology is often seen in the individual whose conflict

resides in an unsuccessful consolidation of identity through the adoption of social values differing from her familial ones in a "hasty and impulsive alignment" with the changing ideology of the external social climate. In the case of such a conscious striving for autonomy, an individual risks the sound integration of the ego (Menaker, 1979).

With regard to female development of identity, Menaker, in "Female Identity in Psychosocial Perspective" (1982), challenged traditional psychoanalytic theorists such as Freud and Helene Deutsch who suggested that all human beings are born men but must become women. On the contrary, Menaker suggested that a female child is born female and becomes feminine in light of social and cultural values which define femininity during a given historical context. This echoes Otto Rank (1958) who stated, "She has always wanted and still wants first and foremost to be a woman, because this and this alone is her fundamental self" (p. 254). The roles by which society conceptualizes women consequently have a significant impact on the nature and content of the female self-conception as well as self-esteem, the affective component of the self-image.

Women's feelings of inadequacy which are nurtured by our present day society have been transmitted across generations. For instance, if a mother is unhappy with herself, or regards her body, her mind, her competence, or her role in life as inadequate, these feelings will be communicated to her daughter and will "form the nucleus of her female identity" (Menaker, 1979, p. 80). In a similar vein, if a mother's self-hate

complicates identification with her maternal role and the projection of positive feelings toward her daughter, this rejection influences the child's development. According to Shainess (1979), the mother is the primary mediator of cultural attitudes to the child, especially the daughter. The child's moral education is transmitted primarily by women, since it is assumed that in most Western families, the amount of the child's contact with the mother is relatively greater than that with the father (Westen, 1986). A mother's investment in her child is influenced not only by her personal dynamics but also by the social values that predominate (Menaker, 1979). Therefore, the mother sets the stage for the influence of sociocultural attitudes for shaping feminine self-conception.

During the past several decades, social change has culminated in the liberation of women from rigidly assigned roles (wife and mother), and in their freedom of participation in social, political, and economic life. In addition, women have increased opportunities to choose professions and express themselves sexually. These social changes, which establish fundamental changes in values, have presumably altered woman's self-image and identity. In other words, there are fewer social and psychological rationalizations for women to feel inferior to men (Menaker, 1979, p.81). However, a long period of transition is required for the external manifestations of social change, as well as their internalization and transformation into psychic structures. According to Menaker, our society is struggling with efforts to implement rationally

thought-out democratic values which are ahead of our emotional and practical capacity to realize them. In addition, a daughter's modeling of her mother can restrain the daughter's adaptation to changing values in society, if the mother represents generational qualities in which traditional roles are more appropriate (Rosen & Anehensel, 1978). Women continue to function in a male dominated society, and consequently tend to maintain a devalued status. Although theorists such as Menaker have pointed to these consequences of daughters' modeling of their mothers, empirical studies have not validated these ideas thus far. Another area of influence which binds many women to gender stereotyped conceptions of the self is family socialization, which is discussed in the following section.

The influence of sex-role stereotyping on self-concept

The existence of role differentiation between males and females leads to sex differences in the socialization process, and particularly, child rearing practices which reflect adult roles that children are expected to assume. Men and women are steered toward certain occupations because of cultural beliefs. Because girls are traditionally expected to be caretakers, child rearing patterns for females tend to involve training in nurturance and caring, and exclude "aggressive assertiveness" (Eccles & Hoffman, 1984, p. 378). These socialization patterns ultimately reflect and reinforce sex role differences in adulthood and influence attitudes concerning the activities and interests of men and women.

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The child's identification with his/her same sex parent plays an important role in the development of sex-typed attitudes and behavior which comprise the child's self-concept and view of others (Eccles & Hoffman, 1984). Sex-role typing for females is the process through which girls acquire motives, values, attitudes, and behaviors regarded by their culture as characteristically feminine (Belsky, Lerner, & Spanier, 1984). The socialization of women in our contemporary society tends to foster a negative self-concept (Chodorow, 1989; Parsons, Ruble, Hodges, & Small, 1976). This notion is supported by evidence of women's and men's view of the average woman as being more passive, submissive, less competent intellectually, more unskilled in business, and possessing a lower social status than the average man (Berger, Rosenholtz, & Zelditch, 1980; Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Carlson, & Rosenkrantz, 1972).

Moreover, both sexes tend to attribute more power to males than females even though women generally display this pattern less strongly. In fact, in a study conducted by Lips (1985), approximately 25% of male college students cited their father as the most powerful person they knew, but only 16% of the women named their mothers, thus implicating the role of family factors in the perception of men being more powerful than women. According to Lips (1991), powerful images of women in our patriarchal society cause discomfort because they do not fit accepted schemas for women or for power. The image of "female as weak" and "male as strong" which pervades Western culture serves to ensure stereotypes and fixed patterns of

thought. Further evidence indicates that girls learn at a young age that they are ineffective influencers when compared to boys. Boys who displayed domineering behavior tended to be liked and accepted by same-sex peers, whereas powerful girls tended to be disliked and rejected (Jones, 1983). In a similar vein, Block (1984) indicated that girls are given fewer chances to master their social environment, as their socialization discourages independent problem solving and restricts exploration.

A notable area of research which demonstrates the influence of gender stereotyping on children's behavior concerns mathematic achievement in boys and girls. Parents of children in elementary school often hold beliefs that girls are worse at math but better at English than boys, even when there are no sex differences in performance (Eccles-Parsons, Adler, & Kaczala, 1982). These gender stereotypes may lead to perceptions of inefficacy in mathematics and reduced levels of motivation in girls (Randhawa, Beamer, & Lundberg, 1993). Moreover, math achievement, along with academic self-concept, may lose value for girls if these stereotypes are adopted by them (Skaalvik & Rankin, 1990). For instance, third grade girls rated their math ability lower, expected lower performance, and were more likely to attribute failure to low ability than were boys (Stipek & Gralinski, 1991).

Research on gender stereotyping of math achievement has also been examined in adolescence. Klebanov and Brooks-Gunn (1992) found that adolescent girls from professional families

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who are likely to attend college held positive attitudes toward math during middle school, but rated math as less important than English and displayed a lowered performance in math during high school. In addition, their study revealed that during middle school, mothers' attitudes toward their daughters' math achievement were positively associated with daughters' math performance. These findings suggest that maternal socialization influences math performance in late childhood and early adolescence. In other words, girls may assess the importance of math in their future lives in light of parental expectations. Furthermore, parents of junior high school students tended to make causal attributions that were different for their sons' and daughters' math performance. In particular, they credited daughters with more effort than sons, and sons with more talent than daughters for successful math performances (Yee & Eccles, 1988). In both the United States and Thailand, adolescent girls have less positive attitudes toward math than adolescent boys, even after controlling for math achievement and parental support. For adolescents in both countries, higher perceived parental support was related to more positive attitudes toward math. These results indicate that adolescents experience changes in their value systems as a result of their home environment, including adolescents' perceptions of their parents' reactions to math and the amount of encouragement to study math and excel in the subject (Tocci & Engelhard, 1991).

Other empirical evidence supports the notion that sex-typed behaviors are transmitted to children by parental figures. For instance, parents are more likely to offer toys to their young children concordant with the child's sex, and mother-daughter dyads frequently play in highly sex-typed ways (Jacklin, DiPietro, & Maccoby, 1984). In addition, parents' sex-differentiated perceptions of their children's abilities play a critical role in the socialization of the child's perceptions of his/her own competence (Jacobs & Eccles, 1985). Mothers' stereotypic beliefs have been found to moderate their perceptions of their childrens' abilities in three areas (math, sports, and social activities) as well as their children's self-perceptions in all three domains. Mother's beliefs resulted in either the overestimation of their child's ability if the child's sex was favored by the stereotype or the underestimation of the child's ability if the child's sex was not favored by the stereotype (Jacobs & Eccles, 1992). These findings point to the potential of gender stereotyped expectations transforming into self-fulfilling prophecies (Rosenthal, 1974).

Despite the increased opportunity for women to discover their sense of power and value, and exercise new freedom with respect to career, sexuality, and politics in contemporary society, the power differences between men and women continue to be entrenched both at the familial and societal levels. According to Lips (1991), the hierarchical structure of the power relationships between men and women is strongly resistant

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to change. While gender attitudes are changing along with family structure in North American culture, most adults and children tend to maintain traditional conceptions of sex roles for women (Belsky, Lerner, & Spanier, 1984; McCannell & Herringer, 1990). Women continue to be portrayed as the main caretakers of the family and as "dependents of man" (King, 1992, p. 17).

Although parents' perceptions and gender stereotypes and their impact on children's later development have been addressed in developmental research, the impact of parental values on female self-concept has received little attention in both psychoanalytic and developmental research. Values are considered to play a central role in guiding one's attitudes and behavior. Furthermore, Menaker's theory, which proposes that the female self-concept is driven by the daughter's sense of identification with her mother, has not been empirically validated thus far. The present study was concerned with gender attitudes that define self-concept, including those pertaining to personal, romantic, social, occupational, and political realms. Both attitudes toward men and evaluative responses to women and sex roles were addressed (Ashmore, 1986). Masochistic or self-defeating tendencies were explored with regard to both maternal values and daughters' attitudes. The present investigation also examined several developmental factors, such as the daughter's sense of autonomy from the mother and the daughter's perceptions of her mother on the daughter's gender self-concept. The influence of developmental

history on the child's sense of self, or beliefs about the self, will be discussed in the following section.

Path B: The influence of developmental history on self-concept

Psychoanalytic theorists assume that the quality of interaction and affectional ties between a mother and her child influence the child's development of self-concept. Erikson (1963), Mahler (1973), and Sander (1975) suggested that the resolution of early developmental crises set the stage for adaptation during subsequent periods. Infants who successfully negotiate the issue of "basic trust" (Erikson, 1963), or "symbiosis" (Mahler, 1973), are prepared to proceed toward more autonomous functioning (Erickson, Sroufe, Egeland, 1985). Similarly, Menaker (1979) purports that a mother must affirm her infant's ego development through her expression of love on the oral level, because the potential for either loving or hating oneself is contained in the development of ego functions. If the mother's care interferes with the normal development of the child's ego, the child experiences frustration and psychic pain. Furthermore, if the mother is uncaring or indifferent, the child's ego is felt as powerless, and the mother is experienced as the primary source of survival even after this ceases to be a biologic fact. The hatred of oneself and the accompanying feelings of powerlessness and self-devaluation consequently become the "prototype for later feelings of worthlessness which characterize the moral masochist" (Menaker, 1979, p.56). Thus, masochistic feelings serve as a defensive reaction of the ego against the fear of

being abandoned and to attain a "fantasied gratification of love." In other words, the masochistic reaction is actually an attempt to sustain the illusion of the mother's love and an idealized mother image, and can serve as a defense against psychosis (entire loss of the external world).

Furthermore, moral masochism serves as a defensive and adaptive mechanism, and occurs in the family context in which one person is dependent on another. If the child is subjected to her mother's conflicted emotional life, the child's psychic development and the survival of ego functions are threatened. Menaker (1979) stated that the absence of adequate maternal love can result in a mother-child relationship which is characterized by competition. As a part of this struggle, the child can win only by adopting an attitude toward the self as unworthy, as well as an idealized attitude toward the mother as all-powerful and loving. The mother-child relationship, along with other familial relationships, serves as the most salient aspect of the child's outer world. Adequate maternal love is essential for the purpose of establishing sound identification and a sense of independent self. In the case of moral masochism, the individual may unconsciously adopt a masochistic submissive pattern and give up the part of the self-concept linked to worthiness and adequacy in an attempt to rescue her independent ego functions as well as her idealized mother image. The processes of idealization, deidealization, and attachment, which guide the formation of self-concept, along

with relevant developmental research findings are discussed in the following sections.

The processes of idealization and deidealization

The nature of the child's self-concept relies heavily on the process of idealization. Idealization has been defined by Menaker as a change in one's perception of reality, by which the ego is able to integrate an image, originally of the parental love objects. This image "represents positive values for the individual pleasure, goodness, strength, lovingness" (Menaker, 1979, p.123) and is exalted by the child (Lax, 1977). These perceptions ultimately supply the individual with internalized images of self and others, which become the core of the ego-ideal. It is important to note that idealization is thought to be a social process involving interactions, particularly those between mother and child, that has the function of insuring maternal reaction. Furthermore, as an individual's realm of social interaction expands to include institutions outside the family, such as school and cultural community, the ego's capacity to idealize uses these influences to formulate a group of images that further comprise the ego-ideal. These images may be manifested in the form of personal goals, such as the desire to be involved in a particular profession, religious belief system, or a political ideology. In sum, the ability to idealize creates the ideal image, which then forms a structure within the ego, which may eventuate in action in the external world (Menaker, 1979). Moreover, the introjective processes through which images, attitudes, ideals,

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and aspirations are conveyed to the child by parental love determine the nature of the child's self-conception (Menaker, 1981).

The process of deidealization of parental images has been considered necessary to a child's development of a sense of separateness or autonomy. The following definition of autonomy captures both its intrapsychic and interpersonal aspects:

> Children's sense of competence in dealing with the external environment, their ability to master intrapsychic conflicts and related feelings of dependency, shame, guilt, or rage associated with undifferentiated parental representations and identifications, as well as in their sense of separateness and perceptions of boundaries between their own and their parents' lives (Frank, Avery, & Laman, 1988, p. 731).

The process of deidealization has been described as the most difficult conflict facing the adolescent (Blos, 1967). Deidealization involves a disengagement from representations of an omnipotent parent and a reevaluation of previously accepted parental values and standards. These changes may lead to intrapsychic conflicts and feelings of inferiority, guilt, shame, and rage which may "compromise potential gains in autonomy" (Frank, Pirsch, & Wright, 1990, p. 573).

Attachment and self-concept

The concept of idealization is closely related to Bowlby's ideas of attachment, particularly with regard to mother-child interactions. The consequences of mother-child attachment for the development of the child's self-concept and view of the

social world has been examined in the area of infant and child research. Various theorists suggest that the nature of the interactions between parents and children during the first 2 years of life impact on the success of later socialization efforts (Eccles & Hoffman, 1984; Maccoby, 1984). According to Maccoby, children, during their preschool years, are monitored by parents with respect to their activities and are provided feedback as part of the development of self-concept. John Bowlby (1973, 1980) and Mary Ainsworth (1978) suggested that infant attachment behavior is directed by the goal of maintaining proximity to a nurturing caretaker, usually the mother. Bretherton (1985) extended this view to include the concept that the goal of attachment also involves the child's need to feel secure. According to Bowlby, a child develops internal "working models" which are defined as:

> Conscious and/or unconscious rules for the organization of information relevant to attachment and for obtaining or limiting access to that information, that is, to information regarding attachment-related experiences, feelings, and ideations (Main, Kaplan, & Cassidy, 1985, pp. 66-67).

In other words, internal working models include expectations about whether the caretaker is caring and responsive and whether the self is worthy of care and attention (Collins & Read, 1990). The infant's perceptions of his/her primary caregiver is thought to serve as the foundation for the development of later representational models of the self

(Bowlby, 1973). The securely attached child who has positive expectations of both self and others tends to "approach the world with confidence and, when faced with potentially alarming situations, is likely to tackle them effectively or to seek help in doing so" (Bowlby, 1973, p. 208). On the other hand, infants whose emotional needs have not been adequately met tend to view the external world as unpredictable and lacking in comfort, and respond to it through either withdrawal or conflict.

Developmental research. Various empirical investigations have explored Bowlby's ideas of the mother-child relationship and its impact on the child's representational models of the self. This empirical evidence focuses on the influence of attachment, parental characteristics, child's perceptions of parenting, and parenting styles on self-concept.

Preschool-age children who are anxiously attached to their mothers as infants have behavior problems and function more poorly in preschool than children who are securely attached (Erickson, Sroufe, & Egeland, 1985). Moreover, the anxiously attached children lack "agency and the confidence and assertiveness necessary to engage the preschool environment" (p. 162). Children who are securely attached but present behavior problems have mothers who are less effective in helping them to negotiate subsequent developmental stages. These mothers are typically less supportive of their children's efforts to solve problems and provide insufficient warmth and encouragement to their children. On the other hand, mothers of

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children without behavior problems tend to be respectful of children's autonomy (Erickson et al., 1985).

Various maternal characteristics have also been associated with self-concept. Maternal traits influence the development of anxious/avoidant infant attachments, including lack of confidence, tension, irritability, and negative reaction to motherhood (Egeland & Farber, 1984). This finding supports Ainsworth's (1971) depiction of mothers of infants with anxious/avoidant attachments who lack positive feelings toward their infants and have feelings of irritability and resentment. Mothers of securely attached infants tend to be sensitive to their infants' needs and feel more positive about themselves (Egeland & Farber, 1984). Furthermore, parenting that is sensitively attuned to the child's capabilities and to the developmental tasks he/she faces promotes emotional security, behavioral independence, social competence, and individual achievement (Belsky, 1984). Both Erickson, Sroufe, and Egeland's (1985) and Egeland and Farber's (1984) studies, however, are limited by their reliance on self-report and observational methods of exploring mother-child interactions, resulting in the inability to capture the unconscious, subjective experiences of the child and the mother which are thought to play a crucial role in the child's self-concept.

Finally, the child's perceptions of his/her parents have been linked to different patterns of beliefs about self and others. College students who perceived their relationship with their parents as warm and responsive, were comfortable with

closeness and able to depend on others (secure attachment), had a greater sense of self-worth and social self-confidence, and were more expressive. Furthermore, they viewed people as trustworthy and dependable, willing to stand up for their beliefs, and having control over the outcomes in their lives. On the other hand, participants who displayed a more anxious attachment style had negative beliefs about self and others, a lower sense of self-worth and social self-confidence, and a lack of assertiveness or sense of control (Collins & Read, 1990). Similarly, a study of attachment and identity in college students (Lapsley, Rice, & Fitzgerald, 1990) revealed that personal and social identity are predicted by attachment to parents. This investigation yielded support for the continuity of adaptation between attachment and adolescent identity. These findings support the notion that the child's experience with the primary caregiver leads to expectations that influence the child's self-concept and organization of behavior. Furthermore, they suggest that family systems tend to stabilize around habitual patterns of interaction which continue over time and support distinctive personality patterns of children (Maccoby, 1984). Despite these findings, it is worth noting that Lapsley et al.'s reliance on self-report assessment of the parent-child relationship may have contributed to the observed associations between attachment and identity.

Other research has extended the study of attachment influences to include decision-making in adolescents.

Adolescents who perceive that they have little opportunity to participate meaningfully in family decisions tend to experience more conflict with their parents concerning autonomy and control than adolescents who perceive that they have adequate opportunity to engage in family decision making (Eccles, Buchanan, Flanagan, Fuligni, Midgley, & Yee, 1991). Furthermore, Eccles et al. (1991) found that excessive parental control was linked to decrease in school motivation and lowered self-esteem .

In a similar vein, Baumrind (1966) proposed that parental restrictiveness tends to be associated with children's "passivity, dependence, social withdrawal, and passively expressed hostility" (p. 899). Both authoritarian control and permissive noncontrol may prevent the child from participating in meaningful interactions with others and reduce his/her dependence on the external world (Baumrind, 1966; Pardeck & Pardeck, 1990). It is important to consider that the child's perception of the family system is a critical determinant that shapes his/her working models of the self and others (Parish & Parish, 1983). In addition, a greater sense of separateness and independence has been linked to a relative loosening of ties between adolescents and parents. Adolescents who experience relatively little autonomy and have idealized views of their parents are more likely to "base their identity commitments on parental expectations" (Frank, Pirsch, & Wright, 1990, p. 585). The overconformity to parental standards may serve as a defensive strategy which derives from an

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adolescent's uncertainties about his/her parents' affections and may represent an attempt to gain love and approval from parents. Finally, parenting styles characterized by affection, support, open communication, and encouragement of autonomy enhance adolescent identity development by providing a context in which the adolescent can work through conflicting desires for greater separateness and autonomy in the absence of insecurity and self-doubt (Frank et al., 1990).

The effects of child rearing perceptions on sex role development has also been addressed by empirical studies. Parental acceptance has been found to enhance a more flexible sex role orientation, whereas firm control exerted a restricting effect on sex role, especially for female adolescents, by fostering dependence and other traditionally feminine traits (Ziegler & Dusek, 1985). Adolescents considered to have a more traditional feminine sex role orientation perceived their parents as using more control and providing less acceptance. These perceptions of parents' child rearing practices are assumed to persist throughout development (Ziegler & Dusek, 1985).

The findings discussed above are consistent with the notion that the parent-child relationship can offer the child a secure base from which to explore his/her identity and that the child's perception of availability of this opportunity in the family environment is crucial for the development of a positive self-image. In addition, various maternal characteristics have been found to influence the development of anxious/avoidant

infant attachments, including low self-esteem, tension, irritability, and negative experience of motherhood (Egeland & Farber, 1984). This finding supports Ainsworth's (1971) depiction of mothers of infants with anxious/avoidant attachments--they lack positive feelings toward their infants and have feelings of irritability and resentment. Mothers of securely attached infants tend to be sensitive to their infants' needs and feel more positive about themselves (Egeland & Farber, 1984). Furthermore, parenting that is sensitively attuned to the child's capabilities and to the developmental tasks he/she faces promotes emotional security, behavioral independence, social competence, and individual achievement (Belsky, 1984).

Developmental influences on masochism

In sum, several influences predisposing masochism specifically in feminine development can be identified, such as the early identification with a mother who has a negative or depreciating attitude toward her femininity (both in the biological and psychological realms). In addition, greater parental and societal controlling attitudes, and interference with self-assertiveness and autonomy, has a significant impact on the development of self-conception. The present study investigated the role of a daughter's sense of autonomy from her mother and her perceptions of the mother-daughter relationship in shaping her gender self-concept. Specifically, masochistic themes reflected in the daughter's gender-related attitudes were thought to be influenced by lower levels of

autonomy from the mother and negative perceptions of the mother. The masochistic self-conception was thought to encompass self-criticism as well as endurance of pain or suffering in relationships with important people in a woman's life (Bernstein, 1983).

Masochism, according to Blum (1977), is neither essentially feminine nor a valuable part of mature female functioning and character. Like Chodorow, he emphasized that the female superego is different from the male's, and that feminine values and ideals are discrepant from masculine precepts. However, the different content of values should not be confused with inferior psychic functioning. Feminine self-conception evolves through parental and cultural influences with unique developmental challenges and should neither be idealized nor devalued. Furthermore, although the female may be more predisposed to masochism based on familial and cultural influences, there is no evidence for women's pleasure in pain (Blum, 1977). Blum cautioned the importance of making a distinction between masochistic suffering as a goal and the tolerance for discomfort in the service of the ego or ego ideal. Masochistic suffering can be manifested in not only one's personal beliefs and attitudes about the self but also in interpersonal relationships with significant people. The influence of values that are transmitted by one's maternal figure and developmental variables on object relations in adulthood is discussed in the following section.

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Path C: The impact of maternal values on adulthood object relations

Values and beliefs conveyed through the affectional bond between the mother and her female child affect the child's relationships with significant others in adulthood (Menaker, 1979). Lax (1977) suggested that unconsciously driven self-defeating behavior is related to distortions in the structure of the ego which influence the individual's object relations. Object relations are defined as "enduring patterns of interpersonal behavior" and "cognitive and affective processes mediating functioning in close relationships" (Westen et al., 1990, p. 1061). Several processes are involved in the internalization of the parental objects, three of which are especially relevant to the current discussion (Westen, 1986). One of these processes deals with identification, in which the individual's self-conception is altered to accommodate her representation of the idealized version of the parental object. During the second process, moral internalization, an individual establishes the parental object as an ideal. Finally, in the formation of gender identification, the person internalizes the ideal aspects of members of her gender. Throughout development she acquires cultural norms for feminine behavior as well as the norms for seeking relationships with others (Westen, 1986). It is conceivable that masochistic tendencies are acquired through the internalization of social values through the mother-daughter relationship and are carried into the daughter's adult relationships.

In a similar vein, developmental psychologists have explored the impact of parental beliefs and attachment to the child's development of new relationships. Parental beliefs and expectations are thought to shape the child's self-concept and view of others, which guide love relationships in adulthood (Collins & Read, 1990; Hazan & Shaver, 1987). According to Bowlby (1973), a child's internal "working models" of the caretaker guide expectations, perceptions, and behavior in new relationships. The working models provide continuity in attachment style and play an important role in understanding the impact of early relationships in determining adult relationships (Collins & Read, 1990). Although parental expectations have been studied by attachment researchers, the influence of parental values on the child's later relationships has been ignored in both psychoanalytic and developmental studies. Furthermore, the child's perceptions of her primary caregiver, usually the mother, and the degree of autonomy attained from her mother influence her style of interaction in significant relationships as an adult. The following discussion elucidates the influence of developmental factors in adult object relations.

Path D: Influence of developmental history on adulthood object relations

The quality of relationship between the mother and the daughter is considered to influence the daughter's relationships with significant others (object relations) in adulthood. According to Chodorow (1989), the internalization

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of an ongoing parental relationship continues independent of the original relationship and becomes generalized as a feature of the personality. In addition, she suggested that the mother-daughter relationship is especially vulnerable to the creation of boundary confusion. Daughters who are bound in mutually dependent, symbiotic relationships with their mothers find it difficult to perceive themselves as separate individuals and feel a sense of "inescapable embeddedness in relationships to others" (p.58). They may even feel a sense of guilt and responsibility for events which were not caused by their actions, or which bear minimal relationship to them. A mother who attempts to find an adult mutuality with her daughter essentially asks to be cared for by an individual (the child) who is incompatible with her in terms of age, capability, and maturation (Westkott, 1989). If the mother seeks self-affirmation and views her self-esteem as being dependent on the lives of others, her daughter experiences increased conflict with differentiation, and ultimately develops low self-esteem. In such a case, the daughter identifies with a devalued, passive mother (Chodorow, 1989).

Various theorists recognize that the family system has stabilizing aspects that are relevant for an individual's interactions with others (Ainsworth, 1969; Bowlby, 1973; Maccoby, 1984). When an individual moves outside of the boundaries of the usual pattern of interaction, the effects of the affectional bond between parent and child will bring the individual back into his/her family role (Maccoby, 1984).

Freud (1938) described the child's relationship with his/her mother as "the first and strongest love-object" and the "prototype of all later love relations" (p. 188). Both object relations theorists and attachment theorists assume that affectional bonds or attachments persist throughout long periods during which the object is no longer a part of the child's perception (Ainsworth, 1966). According to Bowlby (1960), the experiences of an individual in earlier attachments have a strong bearing on his/her success in maintaining communication and proximity with new figures.

Empirical research has been concerned with four areas relating to the influence of developmental variables on later object relations, including childhood attachment, object relations in adolescence, psychological separation, and adult attachment. Developmental research has addressed the quality of children's relationship with their mothers and its impact on children's conflict behavior and readiness to establish new relationships. Toddlers who are insecurely attached to their mothers tend to display conflict behavior during their play with a stranger, presumably due to the lack of responsiveness of their mothers in ameliorating the infants' apprehension. Furthermore, infants who are insecurely attached to their mothers show lowered relatedness to an adult stranger than their securely attached counterparts (Main & Weston, 1981). Other evidence has indicated that a restrictive maternal attitude about a child's expanding interchanges with others and nonsecure attachment to the mother is positively associated

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with the child's negative behavior and negatively associated with the child's responsiveness to his/her playmate (Lieberman, 1977). In a related investigation, Lyons-Ruth, Alpern, and Repacholi (1993) found that disorganized/disoriented attachment of infants to mothers was linked to children's hostile behavior toward peers in the classroom setting. The disorganized/disoriented attachment category (Main & Solomon, 1990) represents conflicting behavioral tendencies resulting in contradictory actions or combinations of behaviors from two or more distinct strategies for maintaining access to the attachment figure (attachment patterns).

Empirical studies have also investigated the influence of mother-child attachment on significant relationships in adolescence. The role of daughters' disruptive attachments with their mothers in the formation of pathological object relations has been examined by Westen et al. (1990). These researchers found that female adolescent inpatients whose mothers were psychiatrically disturbed, who had "problematic preoedipal relationships and experiences," (p. 1066) such as premature delivery and report of difficult infancy, or who experienced frequent maternal separations developed expectations that intimate relationships were not safe and nurturant. In this study, developmental history of the subjects was gathered through chart reviews; adolescents' perceptions of parenting and the parent-child relationship were not addressed. However, the study used the Thematic Apperception Test as a measure of object relations; this may

have reduced the response bias inherent in many self-report inventories.

Research regarding adolescents' psychological separation from parents also addresses the influence of the parent-child relationship on adulthood relationships. The effects of psychological separation, including functional, emotional, conflictual, and attitudinal independence on personal adjustment of college students were explored by Hoffman (1984). Greater conflictual independence which is defined as "freedom from excessive guilt, anxiety, mistrust, responsibility, inhibition, resentment, and anger in relation to the mother and father" (pp. 171-172) was associated with better personal adjustment, especially with respect to love relationships. Ongoing conflictual feelings toward parents tended to result in feelings of mistrust, personal inadequacy, or insecurity in intimate relationships (Hoffman, 1984). It is worth noting, however, that a multi-method approach to the measurement of personal adjustment and intimate relationships, utilizing both self-report scales and projective techniques, would be more fruitful in studying the relatively large gamut of variables that were addressed by Hoffman. Such an approach would enable the gathering of information regarding the individual's general approach to interpersonal relationships both in conscious and unconscious realms.

Further evidence indicates that securely attached adults' relationships consist of trust, friendship, and happiness, whereas anxiously attached adults' relationships involve

emotional instability, jealousy, and obsessive preoccupation with romantic partners. Moreover, secure adults report that their parents are more respectful and more accepting than do anxious adults (Hazan & Shaver, 1987). Despite Hazan and Shaver's evidence in favor of the continuity of attachment style in romantic relationships, their study has several methodological limitations. Data concerning romantic relationship styles was derived from inquiry about a single relationship. The access to more general information about relationship experiences would be conducive to learning more about participants' attachment styles. Furthermore, their reliance on self-report measures may limit the interpretation of their results, because participants may have been inhibited in providing detailed, truthful descriptions of relevant personal relationships. These issues may limit the reliability of an adjective checklist which was used to describe participants' relationships with their parents (Hazan & Shaver, 1987).

Consistent with Hazan and Shaver's findings, Collins and Read (1990) found that individuals with a more secure attachment style had a greater sense of self-worth and social self-confidence and were "less likely to have a love style characterized as game playing and obsessive" (p. 655). Meanwhile, individuals with an anxious attachment held negative beliefs about self and others, and tended to have relationships which involved greater anxiety and an "obsessive, dependent love style" (p. 655). Finally, individuals who were anxiously

attached tended to seek relationships which confirmed their worries and expectations of being abandoned and unloved, by choosing partners who were uncomfortable with becoming close to others. This is consistent with Bowlby's view that individuals create social environments in ways that confirm their working models and promote continuity in attachment patterns across the life span (Collins & Read, 1990). However, the use of self-report assessments to gather information about early parent-child relationships may be a limiting factor in understanding the complexity of relationships between parents and children. Furthermore, because some aspects of working models may function outside of conscious awareness, a multi-method approach to understanding developmental history may be appropriate (Collins & Read, 1990).

The findings discussed above support the conception that affectional ties between parents and children have a strong influence on how an individual construes subsequent relationships to significant others across the life span. The present investigation explored the influence of a daughter's sense of autonomy from her mother and perceptions of her mother on her present day object relations as well as her approach to romantic relationships. In addition to this direct relationship between developmental history variables and daughters' object relations, the daughters' self-concept was thought to play a mediating role in the relationship between developmental history and object relations. Both psychoanalytic theorists and developmental psychologists contend that the

affectional connection between the mother and the child guides the formation of the child's self-image. They also implicate the influence of developmental history in the individual's approach to significant relationships in adulthood, as indicated in the aforementioned discussion. The present investigation attempted to integrate these two theoretical connections by implicating self-concept as the mediating factor guiding the relationship between developmental history and adulthood object relations. Furthermore, the affectional connection between the mother and daughter and the mother's belief system were thought to influence the daughter's overall psychological adjustment, as indicated in the following section.

Path E: The impact of maternal values on depression

The transitional nature of values resulting from sociocultural changes, according to Menaker (1979), is likely to lead to conflict of identity for many women. Moreover, it can result in feelings of emptiness and depression. Menaker suggested that the by-product of the struggle between identification with the maternal figure and counter-identification, in the realm of values, may result in feelings of alienation, depression, and problems in intimate relatedness to others. In addition, disturbances in the regulation of self-esteem, a sense of hopelessness, and the loss of a sense of control over one's life may characterize individuals involved in such a struggle (Lapuz, 1976; Lax, 1977).

Spiegel (1978) pointed out that the velocity of cultural change in the American culture in the realm of sexuality predisposes the individual to psychic instability. More specifically, role strain and personal anxiety accompany one's adaptation to rapid cultural change (Moulton, 1977). Some behavioral manifestations of psychological stress may be anxiety or avoidance in the external world, performance anxiety such as a woman's difficulty asserting herself in public or her fear of success, and conflict between her sense of personal and professional identity. Other types of social expectations such as the ability to be responsive, accommodating, and nurturant toward others often collide with the values of independence and individual responsibility. Again, intrapsychic needs are held in conflict with needs to adapt to changing cultural values.

The present study was concerned with the effects of masochistic tendencies transmitted by the internalization of mother's values and beliefs on women's psychological adjustment, particularly with regard to both vulnerability to depression and actual depressive symtomology. Although Menaker has proposed the association between maternal values and psychological adjustment, this notion had not been empirically tested thus far. Moreover, the role of self-concept as mediating the relationship between maternal values and psychological adjustment had not been empirically tested. The following section elucidates the influence of several developmental history variables which were thought to influence psychological adjustment.

Path F: The influence of developmental history on depression

Developmental history variables shape not only one's personality and interpersonal relationships in adulthood, but also psychological well-being (Belsky, 1984). Bowlby (1973) suggested that the nature of the child's early relationships influence well-being across the life span. He emphasized the quality of early adaptation, attachment, and separation and loss as playing a significant role in resulting vulnerability to psychopathology (Sroufe, 1986). In particular, a child who is threatened with abandonment and fails to experience emotional availability from parents, or who has disruptive attachment relationships, tends to be at risk for depression. An early unresolved loss, therefore, can leave the individual vulnerable to a depressive reaction in adulthood (Sroufe, 1986).

In a similar vein, Blatt (1979) emphasized the relationship between depression in adults and aspects of early family life. He differentiated two types of depression, anaclitic and introjective depression, which are consistent with two central processes in personality development: interpersonal relatedness and self-definition (Blatt & Homann, 1992). Anaclitic or dependent depression is characterized by "feelings of loneliness, helplessness, and weakness" and intense fears of "being abandoned and left unprotected and uncared for" (p. 48). These individuals tend to seek close physical contact, to have deep longings to be loved, nurtured,

and protected, and to rely intensely on others to provide and maintain a sense of well-being. They have difficulty dealing with separation and loss and with expressing anger. Introjective or self-critical depression entails "self-criticism and feelings of unworthiness, inferiority, failure, and guilt" (p. 49). These individuals are considered to have a chronic fear of disapproval and loss of acceptance of significant others. According to Blatt and Homann (1992), disturbances in early caring relationships (e.g., insecure attachment) provide a central role in forming the child's vulnerability to difficulties later in childhood and possibly to depression in adulthood. Similarly, psychoanalytic theory contends that depression results from an inability to complete the grieving process following loss. Persistent insecurity and overdependence are typical outcomes of separation and loss (Cummings & Cicchetti, 1990). Research has addressed the role of developmental variables in depression, both with respect to children's perceptions of parenting and the effects of parental psychopathology.

Perceptions of parenting

Various empirical studies have demonstrated that depressed individuals report more negative experiences with their parents (Blatt, Wein, Chevron, & Quinlan, 1979; Burbach & Bourdin, 1986; Parker, 1981). In particular, specific perceptions and representations of parents rather than parents' actual behavior may lead individuals to be vulnerable to depression (Blatt & Homann, 1992). Perceptions of parents as lacking in

nurturance, support, and affection have been related to both anaclitic and introjective forms of depression in college students (Blatt et al., 1979). Lefkowitz and Tesiny (1984) found a connection between parental rejection during childhood and depression both at that time and in young adulthood. Furthermore, Blatt, Quinlan, and Bers (1991) found a significant negative correlation between caring by parents and self-criticism in young adult women, as measured by the Depressive Experiences Questionnaire (Blatt, D'Afflitti, & Quinlan, 1976). They also reported that mothers' overprotection was related to dependency in young adult women. The quality of attachment relationships between adult women and significant others, such as mothers, spouses, and friends, have been linked to women's well-being as well as their strategies for coping with stress. In particular, women with insecure attachments tended to score more frequently in the clinical range of depression, as measured by the Beck Depression Inventory, and reported using more strategies in coping with stress (Barnas, Pollina, & Cummings, 1991). These findings suggest that the failure to establish both adequate relations and internalization of the object (caregiver) results in the vulnerability to depression.

Effects of parental psychopathology

Another area of research that is concerned with the influence of the child's relationship with his/her caregiver on the development of psychopathology in adulthood involves the study of childrearing practices of depressed mothers. Children

raised by mothers with clinical depression are at increased risk for psychiatric disorder, especially depression (Cicchetti & Aber, 1986; Egeland & Sroufe, 1981; Fendrich, Warner, & Weissman, 1990). Moreover, approximately 40% of the children of depressed parents are diagnosed with depressive symptoms (Beardslee, Bemporad, Keller, & Klerman, 1983). Depressed mothers tend to be less likely to encourage openness to experience in their children, less expressive of their own emotions about their children, and tend to be overprotective (Davenport, Zahn-Waxler, Adland, & Mayfield, 1984). Cytryn, McKnew, Zann-Waxler, Radke-Yarrow, Gaensbauer, Harmon, and Lamour (1983, as cited in Kestenbaum, 1984) found that infants of parents with manic-depressive disorder displayed increased fearfulness during free play and more sadness. They also found evidence for a generalized disturbance in the infants' capacity to regulate emotions.

According to Kestenbaum (1984), the absence of adequate attachment is a precursor to anxiety, moodiness, and isolation in children whose subsequent emotional development is compromised. Dodge (1990) also suggested that factors leading to parental psychopathology can lead to child psychopathology as a result of shared environment. Stressful factors linked with parental depression, including loss of social contacts, lack of intimate relationships, and marital discord, can have direct "depressogenic effects" on a child, even though the parent may not develop depressive symptoms (Dodge, 1990). Furthermore, maternal depression has been thought to affect

children adversely in a number of ways, including interfering with mothers' role functioning and coping capacities, and interfering with children's mastery of important developmental tasks (Hammen, Burge, & Stansbury, 1990). It is essential that the child's relationship with his/her primary caretaker facilitates the developmental processes of separation and individuation in which anxiety is permitted by the parent and mastered by the child (Davenport et al., 1984).

These investigations are consistent with the hypothesis that impairment of the child's mental representations or of internal working models of the relationship with his/her caretaker is a primary antecedent of depression. They suggest that experiences of parental lack of care and nurturance as well as excessive parental authority, control, criticism, and disapproval are associated with a child's subsequent development of depression (Blatt & Homann, 1992). The direct influence of the daughter's sense of autonomy from her mother and perceptions of her mother on the development of depression was explored in the present study, along with the mediated relationship between these developmental variables and depression; the daughter's self-concept was the mediating factor.

Path G: Role of self-concept in adulthood object relations

Self-concept which encompasses one's attitudes about oneself was thought to exert a significant influence on one's relationships with important others. In the present study, self-concept was hypothesized to mediate the relationship

between maternal values, developmental history, and object relations in adulthood. According to Menaker (1979), the nature of the self-concept is founded on the child's relationship with her mother, and, particularly, the child's identfication with her image of her mother. Furthermore, the self-concept guides the individual's relationships with others in adulthood. Similarly, Bowlby (1973) argued that the child forms a generalized expectation of the caregiver as either available and responsive or as unavailable and unresponsive. The child then develops a complementary model of the self as worthy or unworthy of care. For instance, a child who experiences responsive care by the mother internalizes a model of significant others as available and the self as a potent being (Sroufe, 1986).

In light of these theoretical considerations, the present investigation posited that a masochistic or self-defeating self-concept is connected with higher levels of pathology in an individual's approach to interpersonal and romantic relationships. Pathological patterns of object relations may be reflected in the extent to which the individual expects relationships to be destructive and threatening, the level of complexity of representations of others, the capacity for emotional investment in relationships, and the capacity for having a sense of moral or social standards (Westen et al., 1990). Pathological adjustment may also be manifested as depression, resulting from a masochistic self-concept. The

role of self-concept in the development of depression is discussed in the following section.

Path H: Role of self-concept in depression

With regard to the development of depression, psychoanalytic theories have traditionally implicated the role of self-worth and feelings of inferiority as causes of emotional maladjustment (Evans, Noam, Wertlieb, Paget, & Wolf, 1994). Freud (1917) proposed that a loss of self-regard is characteristic of melancholia, and that this feature distinguished mourning from melancholia. Joffe and Sandler (1965) suggested that the individual's sense of well-being was lost in depression, instead of the actual love object or loved person. Both object relations and attachment theorists emphasize that the internalization of positive attributes of important others is essential for the development of positive self-regard or self-concept. Furthermore, although internalization proceeds throughout the life span, "it is the quality of the internal representations of self and other which develop during the early years of life that are most critical" (Cummings & Cicchetti, 1990, p. 344). Developmental psychology implicates the role of attachment and internal working models in the development of depression. Attachments contribute to either the risk of or protection from depression because of their influence on the individual's feelings of security, self-esteem, and self-concept (Cummings & Cicchetti, 1990).

Several empirical studies lend support to the role of self-concept in the development of psychopathology. For

instance, inpatient adolescents reported more negative self-perceptions in friendships, job, scholastic, and global domains than their non-patient counterparts (Evans et. al, 1994). More negative self-perceptions were also associated with an increase in depressive symptomology. Negative self-concept was also found to be a vulnerability factor for future depression in children (Hammen, 1988). In a similar vein, Glasberg and Aboud (1981) demonstrated that self-denigrating adults may react with depression as a result of a perceived discrepancy between self-representation and the ideal self. The present study attempted to examine the effects of the masochistic self-concept on the development of depression in adulthood.

Mediating role of self-concept

As indicated above, the direct influence of maternal values on daughters' object relations and psychological adjustment were explored in the present study. The role of maternal values on women's development has been largely neglected by both psychoanalytic and developmental researchers. Furthermore, the influences of maternal values on daughters' object relations and psychological adjustment were thought to be transmitted through an intervening mediator, self-concept. Self-concept was considered to play a central role in mediating the influence of developmental history on daughters' object relations and psychological adjustment, as well. In particular, developmental history was hypothesized to have a direct effect on self-concept, which in turn, was thought to have a direct effect on daughters' object relations and

psychological adjustment. Similarly, maternal values were assumed to exert a direct effect on self-concept, which in turn, had a direct effect on daughters' object relations and development of depression.

Previous models of women's psychological development have focused on the direct effects of developmental history variables on object relations and psychopathology (Figure 1a), the direct effects of developmental history variables on self-concept (Figure 1b), and the direct effects of self-concept on object relations and psychopathology (Figure 1c). These models have failed to integrate several factors that are implicated in psychological adjustment in adulthood.

In particular, self-concept is assumed to play a critical role in the formation of significant relationships and in the development of depression, according to both psychoanalytic and developmental perspectives. However, self-concept has not been conceptualized as guiding the relationship between developmental history variables, such as daughters' sense of autonomy and perceptions of mothers, and later psychological adjustment. It also has not been implicated in guiding the influence of maternal belief systems or values on daughters' later relationships and development of depression. Nevertheless, self-concept, which subsumes masochistic attitudes, can lead to problematic relationships with significant others and to the development of depression. Moreover, self-concept is influenced by the nature of maternal values as well as the mother-daughter relationship. The

present study explored both the direct and mediated relationships between maternal values and object relations (Figure 2, Path C, Path AG), maternal values and depression (Figure 2, Path E, Path AH), developmental history and object relations (Figure 2, Path D, Path BG), and developmental history and depression (Figure 2, Path F, Path BH). The inclusion of self-concept as a mediating variable was thought to provide more accurate information about how these variables interact and a conceptual integration of factors responsible for women's development proposed by both psychoanalytic and developmental theorists.

Rationale for the present study

Masochism is conceptualized as representing self-defeating feelings, thoughts, and behavior which serve a defensive reaction against the loss of parental objects of love. An individual who internalizes masochistic or self-defeating attitudes is posited to have experienced a developmental history that promulgated a sense of inadequacy and symbiosis with the primary caretaker. Esther Menaker's (1979) theory of the self emphasizes developmental history, especially the symbiotic nature of the mother-daughter relationship, as well as societal influences which shape feminine identity. Value conflicts can be caused by a woman's identification with her mother coupled with a cultural emphasis on autonomy and individual responsibility (Crawford & Marecek, 1989). Developmental theorists, such as Bowlby, suggest that a child's internal working models or representations of parental images

guide the formation of self-concept and psychological adjustment in adulthood. Furthermore, parental beliefs and expectations influence the individual's view of himself/herself which in turn guide significant relationships later in life.

Maternal values and developmental history were expected to influence daughters' self-conceptions as manifested in gender attitudes. Gender-related attitudes subsumed personal, familial, romantic, social, occupational, and political realms (Ashmore, 1986). The daughter's self-concept, in turn, was expected to mediate the influence of maternal values and developmental history on both the daughter's object relations and psychological adjustment in adulthood.

Psychological adjustment encompassed both the vulnerability to depression and actual depressive symptomology. Specifically, Blatt's (1983) two configurations of anaclitic and introjective depression provided information concerning the individual's vulnerability to depression, or the long-term predisposing psychological factors contributing to the development of depression. Blatt's conceptualization of these two configurations is consistent with object relations theory, particularly with regard to the centrality of the development of self-definition and interpersonal relationships or the object world.

In addition to exploring vulnerability to depression, current depressive symptomology was assessed. Beck's (1983) conceptualization of depression subsumes both psychological (behavioral and cognitive) and biological dimensions. Beck

focuses primarily on the "here and now" factors related to depression, without speculating on predisposing psychological factors (Blatt & Maroudas, 1992). Moreover, this perspective contends that signs and symptoms of depression, such as the lack of motivation or the presence of suicidal wishes, are the consequences of negative cognitive patterns, where the individual views himself/herself, the future, and his/her experiences in a negative manner (Beck, 1983). This conception of depression was consistent with the theoretical model in the present study which assumed that self-concept influenced the development of depression. Moreover, Beck's configurations of depression, which include autonomous and sociotropic types, bear some similarity to Blatt's categories of depression. Autonomous depression is characterized by withdrawal from people to maintain autonomy, a tendency to reject help, self-criticism, and depressed mood. On the other hand, sociotropic depression involves the seeking of help and reassurance, feelings of loneliness, concern about personal attributes, and anxiety about the loss of gratification (Beck, 1983).

The influence of parent-child relationships and developmental history variables in the development of self-concept, the formation of significant relationships in adulthood, and psychological disturbances has been addressed by various research studies mentioned above. However, an integrated analysis of the relationships between these variables has not been conducted thus far. In particular, the role of values as guiding forces in determining attitudes

toward the self has received little attention in both psychoanalysis and developmental psychology. Values refer to desirable modes of conduct and have both affective and behavioral consequences. Furthermore, values not only serve to guide beliefs, attitudes, and actions, but also maintain one's self-regard (Braithwaite, 1982; Chusmir, Koberg, & Mills, 1988; Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987). In addition, although extensive research has addressed the impact of early developmental history variables on later formation of significant relationships and psychological adjustment, there has been minimal focus on the role of the self-concept as guiding these relationships. The self-concept which subsumes masochistic or self-defeating attitudes about oneself was conceptualized as exerting a significant influence on the subsequent development of depression and problematic interpersonal relationships.

Furthermore, several methodological limitations of previous research warranted the study of the variables in question using a multi-method assessment approach. For instance, the excessive reliance on self-report methods to measure perceptions of parent-child relationships limits the ability to identify unconscious features of the child's perceptual world. Moreover, the risk for response bias and defensiveness in responding is inherent in self-report inventories. For instance, participants may be selective in providing their responses in order to present themselves in a favorable light. The use of single dimension scales in

measuring object relations limits the researcher from adequately capturing the broad scope of the participant's intrapsychic experiences. A broad measure of object relations can enable the researcher to evaluate the participant's general approach to various interpersonal relationships more accurately. Furthermore, previous research has not addressed the effects of individuals' relationships with their same-sex parents on the development of psychological disturbance. In light of these potentially problematic methodologies, a multi-method approach to investigating the relationships between relevant variables, including both self-report and projective techniques, was utilized in the present study. Finally, the investigation focused specifically on female development.

Menaker's theoretical framework provides a compelling explanation of how the variables discussed above (i.e. maternal values, developmental history, gender self-concept, object relations, and depression) are related to each other. The present study attempted to validate empirically her as yet untested theoretical assumptions, and examine variables which are salient in both object relations and attachment theories of development, such as the parent-child relationship and the development of self-concept. The integrated perspective encompassing both the contributions of object relations theory and those of developmental research can provide a more comprehensive picture of how early experiences and the nature of the self-concept can guide psychological well-being in adulthood, particularly with the use of multi-method assessment

of these variables. Figure 2 depicts the construct model which was tested in the present investigation. A measurement model displaying the variables under study is shown in Figure 3.

Hypotheses

In light of Menaker's theory of female development and developmental theory, the following hypotheses were formulated:

1. A greater degree of masochism or dependency reflected in maternal values is associated with greater degree of masochistic or self-defeating themes reflected in daughters' gender-related attitudes (self-concept). (Path A)

2. A greater degree of masochism or dependency reflected in maternal values is associated with increased pathology in current object relations of daughters with romantic partners and other significant people in their lives. (Path C)

3. A greater degree of masochism or dependency reflected in maternal values is associated with higher vulnerability to depression. (Path E)

4. Negative perceptions of the mother-daughter relationship and lowered sense of autonomy (developmental history) are related to self-defeating gender-related attitudes (self-concept). (Path B)

5. Negative perceptions of the mother-daughter relationship and lowered sense of autonomy are associated with increased pathology in present day object relations. (Path D)

6. Negative perceptions of the mother-daughter relationship and lowered sense of autonomy are associated with women's

vulnerability to depression and actual depressive symptomology. (Path F)

7. Masochistic or self-defeating gender-related attitudes (self-concept) mediate the relationship between maternal values reflecting masochistic themes and increased pathology in present day object relations. (Path AG)

8. Self-defeating gender-related attitudes mediate the relationship between maternal values reflecting masochistic themes and women's vulnerability to depression and actual depressive symptomology. (Path AH)

9. Masochistic or self-defeating gender-related attitudes mediate the relationship between developmental history (negative perceptions of mother-daughter relationship and lowered sense of autonomy) and increased pathology in present day object relations. (Path BG)

10. Masochistic or self-defeating gender-related attitudes mediate the relationship between developmental history (negative perceptions of mother-daughter relationship and lowered sense of autonomy) and women's vulnerability to depression and actual depressive symptomology. (Path BH)

METHOD

Participants

A total of 238 female undergraduate students were recruited from Introductory Psychology courses at Michigan State University. They received class credit for completing the tasks involved in the present study. Thirteen of these women did not complete either one or more of the measures and were subsequently excluded from this study. Although 225 students completed all of the measures, only 172 mothers of the students completed and returned the Personal Values Scale to the principal investigator. The mean age for the sample of daughters was 20.27 (SD = 2.60), with a range of 18 to 38 years. The participants were college students at 4 levels (31.6% 1st year; 23.1% 2nd year; 18.2% 3rd year; 27.1% 4th year). Their parents/parental figures represented a diverse range of educational and occupational backgrounds, including a majority of fathers having at least a bachelors degree (56.8%) and professional employment positions (26.2%), and a majority of mothers having at least some college education (67.2%) and management/minor professional employment positions (29.8%). The racial/ethnic make-up of the sample consisted of 83.6% Caucasian American, 8% African American, 1.3% Latino American, .9% American Indian, 3.6% Asian American, and 2.7% mixed origin (See Tables 1-4).

Instruments

The students completed all of the following measures; their mothers completed only the Personal Values Scale.

Demographic Information

A demographic questionnaire was administered which consisted of questions concerning the student's age, academic year level, racial/ethnic background, parents' occupations, and parents' educational levels (Appendix A).

The Personal Values Scales (Scott, 1965)

This measure was used to assess students' perceptions of their mothers' or maternal figures' value systems and actual values of their mothers. These scales were developed for and have been relatively well validated for use with college students, and they are consistent with the conception of values as being desirable modes of conduct or moral ideals (Braithwaite & Scott, 1991; Priest, Fullerton, & Bridge, 1982). Correlations between the short and long forms of the scales have been reported to be reasonably high, ranging from .66 for Intellectualism to .81 for Physical Development and Religiousness (Braithwaite & Scott, 1991). A short form of the scale (25 items), which includes five subscales, was used in the present study: Intellectualism, Academic Achievement, Status, Self-Control, and Independence (Appendix B). These value dimensions were chosen because they represent a fairly broad range of areas which can provide information concerning self-defeating or masochistic themes. Sample items from these subscales include "Being an intellectual," "Striving to get the top grade-point average in the group," and "Doing what one is told."

Students were asked to indicate whether each of these statements described a value that their mothers always admire in other women, always dislike in other women, or something which depends on the situation, whether or not the value is admired. Students' mothers responded to the questionnaire by indicating their own perceptions. Items were scored 1, 2, or 3, with the "Depends" category always scored to indicate the absence of an absolute "good" or absolute "bad" value. Scores on each item were added together to obtain a total score ranging from 0 to 25. Lower scores on these scales indicated higher levels of self-defeating maternal values.

The Personal Values Scale yielded varying results for daughters and their mothers. The scores on this scale for the daughters ranged between 0 and 21, with a mean of 12.35 (SD = 3.60). Mothers' scores ranged between 2 and 27, with a mean of 12.65 (SD = 3.52). Exploratory factor analyses revealed divergent factor solutions for mothers' and daughters' responses on this scale. This analysis resulted in a three-factor solution including the following dimensions: Intellectual Interest, Independence/Self- Assertion, and Expression of Anger. Cronbach alphas for these factors in the daughters' data were .80, .72, and .70, respectively. Cronbach alphas for the mothers' data were somewhat lower: .66, .50, and .61, respectively. Although the items which loaded onto the first factor, Intellectual Interest, are identical in both the mothers' and the daughters' responses, several items loaded onto the other two factors for the daughters' responses, but

did not load into any particular factor solution for the mothers' responses (Tables 5 & 6). Overall, there was a low correlation (r = .12) between mothers' responses and daughters' responses on the Personal Values Scale.

Gender Self-Concept

Gender-related attitudes were assessed by two measures. The first was the Student Attitude Survey (Jackson, 1991), a self-report measure of "students' attitudes about the roles of women and men in contemporary American society" (p. 1). The 56 items of the survey selected from the 109 items of the Gender Attitudes Survey (Ashmore, Del Boca, & Bilder, 1992) comprise six different dimensions of gender attitudes (See Appendix C). Items on the Personal Characteristics dimension assess the extent to which the respondent believes that the personal characteristics of males and females differ or should differ in stereotypic ways (e.g., "Compared to men, women tend to be weak"). The Dating Relationships dimension measures the students' beliefs about how women and men should behave in a dating relationship, including beliefs concerning appropriate sexual behavior (e.g., "Women should have the same sexual freedom as men"). The third dimension, Family Roles, assesses the respondent's beliefs about family and child rearing roles for women and men (e.g., "A woman should pay more attention to her family than her career"). The Male Aggression dimension measures attitudes about male violence against women (e.g., "A man is sometimes justified in hitting his wife"). The fifth dimension, Women in Politics, focuses on attitudes about women

at high levels of government and decision-making (e.g., "Women as well as men should be found in top political offices"). The last dimension, Workplace Attitudes, measures beliefs about occupational sex segregation and how to reduce sex discrimination in the workplace (e.g., "Government should not get into the business of providing child day care for working mothers").

Students were asked to indicate on a scale ranging from 1 to 5 the degree to which they agreed or disagreed with each statement (1=strongly agree; 5=strongly disagree). Responses were coded so that higher scores indicated a more favorable self-concept. Scores on individual items were added together to yield an overall scale score reflecting self-concept.

Scores on the Student Attitude Survey in the present study ranged from 134 to 230 (Mean = 189.41, SD = 16.92), with lower scores indicating self-defeating self-concept. An exploratory principal factors analysis of the Student Attitude Survey yielded a five-factor solution which included the following dimensions of gender-related attitudes: Women in Politics, Family and Workplace Roles, Dating, Personal Characteristics, and Male Aggression. Cronbach alphas for these separate dimensions were .84, .78, .78, .72, .66, respectively. These dimensions are similar to those reported by Jackson (1994). Jackson (1994) indicated alpha coefficients of .72, .75, .79, .72, .84, and .72 for the dimensions of personal characteristics, dating relationships, family roles, male aggression, women in politics, and workplace attitudes,

respectively. In the present study, the Family Roles and Workplace Attitudes dimensions included items which were highly correlated, and subsequently loaded onto the same factor. Table 7 presents the five factors and corresponding reliability information.

The second index of gender-related attitudes is a projective stories task, designed for the present study (Appendix D), which assessed attitudes or beliefs about sex and gender believed to be outside of the respondents' conscious awareness or contrary to societal ideals and expectations. Projective techniques are particularly helpful in evoking stereotypes and self-images (Oppenheim, 1966). The stories task involved reading three brief vignettes about women's decision-making, each of which served as relatively ambiguous stimuli to elicit respondents' attitudes about women as either self-defeating or assertive. Two of these stories are concerned with interactions between men and women, and the other story pertains to achievement and striving. Each story is followed by open-ended questions about the course of action that the women in the stories should follow. Respondents were asked to answer these questions in written format (See Appendix D).

A 5-point scoring system was developed to distinguish the degrees of self-defeating or masochistic attitudes and behavior indicated by participants. A score of 1 indicated that there were no expressions of self-defeating attitudes and/or behavior (e.g., "Anita will study hard and do well on her next exam").

A score of 3 reflected a moderate degree of self-defeating attitudes and/or behavior (e.g., "Anita should drop her calculus class"), and a score of 5 indicated a very high degree of self-defeating attitudes and/or behavior (e.g., "Anita should give up being a math major, because she feels so worthless"). Responses to the projective stories task were scored independently by two raters in accordance with this scoring system (See Appendix E).

Interrater reliability for scoring the Projective Stories Task was calculated using an intraclass correlation coefficient for random raters. This analysis resulted in a reliability coefficient of .96. The mean score for the Projective Stories Task (range 3-15) was 7.73 (SD = 2.4), with higher scores reflecting more self-defeating self-concept.

Object Relations

Two measures of object relations were obtained from participants. Cards 2, 3BM, 4, 13MF, 3GF, and 10 from the Thematic Apperception Test (Morgan & Murray, 1935) were used as the first measure. Respondents are likely to provide detail in describing characters and relationships that reflect "cognitive and affective-motivational patterns related to interpersonal functioning in intimate relationships" (Westen, 1991, p. 56). The TAT cards are structured so that respondents find it relatively easy to relay stories about them, and at the same time, unstructured so that the stories differ widely among respondents (Karon, 1981). Students were asked to write stories that described the events, characters, characters'

thoughts and feelings, and outcome of events portrayed in each card.

The TAT responses were scored by two raters in accordance with the Social Cognition and Object Relations Scales (SCORS), which offers a multidimensional measurement of object relations. SCORS was designed by Westen (1991) to assess four different dimensions of object relations, including the complexity of representations of people, affect-tone of relationship paradigms, capacity of emotional investment in relationships and moral standards, and understanding of social causality. Thus, the SCORS system aims to capture a variety of functions and structures comprising object relations, such as ways of representing people in relationships, interpersonal wishes, affects, and conflicts, ways of attributing causes of others' behavior, and the capacity of investing in relationships (Westen, 1991). In the present study, the dimension of capacity of emotional investment in relationships was measured by a 5-point scale; it focused on the extent to which an individual's relational style involved her investment in committed relationships with mutual sharing, interdependence, and love (Westen, 1991). At the highest level, the individual "manifests a capacity to form deep, committed relationships in which the other is valued for his/her uniques qualities," (p. 7) whereas at the lowest level, the individual views others primarily as "instruments of gratification, security, and comfort" (Westen, 1993, p. 8).

The SCORS has been empirically validated by several researchers (Barends, Westen, Byers, Leigh, & Silbert, 1990; Schneider, 1990; Bernstein, 1992; Weinberger, 1993; Westen, Lohr, Silk, Gold, & Kerber, 1990). The various subscales have been found to correlate with clinician and self-reported social adjustment. TAT scores on each dimension also tend to correlate with scores on the same dimension assessed from interview data (Westen, 1993). Malik and Weinberger (1993) and Bernstein (1992) indicated correlations between the TAT subscales and diagnoses of personality disorders. In addition, various maternal variables, such as maternal psychiatric illness and prolonged separations from mother, have been predictive of pathological object relations as measured by the TAT (Westen, 1993). Porcerelli (1993; as cited in Westen, 1993) found predicted differences on the SCORS between groups such as individuals with antisocial personality disorders and those with schizophrenia assessed by the MMPI. Interrater reliabilities for the four scales have ranged from .80 to .98 (Westen, 1993).

In the present study, interrater reliability for scoring the Thematic Apperception Test was calculated using an intraclass correlation coefficient for fixed raters (Shrout & Fleiss, 1979). This analysis yielded a reliability coefficient of .90. The mean score on the Capacity for Emotional Investment subscale of the SCORS (range 1-5) for the sample of daughters was 3.52 (SD = .62), with higher scores indicating

lowered capacity for emotional investment in deep, committed relationships.

The second measure of respondents' approaches to significant relationships included in the present study was the Close Relationships Questionnaire (Bartholomew, 1990; Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991). This measure is based on a four-fold typology of adult attachment types (secure, preoccupied, fearful, and dismissing) which replaced Hazan & Shaver's (1987) three-fold typology. The secure and preoccupied types correspond closely to Hazan and Shaver's secure and anxious-ambivalent types, respectively. The fearful and dismissing types indicate two kinds of avoidant individuals (Brennan, Shaver, & Tobey, 1991). According to Bartholomew and Horowitz, a single avoidant category may obscure separable patterns of avoidance in adulthood.

The Close Relationships Questionnaire (See Appendix F) consists of four brief paragraphs describing the four attachment styles. Participants are asked to rate, on a 7-point Likert scale, the degree to which their relational style resembles each of the four styles. For example, participants rated the extent to which their approach to relationships is described by the following: "It is easy for me to become emotionally close to others. I am comfortable depending on others and having others depend on me. I don't worry about being alone or having others not accept me" (secure attachment). The Close Relationships Questionnaire has been

validated using reports from participants' friends and an inventory of interpersonal problems.

In the present study, students' ratings of the extent to which a secure attachment style describes their approach to emotional relationships ranged from 1 (not at all like me) to 7 (very much like me), with a mean score of 5.04 (SD = 1.73). Ratings concerning a preoccupied style of relating to others had a mean score of 3.81 (SD = 2.07). The mean scores for rating fearful and dismissing styles were 3.13 (SD = 2.0) and 3.14 (SD = 1.66), respectively.

Depression

Respondents' vulnerability to depression was assessed by the Depressive Experiences Questionnaire (DEQ; Blatt, D'Afflitti, & Quinlan, 1976) and their actual depressive symptomology was assessed by the Beck Depression Inventory.

The DEQ (See Appendix G) consists of 66 items which assess a wide range of experiences that are frequently associated with depression. The DEQ is a measure of feelings about the self and general interpersonal relations which are related to depression, and not indicative of direct manifest symptoms of depression (Blatt et al., 1979). Vulnerability to depression is used to describe "a character style in which there is an unusual susceptibility to dysphoric feelings, a vulnerability to feelings of loss and disappointment, intense need for contact and support, and a proclivity to assume blame and responsibility and to feel guilty" (Blatt, 1974, p. 109). Blatt distinguished two major dimensions of depression: 1) an

anaclitic depression, characterized by feelings of helplessness and weakness, by fears of being abandoned, and by wishes to be cared for, loved, and protected and, 2) an introjective depression, which is developmentally more advanced and characterized by feelings of inferiority, guilt, and worthlessness and by a sense that one has failed to live up to expectations and standards.

The DEQ includes items concerned with various issues such as a distorted or depreciated sense of self and others, dependency, helplessness, fear of loss, ambivalence, difficulty dealing with anger, self-blame, and guilt. These items cluster into three factors: dependency, self-criticism, and efficacy. The dependency factor includes items that describe the individual as primarily externally directed, having concerns with issues of abandonment, loneliness, rejection, and helplessness, and the desire to be close to and dependent on others (e.g., "Without support from others who are close to me, I would be helpless") . The self-criticism factor contains items suggesting an internally directed individual with concerns over feeling guilty, empty, hopeless, failing to meet expectations and standards, and with a tendency to assume blame or be critical of themselves (e.g., "I often find that I don't live up to my own standards or ideals"). The third factor, efficacy, describes an individual with a sense of confidence in his/her own resources and capabilities, with high standards, and a conviction of being able to meet them (e.g., "If someone makes me angry, I let him (her) know how I feel"). The

dependency and self-criticism factors in particular are consistent with the anaclitic and introjective dimensions of depression (Blatt et al., 1976; Viglione, Clemmey, & Camenzuli, 1990). Both of these factors have been reported to be reliable measures that reflect relatively stable personality variables, particularly among non-clinical populations (Viglione et al., 1990).

A scoring program for the DEQ developed by Blatt and Quinlan (1990) was used to convert raw scores of the three subscales into standard scores. Three separate subscale scores were calculated through this program. Blatt, Quinlan, Chevron, McDonald, & Zuroff (1982) indicated alpha coefficients of .81, .80, .72 for the dependency, self-criticism, and efficacy factors, respectively. In addition, McCranie & Bass (1984) reported estimates of internal consistency of .78 (anaclitic), .78 (introjective), and .66 (self-efficacy).

The Depressive Experiences Questionnaire measured 3 different dimensions of vulnerability to depression in the present study, including anaclitic, introjective, and self-efficacy depressive styles. Standard scores ranged from -2.53 to 1.70, with a mean of -.33 (SD = .80) for the anaclitic dimension, from -3.35 to 2.85, with a mean of -.23 (SD = .91) for the introjective dimension, and from -2.15 to 2.74, with a mean of .23 (SD = .84) for the self-efficacy dimension. Cronbach alpha for the DEQ was .77, and alphas for the DEQ anaclitic, introjective, and self-efficacy subscales were .58, .72, .61, respectively.

Depressive symptoms were assessed by the Beck Depression Inventory (BDI) which consists of 21 items, including the following: "I feel sad," "I feel guilty most of the time," and "I don't get more tired than usual." Participants are asked to choose one out of four statements, which best describes their feelings during the prior week. The BDI is scored by summing each of the ratings given by the participants. Scores from 0 to 9 are considered within the normal or asymptomatic range. Scores of 10 to 18 indicate mild to moderate levels of depression, scores of 19 to 29 indicate moderate to severe depression, and scores of 30 to 63 indicate extremely severe depression. The Beck Depression Inventory has high internal consistency with regard to both clinical and non-clinical populations (Barrera & Garrison-Jones, 1988). An alpha coefficient of .86 has been reported for persons suffering from a single-episode major depression, and a coefficient of .80 has been reported for those suffering from recurrent major depression (Beck & Steer, 1987). The BDI can be found in Appendix H.

Scores on the Beck Depression Inventory in the present study ranged from 0 to 40, with a mean of 9.28 (SD = 7.30). Higher scores on this scale indicated higher levels of depression. The Cronbach alpha for this scale for the current study was .87.

Developmental History

Developmental history information was assessed via two methods: a conflictual autonomy scale and a projective test of

early memories. The Psychological Separation Inventory (PSI), which was constructed by Hoffman (1984), is based on the psychoanalytic notion that an individual's drive toward healthy personal adjustment is dependent on his/her ability to separate psychologically from his/her parents and gain a sense of individual identity. Hoffman defined four different aspects of psychological separation during adolescence, including functional independence, attitudinal independence, emotional independence, and conflictual independence. The last of these subtypes, conflictual independence, is defined as "freedom from excessive guilt, anxiety, mistrust, responsibility, inhibition, resentment, and anger in relation to the mother and father" (Hoffman, 1984, pp. 171-172). The present study was concerned with measuring daughters' conflictual independence from their mothers. Examples of items on this measure (See Appendix I) include: "I wish my mother wasn't so overprotective," and "I am often angry at my mother." Participants were asked to describe their relationships with their mothers, on a scale ranging from 1 (not at all true of me) to 5 (very true of me). Higher scores on this scale indicated lower conflictual independence. The internal consistency for the conflictual independence scale has been reported as .92 (Hoffman, 1984).

In the present study, scores on the Psychological Separation Inventory ranged from 25 to 111, with a mean of 60 (SD = 18.54). Exploratory factor analyses yielded a three-factor solution including the following dimensions: Anger/Mistrust, Responsibility, and Inhibition. Cronbach

alphas for these factors were .92, .82, and .73, respectively. Table 8 lists items included in each factor solution.

Mayman's Early Memory Test (1968) was the second assessment of developmental history. This test is a projective measure of individuals' relational world, and, particularly, their interactions with parents. According to Mayman, early memories "express psychological truths rather than objective truths about a person's life," and are "selected (unconsciously) by a person to conform with and confirm ingrained images of himself and others" (p. 304).

Each respondent was asked to relay in written format her earliest memory of her mother or her maternal figure (caretaker). It was assumed that this open-ended format would yield useful information concerning perceived conflicts that may have been evident in daughters' relationships with their mothers (See Appendix J). The interpretation of the responses to the Early Memory Test involved the interpersonal world that was represented by the participant, the affective tone of the material, and whether the memories were narratively coherent or contained distortions or contradictions. For example, each individual's response was examined to determine whether the participant viewed her relationship with her mother as threatening or dangerous, instead of comfortable, secure, and gratifying (See Appendix K). In addition, each student's response was rated, on a scale ranging from 1 to 5, for the degree of conflict or emotional distress expressed by daughters in their memories (See Appendix L).

Interrater reliability for scoring the Early Memories Test was calculated using an intraclass correlation coefficient for random raters (Shrout & Fleiss, 1979), because more than 2 raters scored this data. The analysis resulted in a reliability coefficient of .88. The mean score for the Early Memories Test (range 1-5) was 2.84 (SD = 1.19), with higher scores reflecting more negative perceptions of mother.

Procedure

Participants were assessed in groups ranging from 10 to 25 and were given sufficient time and materials to complete testing. The protocol was administered by the principal investigator and four undergraduate students. The participants' consent for testing was obtained prior to administration of measures. They were then requested to complete a background (demographic) information form and all questionnaire and projective measures. The measures were administered in three different sequences to account for ordering effects. The participants completed the protocol in approximately 2 hours.

At the end of testing, students were asked to sign a cover letter addressed to their mothers indicating that they had participated in the study and requesting their mothers to participate also. The signed cover letter, a copy of a consent form, the Personal Values Scale, and a stamped, pre-addressed return envelope were sent to students' mothers by the principal investigator. The students received 4 course credits for their

participation, regardless of whether or not their mothers eventually returned completed questionnaires.

RESULTS

Structural Equations Modeling

The hypothesized model was tested in two separate components through the SAS computer program. The first component involved the testing of a measurement model, which yielded unanalyzed correlations indicating relationships between the latent and the observed variables. The latent variables included maternal values, developmental history, self-concept, vulnerability to depression, and object relations. The observed variables are indicated by the corresponding measures.

Various goodness-of-fit indices determine whether or not a reasonable measurement model has been obtained. A reasonable goodness-of-fit then allows for the analysis of the structural relationships between the latent variables (structural model), which comprises the second component, which tested the actual structural model. Furthermore, the measurement model yields unanalyzed correlations indicating relationships between the latent and observed factors, whereas the structural model interprets these correlations as resulting from a set of causal relationships among the latent variables. The latent variable can be viewed as a factor which represents influences specific to corresponding measures (Loehlin, 1992). In structural equation modeling, the expected factor structure of variables is specified prior to the analyses by restricting certain variables from loading onto certain factors in order to ensure that the nature of each latent variable is less ambiguous

(Rice, Cole, & Lapsley, 1990). (For example, in this study, only the relationship style measures loaded onto the Object Relations factor or latent variable.) In addition, the relationships between the latent variables, are specified prior to the analyses, based on theoretical considerations. Furthermore, various goodness-of-fit indices are used to judge how well a set of a priori constraints fit the data (Rice et al., 1990).

Measurement Model

The measurement model displayed in Figure 3 was analyzed through SAS computer program in order to examine the relationships between the measures of each construct (e.g., TAT, CRQ) and whether or not these measures loaded positively onto their corresponding factors (e.g., object relations). This hypothesized measurement model, which included all of the subscales of individual measures, did not fit the data well (Goodness of Fit Index = .83; Root Mean Square Residual = .65). Therefore, a modified measurement model was tested, including the first two subscales of the Personal Values Scale, the three subscales of the Psychological Separation Inventory, the Early Memories Test, the five subscales of the Student Attitude Survey, Projective Stories Task, the first three items of the Close Relationships Questionnaire, the TAT, the second subscale of the Depressive Experiences Questionnaire, and the Beck Depression Inventory. Each subscale included in the modified measurement model was selected based on the strength of its correlation with other measures. This model appeared to fit

the daughters' data well, as indicated by the Goodness of Fit Index (GFI) which was .91, and the Root Mean Square Residual (RMR) which was .72. The fit of this measurement model permitted further analyses of the structural relationships between the latent variables (i.e. maternal values, developmental history, self-concept, object relations, and depression).

Exploratory principal-factors analysis of the Personal Values Scale (mother and daughter versions), Psychological Separation Inventory, and the Student Attitude Survey were computed in order to determine whether or not the various subscales of each measure tapped the same dimensions of that measure. An oblique rotation of the factor structure was used due to the possibility of different factors correlating with each other. These analyses were necessary to determine which subscales of each of the measures loaded onto the five latent factors. Each of these latent factors is discussed below.

Maternal Values

The third subscale of the Personal Values Scale completed by daughters, Expression of Anger (t = -3.67) , was excluded from the structural equation analyses because it did not load positively onto the first latent factor, which reflects daughters' perceptions of their mothers' values or belief systems. The first two subscales, Intellectual Interest (t = 2.88) and Independence/Self-Assertion (t = 3.60), loaded positively onto the first latent factor reflecting maternal values. Furthermore, the mothers' Personal Values Scale data

was excluded from any subsequent analyses because of divergent results of exploratory factor analysis of mothers' and daughters' responses to this scale. The subscales of the Personal Values Scale completed by the mothers did not load positively onto the latent factor reflecting maternal values (See Appendix M).

Developmental History

The three subscales from the Conflictual Independence Scale of the Psychological Separation Inventory (Anger/Mistrust, t = 17.11; Responsibility, t = 11.79; Inhibition, t = 9.52) appeared to measure the degree of daughters' conflictual independence from their mothers, and taken together with the Early Memories Test (t = 4.83), loaded positively onto the factor reflecting daughters' developmental history with their mothers. All three of these subscales were subsequently included in the analysis of the structural model. Furthermore, the PSI along with the Early Memories Test appeared to reflect daughters' relationships with their mothers (developmental history).

Self-Concept

The five subscales of the Student Attitude Survey (Women in Politics, t = -8.80; Family and Workplace Roles, t = -13.11; Dating, t = -8.64; Personal Characteristics, t = -6.23; Male Aggression, t = -7.78) appeared to measure gender-related attitudes, and loaded positively onto the factor reflecting gender self-concept when taken together with responses from the Projective Stories Task (t = 2.50). Both the SAS and the

Projective Stories Task were subsequently included in the analyses of the hypothesized structural model.

Object Relations

The four different styles of attachment measured by the Close Relationships Questionnaire were included in the structural equation model as separate factors or dimensions of interpersonal styles. The last item of the CRQ which aims to measure a dismissing style of attachment was excluded from the analysis of the structural model since it was found to have poor correlations (r = -.16, r = .07, r = -.32, respectively) with the other three items in the CRQ. Responses on this last item appear to have measured different aspects of adulthood attachment than the other three items on the scale, for this sample of women. Furthermore, the results of the exploratory factor analysis indicated that the measures of object relations (CRQ and TAT) assessed two different dimensions of object relations. The Close Relationships Questionnaire (CRQ1, t = 8.49; CRQ2, t = -8.88; CRQ3, t = -4.53) appeared to measure daughters' attachment styles (secure, preoccupied, fearful) in their adulthood relationships. On the other hand, the TAT responses (TAT1, t = -2.18; TAT2, t = -4.04; TAT3, t = -3.28; TAT4, t = -2.85; TAT5, t = -2.49; TAT6, t = -2.96) more specifically reflected daughters' capacities for investing in deep, committed relationships in adulthood. Consequently, attachment style, measured by the CRQ, and capacity for emotional investment, measured by the TAT, were treated as

separate but related constructs in the analyses of the structural model.

Vulnerability to Depression

The first and third subscales of the Depressive Experiences Questionnaire, which measured anaclitic (t = 1.04) and self-efficacy (t = -1.56) dimensions, were excluded from the analyses of the structural model, because they did not load positively onto the latent factor reflecting depression. The second subscale reflecting the introjective dimension of vulnerability to depression (t = 12.74) appeared to measure daughters' level of depression, when taken together with the Beck Depression Inventory (t = 9.83).

Structural Model

The structural model was tested by path analysis using structural equation modeling through the SAS computer program. Two variables which include object relations and depression were regressed on the antecedent variables of maternal values and developmental history, using a series of least squares multiple regression equations, in order to test the hypothesized structural model. The hypothesized structural relationships between the latent variables were examined after obtaining a reasonable measurement model, as indicated by goodness-of-fit indices. The SAS program would not allow for a solution for the hypothesized model (Figure 4) in which gender self-concept mediated the impact of maternal values and developmental history variables on object relations and depression in daughters. Consequently, a series of

correlations among the various factors were examined to construct a structural model which was later analyzed. The data in the present study fit the alternative structural model displayed by Figure 5. Both the alternative structural and measurement models are displayed in Figures 5 and 6, respectively. The measurement model appeared to fit the daughters' data well, as indicated by the Goodness of Fit Index (GFI) which was .93, and the Root Mean Square Residual (RMR) which was .50. Table 9 presents these goodness-of-fit indices for the measurement model.

The alternative structural model (Figure 5) indicated a causal relationship between maternal values and developmental history variables, and a causal relationship between developmental history and object relations which is mediated by the level of introjective style of depression and actual depressive symptomology. This model produced a significant chi-square of 178.11, $p < .001$, indicating that the model does not fit the data well. However, the chi-square is sensitive to sample size, and models which fit the data well may yield significant chi-squares if the sample size is large (Rice et al., 1990). The Goodness of Fit Index (GFI) and the Root Mean Square Residual (RMR) are other fit indices that are not sensitive to sample size. The structural model presented in Figure 6 produced an excellent practical fit for the data (Goodness of Fit Index = .92; adjusted GFI = .90; RMR = .5).

Figure 5 also presents the correlations between the latent factors. Maternal Values was positively and significantly

correlated with Developmental History (r=.38, p < .01), with higher self-defeating themes in maternal values influencing perceptions of mother and degree of conflictual independence from mother. Developmental History was positively correlated to Depression (r=.63, p < .001), with higher levels of conflict with mother relating to higher vulnerability to depression and higher levels of depressive symptomology. Furthermore, Depression was found to be significantly correlated with Object Relations as measured by both the Close Relationships Questionnaire (r=.70, p < .001) and the TAT (r=.19, p < .05), with higher levels of depression leading to increased level of pathology in adulthood object relations. Table 10 presents the path coefficients, indicating the strengths of these various relationships among the latent variables, and corresponding standard errors and t-values. The percentage of variance accounted for in the relationships among the different variables, which is indicated by squared multiple correlations (r squared), ranged from .05 to .91.

Comparison of psychoanalytic and developmental measures

The loadings of measures (beta weights) which accounted for the relationships among the latent variables were examined in order to better understand the contribution of psychoanalytic measures (TAT, DEQ, and EMT) versus developmental and cognitive measures (CRQ, BDI, and PSI) to the strength of the alternative model. The questionnaire measures developed from a cognitive and developmental perspective tended to have higher loadings onto the latent variables than did the

psychoanalytically-derived measures, although both sets of measures loaded positively onto their corresponding latent variables. (See Table 11) For instance, the first and second items of the CRQ have higher loadings than each of the TAT cards. However, Cards 2, 3, and 4 of the TAT have higher loadings than the third item of the CRQ. In addition, the BDI loads more positively onto the latent variable, Depression, than the introjective subscale of the DEQ. Finally, all three subscales of the PSI have higher beta weights than the Early Memories Test.

Comparison of responses on the Early Memories Test

One-way analysis of variance indicated a significant difference between responses on the Early Memories Test provided by daughters whose mothers completed the Personal Values Scale and those whose mothers did not complete the scale. Daughters whose mothers did not complete the questionnaire had significantly more negative perceptions of their mothers ($F = 4.37$, $p < .05$), as measured by the Early Memories Test, than daughters whose mothers did complete the Personal Values Scale. There were no other significant differences between these two groups of daughters in responding to the other measures in the present study.

DISCUSSION

The present study attempted to explore the influence of maternal values and the mother-daughter relationship on the formation of object relations and psychological adjustment in adulthood, from both psychoanalytic and developmental perspectives. Gender self-concept was thought to mediate the relationships between these variables. Although the variables under question in the present study have been examined in recent investigations, they had not been integrated into a more comprehensive model of women's psychological development. Psychoanalytic and developmental research has examined only direct relationships between developmental history, self-concept, object relations, and psychopathology.

The present investigation included self-concept as a central factor in mediating relationships among the variables mentioned above, particularly because it is an implicit construct in both theoretical models. Self-concept is defined as one's image of the self that consists of beliefs and attitudes about oneself, and, according to Menaker (1979), the nature of the self-concept is founded on the child's identification with her image of her mother. Similarly, according to Bowlby (1973), the child develops a complementary model of the self as worthy or unworthy of care based on a generalized expectation of the caregiver as either responsive or unresponsive. Gender self-concept was thought to influence daughters' approach to interpersonal and romantic relationships, based on internalized images or internal working

models of the self. Furthermore, gender self-concept was hypothesized to influence daughters' vulnerability to depression as well as the development of actual depressive symptoms. Psychoanalytic theory proposes that a loss of self-regard is characteristic of melancholia (Freud, 1917). Similarly, developmental psychology implicates the role of attachment and internal working models in either the risk or protection from depression (Bowlby, 1973).

Furthermore, in the present study, the impact of maternal values on women's development was explored. Maternal values were considered to be crucial elements in daughters' socialization that guide attitudes and actions. Mothers' values are thought to be transmitted to daughters through the processes of identification and internalization. In addition, masochistic themes reflected in maternal values were thought to contribute to a more self-defeating or masochistic self-concept which is connected with higher levels of pathology in daughters' approach to object relations and higher levels of depression. Masochism refers to an individual's behavior, thoughts, and fantasies characterized by subjectively experienced pain or suffering that serve the defensive function of maintaining an affectional relationship with parental objects of love (Cooper & Fischer, 1979; Maleson, 1984; Menaker, 1979).

There are several findings that merit discussion in the context of the theoretical framework guiding the present study. These results include the mediating role of developmental

history in the relationship between maternal values and vulnerability to depression, the mediating role of depression in the relationship between developmental history and object relations, the lack of a significant influence of gender self-concept in the development of depression and problematic object relations, and the divergence between mothers' and daughters' perceptions of maternal values. These relationships have significant implications for the development of psychopathology in women and for psychotherapy interventions.

The impact of maternal values on developmental history

The influence of self-defeating values on both the degree of negative perceptions of one's mother and dependence on psychological conflict with one's mother can be understood from a psychoanalytic perspective. Specifically, some degree of moral masochism exists in everyone as a necessary component in the formation of the superego. As Markson (1993) points out, significant rewards are associated with the child's ability to relinquish his/her own needs for those of others. However, painful or sadistic relationships with caregivers can lead to a situation in which the child comes to experience herself as a burden, rather than a source of pleasure, to a "weary, self-sacrificing parent" (Markson, 1993). Moreover, the repression of hostility and sadism has traditionally been thought to underlie both moral masochism and depression.

The present study supports the notion that parental values or belief systems are transmitted to children through the processes of identification and internalization and,

consequently, impact on adulthood perceptions of the parent-child relationship and psychological adjustment. Not only do values determine attitudes toward oneself and the outside world, but they also influence the child's perceptions of self in relation to her parent. More specifically, a daughter's perceptions of her mother and her ability to form a sense of separateness from her mother appear to be directly influenced by the extent to which she perceives her mother as holding self-defeating or masochistic beliefs either about herself (mother) or the outside world. This finding supports Menaker's (1979) contention that a child's adaptation is affected by both personal dynamics and social values that predominate her psychological life.

Furthermore, it is important to consider the impact of maternal values on the daughter's ability to form a sense of separateness. The perception of mothers' self-defeating beliefs and the internalization of these beliefs lead to daughters' conflicted relationships with their mothers. Early attachment experiences tend to be described as painful, and "early pleasure states become associated with pain and with a sense of object loss" (Markson, 1993, p. 932). Markson further elaborates that the capacity to tolerate pain becomes a necessary condition for a sense of attachment. As a consequence of this type of parent-child interaction, the child begins to feel responsible for parental suffering. This sense of guilt or responsibility develops as a result of the child

being held responsible for the parent's sense of pain and inadequacy.

Furthermore, these conditions obstruct the development of a sense of separateness and uniqueness, which are essential components of the daughters' psychological adjustment. In the present study, the internalization of masochistic beliefs by the daughter led to a higher degree of daughter's conflictual dependence on the mother; this reflects her experience of excessive guilt, anxiety, mistrust, responsibility, inhibition, resentment, and anger in relation to the mother (Hoffman, 1984). Higher conflictual dependence may place daughters in a self-defeating or masochistic position that leads them to perceive themselves and others in a manner similar to the internalized mother-daughter relationship. In addition, the inability to separate oneself psychologically necessitates the repression of anger and resentment aimed toward parental figures. Conflictual dependence as well as negative perceptions of mother seems to lead to further problems in daughters' psychological adjustment, as elaborated in the following section.

Impact of developmental history on vulnerability to depression and depressive symptomology

The results of the present study suggest a causal relationship between developmental history variables and depression. In particular, daughters' negative perceptions of their mothers and conflictual dependence seem to result in both higher vulnerability to introjective depression and higher

levels of depressive symptomology. This finding is consistent with both psychoanalytic and developmental perspectives which suggest that early childhood relationships influence psychological adjustment throughout the lifespan (Blatt & Homann, 1992; Bowlby, 1973; Sroufe, 1986). Introjective or self-critical depression subsumes feelings of unworthiness, guilt, failure, and inferiority. Individuals who are vulnerable to this type of depression tend to have a chronic fear of disapproval and the loss of acceptance by others. This type of depression is contrasted with anaclitic depression which subsumes feelings of loneliness and helplessness. The results of this study suggest that negative or conflicted perceptions of mothers influence daughters' vulnerability to experience disapproval or loss of acceptance by significant others. This is consistent with psychoanalytic theory which contends that depression results from an inability to mourn one's perceived and/or actual losses throughout the lifespan. Furthermore, negative parental representations and negative perceptions of maternal behavior seem to lead to higher vulnerability to depression (Blatt & Homann, 1992).

The relationship between negative perceptions of parenting and the development of depression in adulthood has been recognized by various researchers (Blatt, 1979; Burbach & Bourdin, 1986; Parker, 1981). The present study did not yield a significant relationship between negative perceptions of mother and anaclitic or dependent style of depression. It appears that negative perceptions of parenting are specifically

related to introjective or self-critical style of depression. These results are consistent with Blatt, Quinlan, and Bers's (1991) finding which indicated a negative relationship between positive parental caring and self-criticism in young women, as measured by the DEQ. Blatt and Schichman (1982) proposed that psychopathology can be considered as distortions of either of two fundamental developmental lines. These two primary configurations of psychopathology, anaclitic and introjective, are defined by different developmental tasks. In particular, anaclitic psychopathology reflects a distorted attempt to maintain satisfying interpersonal experiences, whereas introjective psychopathology reflects a distorted attempt to establish an effective concept of the self. The latter form of psychopathology is consistent with Freud's (1926) description of one of four primary traumas of one's development-- the loss of approval of the superego. According to Blatt and Shichman (1982), psychopathology in the introjective configuration underscores issues of self-definition, self-control, self-worth, and identity that tend to be expressed in a variety of disorders, including "guilt-laden depression." Furthermore, the introjective configuration involves struggles to achieve separation, definition, and independence from controlling, punitive, critical, and intrusive figures. These struggles are expressed in "conflicts of management and containment of affect, especially aggression directed toward others and the self" (p. 189). In addition, interpersonal relationships are experienced and interpreted primarily in terms of the evolving

self-definition. Preoccupations with self-definition tend to predominate the nature and quality of interpersonal relationships at this developmental level.

The relationship between perceptions of mother and daughter's vulnerability to depression and the development of depressive symptoms can be further considered from psychoanalytic and developmental models that emphasize the effects of internalized childhood attachments. Object relations theories suggest that a relatively stable personality core emerges early in life based on interactions with major caretakers. In addition, unconscious representations of parental figures and of the self develop out of these early interactions and continue to influence self-worth and expectations about future attachments (Arieti & Bemporad, 1978; Greenberg & Mitchell, 1983). In a similar vein, Bowlby (1979) suggested that the experience of affectional bonds in childhood forms the basis for self-perceptions and future expectations and competence for investing in adult relationships (i.e. working models). These perspectives provide a compelling explanation for the influence of parental perceptions on daughters' vulnerability to introjective depression, which is conceptualized as a relatively stable character style, and daughters' actual depressive symptomology, by focusing on both personality and mood variables in affective disturbances.

Furthermore, this particular finding is consistent with empirical research on the effects of internalized parental representations on depression. Richman and Flaherty (1987)

tested the assumption that internalized parental warmth and acceptance affect an individual's development and maintenance in adulthood of self-esteem and positive expectations of future social supports. Their data indicated that parental affectivity (i.e. coldness, overprotection) was associated with interpersonal dependency and self-esteem, and significantly predicted level of depressive symptomology. They also point to the importance of unconscious processes, such as internalization, in the development of personality structure and related psychopathology. Similarly, Henderson (1983) concluded, based on his longitudinal research on adult social relationships and depressive symptomology, that the inner life of individuals is a powerful predictor of psychopathology. Richman and Flaherty (1986) demonstrated a correlation between perceived early parent-child relationships and both personality and depressive symptomology. These studies corroborate the present investigation which emphasizes the role of maternal representations on daughters' subsequent psychological adjustment.

The impact of perceptions of mother on psychological adjustment is evident in the relationship between conflictual dependence and higher vulnerability to depression, as well. The present findings are consistent with recent research focused on separation-individuation processes in college student development. Palladino, Schultheiss, and Blustein (1994) found that the most prominent factor predicting adjustment for college men was conflictual independence,

supporting the contention that absence of conflict within the adolescent-parent relationship is associated with more adaptive functioning. In addition, Haemmerlie, Steen, and Benedicto (1994) found a relationship between high conflictual independence and positive adjustment to college (academic, social, personal-emotional) and lowered alcohol abuse. Moreover, high drinking female students showed the lowest degree of conflictual independence from their mothers. This latter finding underscores differential developmental patterns for men and women with respect to psychological adjustment, as well as a unique process of identification and internalization involved in the mother-daughter relationship.

The results of the present study suggest that a daughter's inability to separate from excessive guilt, responsibility, mistrust, and anger (conflictual dependence) has implications for forming a separate sense of self from her mother. According to Mahler (1972), a child's withdrawal can be understood as an effort to hold on to an image of her mother in order to maintain a state of mind in which they are experienced as together. Higher conflictual dependence complicates the process of deidealization of parental images which is necessary for a child's development of a sense of autonomy from her mother. This deidealization is essential to the child's developing sense of competence in coping with the external environment and mastering conflicts relating to guilt and dependency (Frank, Avery, & Laman, 1988). When the child is unable to separate herself from such conflict with her mother,

she may unconsciously give up the part of her self-concept that is associated with worthiness and adequacy in order to maintain her idealized mother image (Menaker, 1979). Consequently, the child becomes more prone to developing a self-critical character structure as well as depressive symptomology.

Impact of depression on object relations

The results of the present study indicate a significant causal relationship between daughters' level of depression (and vulnerability to depression) and object relations as measured separately by the TAT and CRQ. The findings suggest that the TAT and CRQ reflect two different aspects of object relations. The TAT measured the extent to which daughters' relational styles involved their investment in deep, committed relationships with mutuality, love, and interdependence (Westen, 1991), whereas the CRQ measured the extent to which daughters' adulthood attachment styles resembled secure, preoccupied, fearful, and dismissing types of attachment (Bartholomew, 1990). Both measures appear to capture the daughters' approaches to relationships reasonably well; however, they seem to focus on different aspects of object relations reflective of their respective theoretical roots. In particular, the TAT (capacity for emotional investment scale) emphasizes the cognitive-affective sphere of mental representations of adult relatedness. On the other hand, the CRQ tends to focus on attachment behavior and typology. Fishler, Sperling, and Carr (1990) argue for a distinction between the concepts of attachment and relationship, in

defining divergences between psychoanalytic and developmental assessment of object relations. Object relationships are seen as a more global category of interaction encompassing all relationships, whereas attachment bonds are thought to be specific to certain relationships with a particular attachment figure (Fishler et al., 1990). This distinction may explain the fact that the TAT and the CRQ measured two different aspects of object relations.

Although the causal relationship between depression and object relations found in the present study was an unexpected finding, it may be understood in light of psychoanalytic theory. Freud (1914) proposed that the love of an object or significant attachment figure is modeled upon the experiences the individual has with his/her mother. This internalization of early experiences with one's primary caretaker influences not only one's proneness to depression but also to forming intimate relationships in adulthood. In "Mourning and Melancholia" (1917), Freud stated that the melancholic individual experiences an "extraordinary dimunition in his self-regard, and an impoverishment of his ego on a grand scale" (p. 584). He suggested that the shattering of a relationship with a significant object or attachment figure (i.e. primary caretaker) results in a withdrawal into one's ego, thereby establishing an identification of the ego with the abandoned object or significant attachment figure. Consequently, the melancholic individual suffers from a lowered capacity to form subsequent satisfying object relationships in which he/she

maintains positive regard for the self and significant others. Bowlby (1973) also argued that the child forms a generalized expectation of the caregiver's availability, and consequently develops a complementary model of self-worth and capacity to commit oneself in relationships with others.

The dimunition of self-regard described by Freud is consistent with the notion that a masochistic or self-defeating self-perception can lead to pathological object relations (Menaker, 1979). In the present study, individuals' masochism may be subsumed in their higher vulnerability to introjective or self-critical depression. According to Blatt and Shichman (1982), psychopathology within the introjective configuration involves a focus on defining the self as a separate entity from and different from others, with a sense of autonomy and with feelings of self-worth and integrity. An individual's preoccupation with issues of self-definition tend to dominate his/her interpersonal relationships. Psychopathology within the introjective configuration focuses around conflicts of aggression, as an attempt to achieve separation and independence from a controlling and critical attachment figure while maintaining a sense of self-worth. These conflicts can lead to isolation from others and an inability to form intimate ties. Blatt and Shichman's perspective is consistent with the finding that higher vulnerability to introjective style of depression is associated with decreased capacity for emotional investment in meaningful relationships. It also provides an explanation for the causal link between higher vulnerability to

introjective depression and insecure (anxious and avoidant) adulthood attachments.

It is worth exploring the finding that vulnerability to introjective style of depression and depressive symptomology are causally associated with only two out of the three insecure attachment styles on the Close Relationships Questionnaire. The present findings showed that higher vulnerability to introjective depression and depressive symptoms were associated with preoccupied and fearful attachment styles in adulthood, but not with a dismissing style of attachment. The present sample of daughters with higher levels of depression and vulnerability to depression tended to either feel uncomfortable with emotionally close relationships because they worried about being hurt by others (preoccupied style) or because they desired to have emotional intimacy with others but worried that others were reluctant to be intimate with them and did not value them adequately (fearful style).

Both preoccupied and fearful styles of attachment appear to be closely tied to feelings of self-worth and sense of interpersonal competence, whereas the dismissing style of attachment emphasizes discomfort with intimacy due to concerns about dependency on others. In other words, these three styles of attachment seem to reflect varying types of conflicts and defensive strategies in addressing interpersonal intimacy. Bartholomew (1990) suggested that a preoccupied attachment style is characterized by an "insatiable desire to gain others' approval and a deep-seated feeling of unworthiness" (p.163).

Similarly, a fearful attachment style is characterized by pervasive interpersonal distrust and fear of rejection and hypersensitivity to social approval. These groups of individuals tend to avoid situations in which they perceive themselves as vulnerable to rejection. Although both dismissing and fearful styles reflect avoidance of close relationships, they differ in their emphases on others' acceptance. According to Bartholomew, both the preoccupied and fearful styles share a desire for intimacy, fear of rejection, and low self-confidence.

This pattern of findings, which underscores the influence of a self-critical depressive style and depressive symptoms on attachment styles characterized by a low sense of self-worth and fear of rejection, is consistent with both psychoanalytic and developmental perspectives which focus on internalized models of self in relation to others. Furthermore, the present results reflect Freud's conception of the melancholic individual who suffers from a diminished sense of positive self-regard and consequently develops limitations in his/her ability to form mutually gratifying relationships with others. In addition, the findings suggest the role of masochistic perceptions of the self in that the individual experiences low self-worth as a result of unconsciously attempting to maintain emotional connection with significant others, including one's mother (Maleson, 1984; Menaker, 1979; Virsida, 1985).

The role of gender self-concept in psychopathology

Contrary to the original hypotheses tested in the present study, gender self-concept was not found to be significantly related to any of the other variables in the model (maternal values, developmental history, depression, and object relations). Several factors should be considered in understanding this finding, including the multidimensionality of self-concept and self-esteem. Self-concept in the present study is defined as one's image or perception of the self which consists of beliefs and attitudes about oneself. The Student Attitude Survey and the Projective Stories Task both measured attitudes or beliefs about sex and gender in an attempt to capture the degree to which daughters' self-concept is self-defeating or masochistic. Gender self-concept was thought to play a central role in the relationships among the variables in the present study, in light of both psychoanalytic and developmental models which suggest that self-concept is shaped by both maternal values and developmental history internalized by daughters, and that self-concept subsequently influences adulthood object relations and level of depression. However, the results of the present investigation indicate that the degree of masochism reflected in gender-related attitudes did not predict psychopathology. It is possible that aspects of self-concept other than those related to gender roles and characteristics are more relevant to the development of depression and pathological object relations.

One alternative aspect of self-concept that may be more relevant, given the pattern of relationships found in the present study, is self-esteem. Self-esteem includes feelings or emotions about oneself, whereas self-concept subsumes cognitive representations of the self (Jensen, Huber, Cundick, & Carlson, 1991). In light of the significant influence of self-criticism and conflicts surrounding loss of acceptance by significant others on the relationships between maternal values, developmental history, depression, and object relations, it is worth considering affect vs. cognition as a guiding force in the development of psychopathology. According to Westen (1994), emotions are key mechanisms for the selection and retention of behavioral and mental responses. In addition, emotions run parallel to cognitive systems and can precede cognitive operations. Zajonc (1980) suggested that emotions may prime individual preferences and attitudes. Self-esteem may, therefore, contribute to an individual's schemas of self and other and subsequently mediate the relationship between self-concept and psychological adjustment.

Furthermore, Josephs, Markus, and Tafarodi (1992) found, in their study of gender differences in self-esteem, that women with higher self-esteem tended to maintain a greater sense of interdependence and connection with others compared to women with lower levels of self-esteem. Their study highlights the impact of positive self-regard on adequate psychological adjustment and object relationships. In addition, it is consistent with self-in-relation theory which emphasizes the

significance of relationships and connectedness in the structure and functioning of the self in women's psychological lives (Jordan & Surrey, 1986).

Diverging perceptions of maternal values

The results of the present study showed a low correlation between mothers' report of values and daughters' report of their mothers' values. Furthermore, daughters' perceptions of their mothers' values fit both the alternative measurement and structural models, whereas the mothers' report of values did not appear to fit either model. These divergent findings point to potential limitations of self-report measures (i.e. Personal Values Scale), which include response bias and defensiveness in responding. It is possible that other types of measures, such as sibling reports of mothers' values, may have provided responses that are more consistent with both mothers' and daughters' responses to the Personal Values Scale.

In addition, the divergence of responses by mothers and daughters is reflective of the significance of daughters' perceptual world in guiding their psychological development. It is worth considering that perceptions of parental beliefs carry emotionally significant information concerning parental expectations of oneself. Furthermore, as suggested by social cognition researchers, these perceptions consist of organized knowledge about others which form a schema of the others' traits and behaviors (Fiske & Taylor, 1984). Schemata represent theories or concepts that shape the processes of memory and inference. According to social cognition

researchers (Meyers, 1990), an individuals' schemata or belief systems guide his/her interpretation of everything else, including interactions with others. The present findings are consistent with both psychoanalytic and social cognitive perspectives because they underscore the processes of actively constructing one's social reality and of internalizing maternal belief systems, as manifested in the influence of perceived maternal values on developmental history, depression, and object relations. Moreover, daughters' internalized perceptions of their relationships with their mothers appeared to predict their own psychological adjustment.

Limitations of present study and future directions

Sampling

The present findings should be considered in the context of the sample which was studied. First, approximately 24% of mothers who were asked to respond to the study did not complete the Personal Values Scale, thereby limiting the sample size of mothers used in the present study. The results did indicate a significant difference in daughters' responses to the Early Memories Test, which measured the extent to which daughters had negative perceptions of their mothers, when comparing daughters whose mothers completed the Personal Values Scale and those whose mothers did not complete the questionnaire. This suggests that certain mothers may have chosen not to participate in the present study as a result of problematic relationships with their daughters. However, it is uncertain the extent to which a larger sample of mothers would provide

further information about the relationship between maternal values and other variables, and about the differences in responding by mothers and daughters on the Personal Values Scale.

In addition, the sample of mothers and daughters in the present study were largely homogeneous with respect to cultural background (83.6% Caucasian). The lack of ethnic diversity in the student population limits our ability to generalize the results of the present study to cultural and ethnic minority women. This issue further highlights the question of defining masochism from a cross-cultural perspective. In particular, the nature of the role of masochistic beliefs in the psychological development of individuals may vary in non-Western contexts. This problem of defining masochism across different cultures is discussed by Nakakuki (1994) who suggests that the idea of self-denial is deeply ingrained in Japanese culture and philosophy and reinforces an individual's sense of orientation to a group context. Furthermore, Nakakuki points out that "normal masochism" frequently guides the individual's behavior in ways that are adaptive to Japanese culture. Therefore, cross-cultural research on masochism and the development of depression and problematic object relations would benefit our understanding of this area.

The third issue concerning the present sample is worth discussing, in light of women's development. Although this study investigated masochistic or self-defeating beliefs and the development of psychopathology in women, it does not

discount the impact of masochism in men's development. The results suggest the possiblity that masochism impacts human development and psychopathology at a level which extends beyond gender specific issues. In addition, the results warrant future research on the impact of other family dyads, such as father-daughter, mother-son, and father-son relationships, on psychological development. Such research would enable us to better understand the differences and similarities in self-conceptions of men and women and how this impacts psychological adjustment.

Problem of assessing masochistic self-concept

Although the Student Attitude Survey and the Projective Stories Task seem to have measured gender-related attitudes, it is important to question whether or not gender-related attitudes was an accurate index of self-defeating or masochistic self-concept. Gender specific issues may be less relevant to the development of psychopathology than affective issues tied to self-concept (i.e. self-esteem). Because empirical investigations of the nature and effects of masochism conceptualized from a psychoanalytic perspective are scarce, future psychoanalytic research would benefit from developing self-report and projective methodologies which can assess masochism more accurately, particularly as it relates to affective domains.

Interpretation of causal relationships

The alternative structural model (Figure 5) appeared to be a good fit of the data, indicating significant causal

relationships between maternal values, developmental history, depression, and object relations. However, these findings do not discount the possibility that other variables which were not studied account for the relationships in the present study. Furthermore, the findings suggest relationships among variables within an intrapsychic realm, which is concerned with the inner life and perceptual world of daughters in relation to their mothers and daughters' subsequent psychological development. The structural model (Figure 5) does not reflect a model which encompasses social, cultural, and environmental factors which can impact on daughters' development. For instance, daughters' social supports may have a considerable influence in mediating the relationship between the different variables of interest in the present study.

In addition, the alternative model proposes a direct link between daughters' perceptions of childhood and adolescent relationships with their mothers and adulthood adjustment. Future research should include other significant relationships, events, and stressors existing in daughters' current lives as they impact their vulnerability to depression and attachments. Furthermore, it is worth noting that the alternative model tested tends to be general in defining relationships between variables, and may obscure more detailed questions concerning these relationships. One such question is whether daughters' higher vulnerability to depression is differentially related to problems in attachments in friendships versus romantic relationships.

Implications for treatment

The present study has several important implications for psychotherapy with women coping with depression and relationship difficulties. Psychoanalytic, developmental, and cognitive theorists have emphasized the role that relationships have on mental life and tend to agree that models of psychopathology need to be extended or reformulated to reflect women's experiences more adequately (Jordan, Kaplan, Miller, Stiver, & Surrey, 1991). These theoretical approaches have suggested that for women, "interpersonal relations have an uncharted power and importance," which must be incorporated into prevailing theories about emotion, motivation, adaptation, and adjustment (Josephs, Markus, & Tafarodi, 1992, p. 400). The present study underscores this emphasis on interpersonal relationships as they are guided by internalized representations of earlier interactions in women's lives.

This study also highlights certain issues which may be central to psychotherapy. First, the results point to a focus on developmental crises or processes, such as separation-individuation, which influence adulthood adjustment. In particular, exploration of unresolved guilt and anger permeating women's relationships with their mothers is worthy of attention, as it may determine, at least to some degree, women's vulnerability to depression as well as to dissatisfying attachments. Women's belief systems or values also need to be explored in intrapsychic, familial, and sociocultural contexts, as they seem to guide their subjective experiences of

themselves and others. Attention to these issues would enable women to obtain both a sense of mutuality and autonomy in their intimate relationships.

Finally, the results of this study suggest that both personality and developmental variables are crucial in determining adulthood object relationships in women. Specifically, developmental crises or conflicts seem to shape personality variables, such as women's vulnerability to depression, which in turn influence capacity for satisfying emotional relationships. These findings are compatible with psychoanalytically-oriented psychotherapies which aim to help individuals alter long-standing behavioral patterns by gaining insight into intrapsychic and developmental factors maintaining these maladaptive patterns. In addition, they suggest that careful attention be given to sociocultural (i.e. gender) factors which reinforce or maintain these patterns of living.

FIGURES

Figure 1a

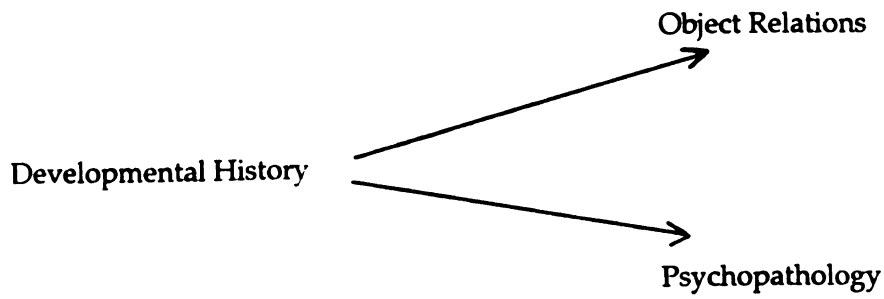


Figure 1b

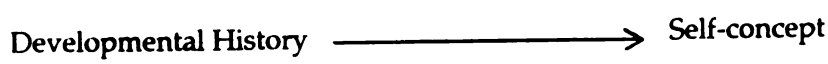


Figure 1c

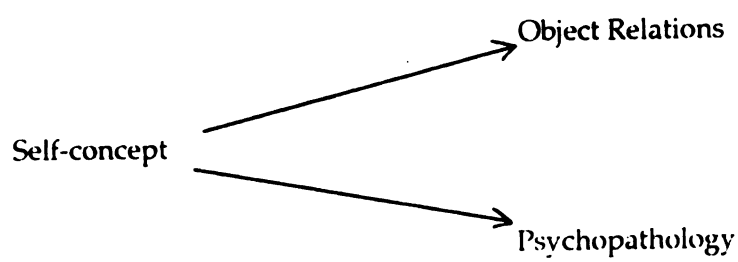


Figure 2

Structural Model

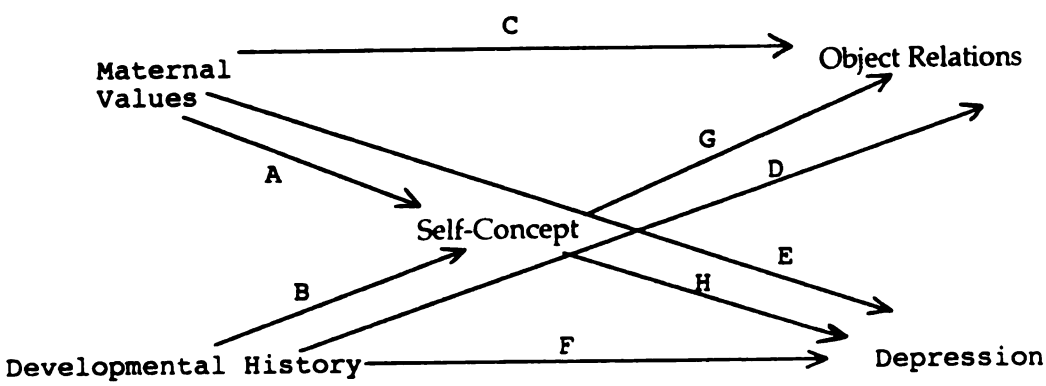


Figure 3

Measurement Model

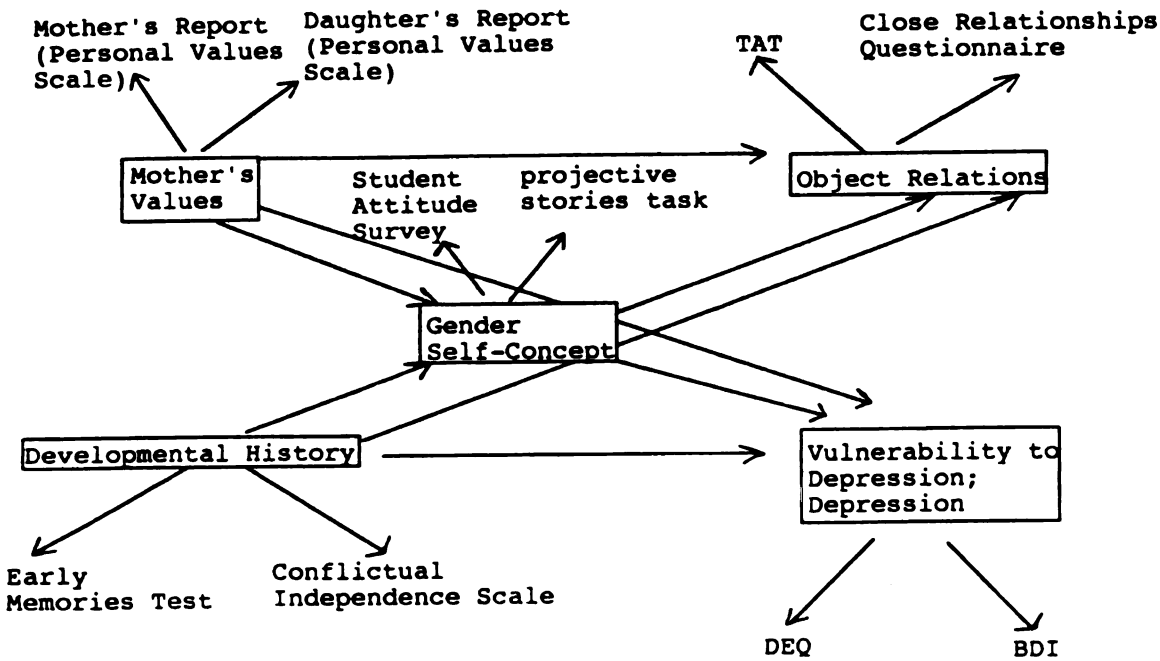


Figure 4

Hypothesized
Structural Model

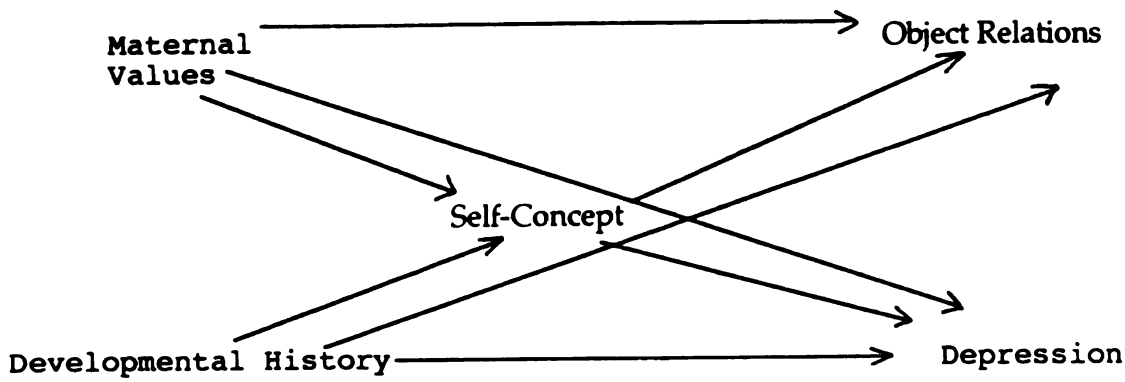
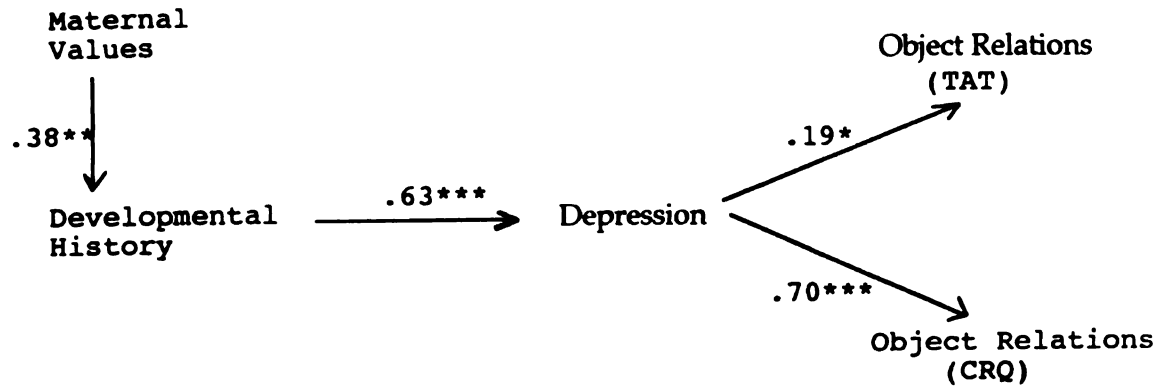


Figure 5

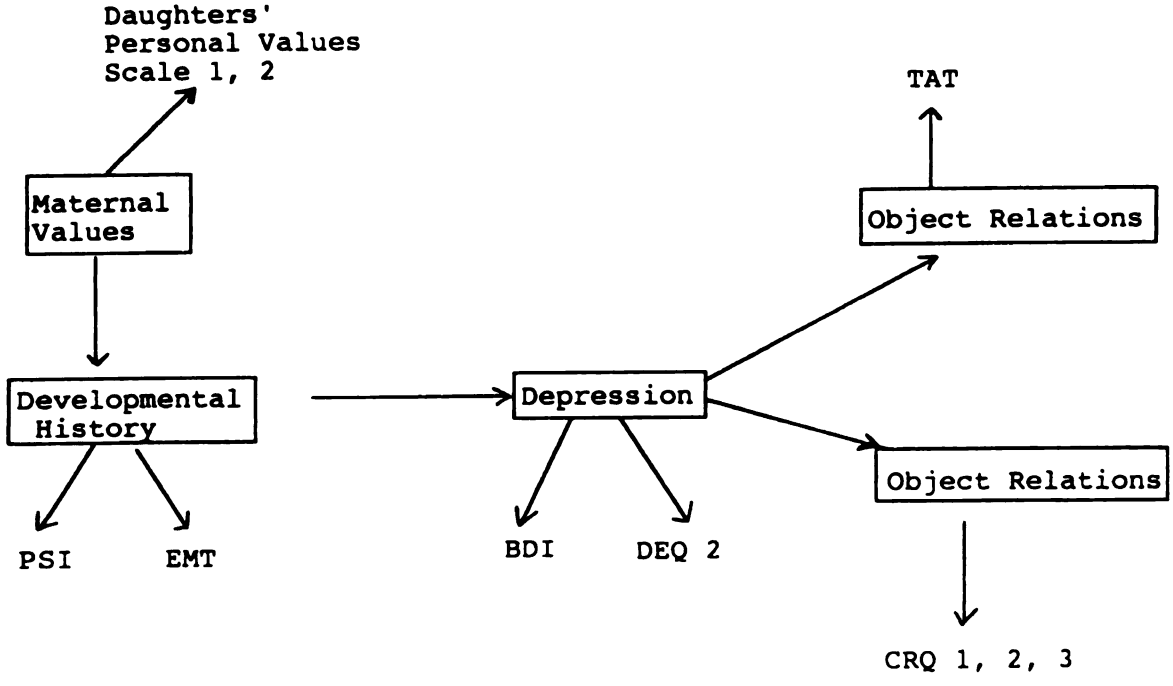
Alternative
Structural Model



*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Figure 6

Alternative
Measurement Model



TABLES

Table 1

Demographic Information: Age and Year in College

	Age	Year in College
Mean	20.27	2.41
Mode	19.00	1.00
Median	19.82	2.33
Minimum	18.00	1.00
Maximum	38.00	4.00
Standard Error	.17	.08
Standard Deviation	2.60	1.19

Table 2

Demographic Information: Parents' Education

	Mother's Education	Father's Education
% Doctoral/ Graduate level	7.60	10.20
% Masters level	13.80	16.40
% Bachelors level	26.20	30.20
% Some college/ vocational	19.00	15.60
% High school level	30.10	22.20
% Some high school	.90	2.80
% Grade school or below	.40	.40
% Unknown	2.00	2.20

Table 3

Demographic Information: Parents' Occupations

	Mother's Occupation	Father's Occupation
% Major Professional	9.80	26.20
% Manager/ Minor professional	29.80	22.70
% Semi-professional	11.60	7.60
% Small business owner	17.30	19.60
% Skilled worker	11.10	20.90
% Non-skilled worker	2.20	0.00
% Homemaker	15.60	0.00
% Unemployed	.90	.90
% Unknown	1.70	2.10

Table 4

Demographic Information: Race

Race	Frequency	Percent
Caucasian American	188	83.60
African American	18	8.00
Latino American	3	1.30
American Indian	2	.90
Asian American	8	3.60
Mixed Origin	6	2.60

Table 5

Personal Values Scale: Daughters

Factor 1: Intellectual Interest (Items and factor loadings)

Alpha = .80

1.	Having a keen interest in international, national, and local affairs.	(.50)
2.	Having a strong intellectual curiosity.	(.63)
3.	Developing an appreciation of the fine arts-music, drama, literature, and ballet.	(.65)
4.	Having an active interest in all things scholarly.	(.64)
5.	Being an intellectual.	(.62)
6.	Studying hard to achieve academic honors.	(.75)
7.	Working hard to achieve academic honors.	(.73)
8.	Striving to get the top grade-point average in the group.	(.52)
9.	Studying constantly in order to become a well-educated person.	(.42)

Factor 2: Independence/Self-Assertion

Alpha = .72

14.	Having the ability to lead others.	(.61)
15.	Showing great leadership qualities.	(.58)
22.	Being outspoken and frank in expressing one's likes and dislikes.	(.49)
23.	Being independent.	(.62)
24.	Standing up for what one thinks right, regardless of what others think.	(.65)
25.	Thinking and acting freely, without social restraints.	(.57)

Factor 3: Expression of Anger

Alpha = .70

13.	Doing what one is told.	(.40)
16.	Replying to anger with gentleness.	(.60)
17.	Never losing one's temper, no matter what the reason.	(.71)
18.	Not expressing anger, even when one has a reason for doing so.	(.72)
19.	Hiding one's feelings of frustration from other people.	(.62)
20.	Keeping one's hostile feelings to himself/herself.	(.60)
21.	Always being patient with people.	(.50)

Table 6

Personal Values Scale: Mothers

Factor 1: Intellectual Interest (Items and factor loadings)

Alpha = .66

Item 1	(.57)	Item 5	(.44)	Item 9	(.67)
Item 2	(.55)	Item 6	(.49)		
Item 3	(.64)	Item 7	(.45)		
Item 4	(.58)	Item 8	(.58)		

Factor 2: Independence/Self-Assertion

Alpha = .50

22.	Being outspoken and frank in expressing one's likes and dislikes.	(.35)
23.	Being independent.	(.39)
24.	Standing up for what one thinks right, regardless of what others think.	(.42)
25.	Thinking and acting freely, without social restraints.	(.43)

Factor 3: Expression of Anger

Alpha = .61

13.	Doing what one is told.	(.42)
17.	Never losing one's temper, no matter what the reason.	(.35)
18.	Not expressing anger, even when one has a reason for doing so.	(.65)
19.	Hiding one's feelings of frustration from other people.	(.79)
20.	Keeping one's hostile feelings to himself/herself.	(.70)

Table 7

Student Attitude Survey

Factor 1: Women in Politics (Items and factor loadings)
Alpha = .84

34. I would vote for a qualified woman to be President of the U.S. (.45)
35. There are lots of good reasons why a woman should not be President of the U.S. (.39)
36. Political, economic, and moral leadership should remain in the hands of men. (.44)
37. Women as well as men should be found in top political offices. (.47)
38. Women should be included in all levels of political activity on an equal basis as men. (.57)
40. Women need to unite and work together to achieve equal rights in this country. (.70)
42. There should be affordable and available child care so that women can go to work. (.56)
43. Government should not get into the business of providing child day care for working mothers. (.60)
44. It is unwise and unnecessary to pass laws that assure equality between the sexes. (.60)
46. More laws are needed to assure women's rights. (.66)

Factor 2: Family and Workplace Attitudes
Alpha = .78

19. As head of the household, the husband should have more responsibility for the family's financial plans than the wife. (.43)
20. It is O.K. for the woman to work, but a man should be the breadwinner in the family. (.45)
21. Working women should not be expected to sacrifice their careers for the sake of home duties to a greater extent than men. (.46)
23. The wife should have the major responsibility for raising the children. (.49)
24. I can't respect a man who stays home with the children while his wife works. (.35)
25. In marriage, the husband should take the lead in the decision-making. (.50)
26. If both husband and wife work full-time then each should spend the same amount of time on child care and housework. (.48)
47. It is appropriate to divide work into women's work and men's work. (.54)

Table 7 (cont'd)

Factor 3: Dating

Alpha = .78

11.	The man should be in charge of the dating relationship.	(.45)
12.	Women should have the same sexual freedom as men.	(.47)
14.	A woman should let the man make most of the decisions while they are dating.	(.45)
15.	I approve of a woman taking the first step to start a relationship with a man.	(.72)
16.	It is O.K. for a woman to ask a man out on a date.	(.76)
17.	The man should always be the one to initiate sex.	(.44)
18.	A woman should have as much to say in a dating relationship as a man.	(.69)

Factor 4: Personal Characteristics
Alpha = .72

1.	Compared to men, women are better able to devote themselves to others.	(.47)
2.	A woman should spend a lot of time making herself look pretty.	(.42)
3.	Women are more gentle than men.	(.43)
4.	On the average, women are more emotional than men.	(.44)
5.	In general, men are more competitive than women.	(.42)
6.	In general, men are more self-confident than women.	(.59)
7.	Women are more helpful than men.	(.68)
8.	Compared to men, women tend to be weak.	(.57)
9.	Men are more independent than women.	(.50)
10.	On average, men are more arrogant and self-centered than women.	(.58)
41.	There are some jobs and professions that men are better suited for than women.	(.61)

Factor 5: Male Aggression
Alpha = .66

28.	A woman can provoke rape by her appearance and behavior.	(.46)
29.	If a woman is making out and she lets things get out of hand, it's her own fault if the man forces sex on her.	(.54)
30.	A woman can prevent her date from forcing sex on her if she really wants to.	(.45)
31.	In most cases of wife beating, the woman is just as much at fault as the man.	(.57)
32.	A man is sometimes justified in hitting his wife.	(.58)
33.	Most charges of wife beating are made up by women trying to get back at their husbands.	(.60)

Table 8

Psychological Separation Inventory

Factor 1: Anger/Mistrust (Items and factor loadings)

Alpha = .92

2.	I feel like I am constantly at war with my mother.	(.78)
3.	I blame my mother for many of the problems I have.	(.69)
6.	I sometimes feel like I'm being punished by my mother.	(.69)
8.	I wish my mother wouldn't try to manipulate me.	(.59)
9.	I wish my mother wouldn't try to make fun of me.	(.60)
11.	My mother expects too much from me.	(.56)
14.	I am often angry at my mother.	(.74)
15.	I hate it when my mother makes suggestions about what I do.	(.55)
16.	Even when my mother has a good idea I refuse to listen to it because she made it.	(.71)
18.	I argue with my mother over little things.	(.66)
21.	I get angry when my mother criticizes me.	(.60)
25.	I sometimes resent it when my mother tells me what to do.	(.59)

Factor 2: Responsibility

Alpha = .82

1.	Sometimes my mother is a burden to me.	(.52)
10.	I feel that I have obligations to my mother that I wish I didn't have.	(.60)
17.	I wish my mother wouldn't try to get me to take sides with her.	(.66)
19.	My mother is sometimes a source of embarrassment to me.	(.68)
20.	I am sometimes ashamed of my mother.	(.75)
24.	I often have to make decisions for my mother.	(.66)

Factor 3: Inhibition

Alpha = .73

7.	I wish my mother wasn't so overprotective.	(.73)
12.	I wish I could stop lying to my mother.	(.51)
13.	I often wish that my mother would treat me more like an adult.	(.55)

Table 9

Alternative Measurement Model

Manifest or Observable Variables: Personal Values Scale (Factors 1, 2), Psycholgical Separation Inventory, Early Memories Test, Beck Depression Inventory, Depressive Experience Questionnaire (Factor 2), Close Relationship Questionnaire (Items 1, 2, 3), Thematic Apperception Test

Goodness-of-fit indices

Goodness of Fit Index (GFI)	.93
GFI Adjusted for Degrees of Freedom	.90
Root Mean Square Residual (RMR)	.50
Chi-square	173.60

Table 10

Relationships among Latent Variables

in Alternative Structural Model

Relationship	Path Coefficient	Standard Error	t-value
MV ------> DH	.38	.15	-2.589
DH ------> D	.63	.10	6.243
D ------> OR	.19	.08	2.312
D ------> ORC	.70	.13	-5.502

MV = Maternal Values
DH = Developmental History
D = Depression
OR = Object Relations (TAT)
ORC = Object Relations (CRQ)

Table 11

Comparison of Psychoanalytic and Developmental/Cognitive Measures

Measure	Beta Weights	Standard Error	t-value
CRQ 1	.95	.12	7.636
CRQ 2	1.08	.14	-7.616
CRQ 3	.49	.12	-4.000
TAT 1	.45	.08	5.681
TAT 2	.50	.09	5.542
TAT 3	.54	.09	5.814
TAT 4	.55	.09	6.012
TAT 5	.46	.08	5.305
TAT 6	.28	.08	3.407
Beck Depression Inventory	4.00	.49	9.553
DEQ (Factor 2)	.65	.06	11.17
PSI 1	9.68	.72	13.40
PSI 2	3.44	.32	10.67
PSI 3	1.87	.21	8.84
Early Memories Test	.37	.08	4.78

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Demographic Information

Please complete the following background information:

1. Your age: _____

2. Year of college (Check one):

   _____ Freshman

   _____ Sophomore

   _____ Junior

   _____ Senior

3. Racial/Ethnic Background (Check one):

   _____ Caucasian

   _____ African American

   _____ Latino

   _____ American Indian

   _____ Asian American

   _____ Other: (Explain) _____

4. Father's education: _____

5. Father's occupation: _____
   (Please be specific)

6. Mother's education: _____

7. Mother's occupation: _____
   (Please be specific)

APPENDIX B

Personal Values Scales (Scott, 1965)

Instructions: Please read over the following statements, and for each one indicate (by a check in the appropriate space) whether it is something that your mother (step-mother, female caretaker) *always admires* in other women, or something she *always dislikes*, or something that *depends on the situation* whether she admires it or not. Please remember to answer the items based on your impression of what your mother (step-mother, female caretaker) does or does not admire in other women.

	Always Admire	Depends on Situation	Always Dislike	
1.	_____	_____	_____	Having a keen interest in international, national, and local affairs.
2.	_____	_____	_____	Having a strong intellectual curiosity.
3.	_____	_____	_____	Developing an appreciation of the fine arts- music,drama, literature and ballet.
4.	_____	_____	_____	Having an active interest in all things scholarly.
5.	_____	_____	_____	Being an intellectual.
6.	_____	_____	_____	Studying hard to get good grades in school.
7.	_____	_____	_____	Working hard to achieve academic honors.

Appendix B (cont'd)

	Always Admire	Depends on Situation	Always Dislike	
8.	_____	_____	_____	Striving to get the top grade-point average in the group.
9.	_____	_____	_____	Studying constantly in order to become a well-educated person.
10.	_____	_____	_____	Being respected by people who are themselves worthwhile.
11.	_____	_____	_____	Gaining recognition for one's achievements.
12.	_____	_____	_____	Being in a position to direct and mold others' lives.
13.	_____	_____	_____	Doing what one is told.
14.	_____	_____	_____	Having the ability to lead others.
15.	_____	_____	_____	Showing great leadership qualities.
16.	_____	_____	_____	Replying to anger with gentleness.
17.	_____	_____	_____	Never losing one's temper, no matter what the reason.
18.	_____	_____	_____	Not expressing anger, even when one has a reason for doing so.

APPENDIX B (cont'd)

	Always Admire	Depends on Situation	Always Dislike	
19.	_____	_____	_____	Hiding one's feelings of frustration from other people.
20.	_____	_____	_____	Keeping one's hostile feelings to himself/herself.
21.	_____	_____	_____	Always being patient with people.
22.	_____	_____	_____	Being outspoken and frank in expressing one's likes and dislikes.
23.	_____	_____	_____	Being independent.
24.	_____	_____	_____	Standing up for what one thinks right,regardless of what others think.
25.	_____	_____	_____	Thinking and acting freely, without social restraints.

Items	Dimension
1-5	Intellectualism
6-9	Academic Achievement
10-15	Status
16-21	Self-Control
22-25	Independence

APPENDIX C

Student Attitude Survey (Jackson, 1992)

Instructions: Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about men and women in our society. If you strongly agree with the statement, write the number 1 in the space next to the statement. If you agree with the statement write 2 in the space. If you are neutral about the statement, that is, you neither agree nor disagree, write 3. If you disagree with the statement write 4. If you strongly disagree with the statement write 5 in the space next to the statement.

Dimensions of Gender Attitudes:

Note: The numbers refer to item numbers as they appear in the Student Attitudes Survey.

Personal characteristics

1. Compared to men, women are better able to devote themselves to others.

11. A woman should spend a lot of time making herself look pretty.

13. Women are more gentle than men.

24. On average, women are more emotional than men.

26. In general, men are more competitive than women.

29. In general, men are more self-confident than women.

31. Women are more helpful than men.

36. Compared to men, women tend to be weak.

39. Men are more independent than women.

49. On average, men are more arrogant and self-centered than women.

Dating Relationships

2. The man should be in charge in a dating relationship.

9. Women should have the same sexual freedom as men.

APPENDIX C (cont'd)

21. It is important for a woman to be sexually faithful than for a man to be.

22. A woman should let the man make most of the decisions while they are dating.

34. I approve of a woman taking the first step to start a relationship with a man.

38. It is O.K. for a woman to ask a man out on a date.

43. The man should always be the one to initiate sex.

47. A woman should have as much to say in a dating relationship as a man.

Family Roles

3. As head of the household, the husband should have more responsibility for the family's financial plans than the wife.

6. It is O.K. for a woman to work, but a man should be the breadwinner in the family.

12. Working women should not be expected to sacrifice their careers for the sake of home duties to a greater extent than men.

20. A women should pay more attention to her family than her career.

23. The wife should have the major responsibility for raising the children.

28. I can't respect a man who stays home with the children while his wife works.

32. In marriage, the husband should take a lead in the decision making.

37. If both husband and wife work full-time then each should spend the same amount of time on child care and housework.

52. It is just not possible for a woman to both be a good mother and have a successful career.

APPENDIX C (cont'd)

Male Aggression

5. A woman can provoke rape by her appearance and behavior.

10. If a woman is making out and she lets things get out of hand, it's her own fault if the man forces sex on her.

25. A woman can prevent her date from forcing sex on her if she really wants to.

33. In most cases of wife beating, the woman is just as much at fault as the man.

45. A man is sometimes justified in hitting his wife.

53. Most charges of wife beating are made up by women trying to get back at their husbands.

Women in Politics

8. I would vote for a qualified woman to be President of the United States.

27. There are lots of good reasons why a woman should not be President of the United States.

44. Political, economic, and moral leadership should remain in the hands of men.

46. Women as well as men should be found in top political offices.

55. Women should be included in all levels of political activity on an equal basis as men.

Workplace Attitudes

14. Some jobs should be closed to women because of their physical requirement.

15. Women need to unite and work together to achieve equal rights in this country.

17. There are some jobs and professions that men are better suited for than women.

34. There should be affordable and available child care so that women can go to work.

APPENDIX C (cont'd)

41. Government should not get into the business of providing child day care for working mothers.

46. It is unwise and unnecessary to pass laws to assure equality between the sexes.

48. The fact that a woman may become pregnant makes her a less desirable employee.

50. More laws are needed to assure women's rights.

54. It is appropriate to divide work into "women's work" and "men's work."

Format of Items:

1=strongly agree; 2=agree; 3=neutral; 4=disagree; 5=strongly disagree

Compared to men, women tend to be weak. _____

A woman can prevent her date from forcing sex on her if she really wants to. _____

Women as well as men should be found in top political offices. _____

APPENDIX D

Projective Stories Task

Instructions: Read each of these short stories, and provide your answers in the blank spaces below each question following the stories. Please take your time and answer the questions as honestly as you can.

1. Susan has been working at an advertising firm for approximately 2 years. She recently told her friend, Margaret, that she is hoping to get a promotion. Susan is unsure of whether or not she should apply for the higher paying position in the company which is currently open.

How do you think Susan feels about applying for the job?

What are the pros and cons of Susan applying to this job?

Do you think that Susan will apply to the job? Give your reasons.

APPENDIX D (cont'd)

2. Anita is a 19 year old college student. She recently failed her calculus exam, and is frustrated because she initially planned to be a math major.

How do you think Anita feels about her math abilities?

What does Anita think about her future career goals?

What do you think Anita should do?

APPENDIX D (cont'd)

3. Donna lives with her husband and 2 children. Lately, she has been arguing with her husband about her tasks at home. Her husband works 10 hours a day, and feels tired when he comes home.

How does Donna feel about her tasks at home?

How do you think Donna feels about arguing with her husband?

How should Donna resolve her argument with her husband?

APPENDIX E

Scoring System for Projective Stories Task

1: Score 1 if there are no expressions of self-defeating attitudes or behavior.

2: Score 2 if there is indication of a mild degree of self-defeating attitudes or behavior. Example (Response to story 2): "Anita should focus on her other classes and forget about calculus."

3: Score 3 if there is a moderate degree of self-defeating attitudes or behavior. Example (Response to story 2): "Anita should drop her calculus class."

4: Score 4 if there is a high degree of self-defeating attitudes or behavior. Example (Response to story 2): "Anita should think about majoring in something other than calculus."

5: Score 5 if there is a very high degree of self-defeating attitudes or behavior. Example (Response to story 2): "Anita should give up being a math major, because she feels so worthless."

APPENDIX F

Close Relationships Questionnaire

1) **Following are descriptions of four general relationship styles that people often report. Please place a checkmark next to the letter corresponding to the style that best describes you or is closest to the way you are.**

_____ A. It is easy for me to become emotionally close to others. I am comfortable depending on others and having others depend on me. I don't worry about being alone or having others not accept me.

_____ B. I am uncomfortable getting close to others. I want emotionally close relationships, but I find it difficult to trust others completely, or to depend on them. I worry that I will be hurt if I allow myself to become too close to others.

_____ C. I want to be completely emotionally intimate with others, but I often find that others are reluctant to get as close as I would like. I am uncomfortable being without close relationships, but I sometimes worry that others don't value me as much as I value them.

_____ D. I am comfortable without close emotional relationships. It is very important for me to feel independent and self-sufficient, and I prefer not to depend on others or have others depend on me.

2) **Now please rate each of the relationship styles above according to the extent to which you think each description corresponds to your general relationship style.**

	NOT AT ALL LIKE ME			*SOMEWHAT LIKE ME*			*VERY MUCH LIKE ME*
Style A:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Style B:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Style C:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Style D:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

APPENDIX G

Depressive Experiences Questionnaire (Blatt, 1976)

Instructions: Listed below are a number of statements concerning personal characteristics and traits. Read each item and decide whether you agree or disagree and to what extent. If you strongly agree, circle 7; if you strongly disagree, circle 1; if you feel somewhere in between, circle any one of the numbers between 1 and 7. The midpoint, if you are neutral or undecided, is 4.

	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
1. I set my personal goals and standards as high as possible.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Remaining items:

2. Without support from others who are close to me, I would be helpless.

3. I tend to be satisfied with my current plans and goals, rather than striving for higher goals.

4. Sometimes I feel very big, and other times I feel very small.

5. When I am closely involved with someone, I never feel jealous.

6. I urgently need things that only other people can provide.

7. I often find that I don't live up to my own standards or ideals.

8. I feel I am always making full use of my potential abilities.

9. The lack of permanence in human relationships doesn't bother me.

10. If I fail to live up to expectations, I feel unworthy.

11. Many times I feel helpless.

APPENDIX G (cont'd)

12. I seldom worry about being criticized for things I have said or done.

13. There is a considerable difference between how I am now and how I would like to be.

14. I enjoy sharp competition with others.

15. I feel I have many responsibilities that I must meet.

16. There are times when I feel "empty" inside.

17. I tend not to be satisfied with what I have.

18. I don't care whether or not I live up to what other people expect of me.

19. I become frightened when I feel alone.

20. I would feel like I'd be losing an important part of myself if I lost a very close friend.

21. People will accept me no matter how many mistakes I have made.

22. I have difficulty breaking off a relationship that is making me unhappy.

23. I often think about the danger of losing someone who is close to me.

24. Other people have high expectations of me.

25. When I am with others, I tend to devalue or "undersell" myself.

26. I am not very concerned with how other people respond to me.

27. No matter how close a relationship between two people is, there is always a large amount of uncertainty and conflict.

28. I am very sensitive to others for signs of rejection.

29. It's important for my family that I succeed.

30. Often, I feel I have disappointed others.

31. If someone makes me angry, I let him (her) know how I feel.

APPENDIX G (cont'd)

32. I constantly try, and very often go out of my way, to please or help people I am close to.

33. I have many inner resources (abilities, strengths).

34. I find it very difficult to say "No" to the requests of friends.

35. I never really feel secure in a close relationship.

36. The way I feel about myself frequently varies: there are times when I feel extremely good about myself and other times when I see only the bad in me and feel like a total failure.

37. Often, I feel threatened by change.

38. Even if the person who is closest to me were to leave, I could still "go it alone."

39. One must continually work to gain love from another person: that is, love has to be earned.

40. I am very sensitive to the effects my words or actions have on the feelings of other people.

41. I often blame myself for things I have done or said to someone.

42. I am a very independent person.

43. I often feel guilty.

44. I think of myself as a very complex person, one who has "many sides."

45. I worry a lot about offending or hurting someone who is close to me.

46. Anger frightens me.

47. It is not "who you are," but "what you have accomplished" that counts.

48. I feel good about myself whether I succeed or fail.

49. I can easily put my own feelings and problems aside, and devote my complete attention to the feelings and problems of someone else.

50. If someone I cared about became angry with me, I would feel threatened that he (she) might leave me.

APPENDIX G (cont'd)

51. I feel uncomfortable when I am given important responsibilities.

52. After a fight with a friend, I must make amends as soon as possible.

53. I have a difficult time accepting weaknesses in myself.

54. It is more important that I enjoy my work than it is for me to have my work approved.

55. After an argument, I feel very lonely.

56. In my relationships with others, I am very concerned about what they can give to me.

57. I rarely think about my family.

58. Very frequently, my feelings toward someone close to me vary: there are times when I feel completely angry and other times when I feel all-loving towards that person.

59. What I do and say has a very strong impact on those around me.

60. I sometimes feel that I am "special."

61. I grew up in an extremely close family.

62. I am very satisfied with myself and my accomplishments.

63. I want many things from someone I am close to.

64. I tend to be very critical of myself.

65. Being alone doesn't bother me at all.

66. I very frequently compare myself to standards or goals.

APPENDIX H

Beck Depression Inventory

Instructions: This questionnaire consists of 21 groups of statements. After reading each group of statements carefully, circle the number (0, 1, 2, or 3) next to the one statement in each group which **best** describes the way you have been feeling the **past week, including today.** If several statements within a group seem to apply equally well, circle each one. **Be sure to read all the statements in each group before making your choice.**

1. 0 I do not feel sad.
   1 I feel sad.
   2 I am sad all the time and I can't snap out of it.
   3 I am so sad or unhappy that I can't stand it.

2. 0 I am not particularly discouraged about the future.
   1 I feel discouraged about the future.
   2 I feel I have nothing to look forward to.
   3 I feel that the future is hopeless and that things cannot improve.

3. 0 I do not feel like a failure.
   1 I feel I have failed more than the average person.
   2 As I look back on my life, all I can see is a lot of failures.
   3 I feel I am a complete failure as a person.

4. 0 I get as much satisfaction out of things as I used to.
   1 I don't enjoy things the way I used to.
   2 I don't get real satisfaction out of anything anymore.
   3 I am dissatisfied or bored with everything.

5. 0 I don't feel particularly guilty.
   1 I feel guilty a good part of the time.
   2 I feel quite guilty most of the time.
   3 I feel guilty all the time.

6. 0 I don't feel I am being punished.
   1 I feel I may be punished.
   2 I expect to be punished.
   3 I feel I am being punished.

7. 0 I don't feel disappointed in myself.
   1 I am disappointed in myself.
   2 I am disgusted with myself.
   3 I hate myself.

APPENDIX H (cont'd)

8. 0 I don't feel I am any worse than anybody else.
   1 I am critical of myself for my weaknesses or mistakes.
   2 I blame myself all the time for my faults.
   3 I blame myself for everything bad that happens.

9. 0 I don't have any thoughts of killing myself.
   1 I have thoughts of killing myself, but I would not carry them out.
   2 I would like to kill myself.
   3 I would kill myself if I had the chance.

10. 0 I don't cry any more than usual.
    1 I cry more now than I used to.
    2 I cry all the time now.
    3 I used to be able to cry, but now I can't cry even though I want to.

11. 0 I am no more irritated now than I ever am.
    1 I get annoyed or irritated more easily than I used to.
    2 I feel irritated all the time now.
    3 I don't get irritated at all by the things that used to irritate me.

12. 0 I have not lost interest in other people.
    1 I am less interested in other people than I used to be.
    2 I have lost most of my interest in other people.
    3 I have lost all of my interest in other people.

13. 0 I make decisions about as well as I ever could.
    1 I put off making decisions more than I used to.
    2 I have greater difficulty in making decisions than before.
    3 I can't make decisions at all anymore.

14. 0 I don't feel I look any worse than I used to.
    1 I am worried that I am looking old or unattractive.
    2 I feel that there are permanent changes in my appearance that make me look unattractive.
    3 I believe that I look ugly.

15. 0 I can work about as well as before.
    1 It takes an extra effort to get started at doing something.
    2 I have to push myself very hard to do anything.
    3 I can't do any work at all.

APPENDIX H (cont'd)

16. 0 I can sleep as well as usual.
    1 I don't sleep as well as I used to.
    2 I wake up 1-2 hours earlier than usual and find it hard to get back to sleep.
    3 I wake up several hours earlier than I used to and cannot get back to sleep.

17. 0 I don't get more tired than usual.
    1 I get tired more easily than I used to.
    2 I get tired from doing almost anything.
    3 I am too tired to do anything.

18. 0 My appetite is no worse than usual.
    1 My appetite is not as good as it used to be.
    2 My appetite is much worse now.
    3 I have no appetite at all anymore.

19. 0 I haven't lost much weight, if any, lately.
    1 I have lost more than 5 pounds.
    2 I have lost more than 10 pounds.
    3 I have lost more than 15 pounds.

    I am purposely trying to lose weight by eating less.
    Yes_____ No_____

20. 0 I am no more worried about my health than usual.
    1 I am worried about physical problems such as aches and pains; or upset stomach; or constipation.
    2 I am very worried about physical problems and it's hard to think of much else.
    3 I am so worried about my physical problems that I cannot think about anything else.

21. 0 I have not noticed any recent change in my interest in sex.
    1 I am less interested in sex than I used to be.
    2 I am much less interested in sex now.
    3 I have lost interest in sex completely.

APPENDIX I

Psychological Separation Inventory -
Conflictual Independence (Hoffman, 1984)

Instructions: The following list of statements describes different aspects of students' relationships with their mother. Imagine a scale ranging from 1 to 5 that tells how well each statement applies to you. In the space next to the statement, please enter a number from "1" (Not at all true of me) to "5" (Very true of me). If the statement does not apply, enter "1". Please be completely honest. Your answers are entirely confidential and will be useful only if they accurately describe you.

_____1. Sometimes my mother is a burden to me.

_____2. I feel like I am constantly at war with my mother.

_____3. I blame my mother for many of the problems I have.

_____4. I wish I could trust my mother more.

_____5. I have to be careful not to hurt my mother's feelings.

_____6. I sometimes feel like I'm being punished by my mother.

_____7. I wish my mother wasn't so overprotective.

_____8. I wish my mother wouldn't try to manipulate me.

_____9. I wish my mother wouldn't try to make fun of me.

_____10. I feel that I have obligations to my mother that I wish I didn't have.

_____11. My mother expects too much from me.

_____12. I wish I could stop lying to my mother.

_____13. I often wish that my mother would treat me more like an adult.

_____14. I am often angry at my mother.

_____15. I hate it when my mother makes suggestions about what I do.

APPENDIX I (cont'd)

_____16. Even when my mother has a good idea I refuse to listen to it because she made it.

_____17. I wish my mother wouldn't try to get me to take sides with her.

_____18. I argue with my mother over little things.

_____19. My mother is sometimes a source of embarrassment to me.

_____20. I am sometimes ashamed of my mother.

_____21. I get angry when my mother criticizes me.

_____22. When I don't write my mother often enough I feel guilty.

_____23. I feel uncomfortable keeping things from my mother.

_____24. I often have to make decisions for my mother.

_____25. I sometimes resent it when my mother tells me what to do.

Appendix J

Early Memory Test (Mayman, 1968)

Instructions:

In the following exercise, just try to relax and allow your thoughts to go back to your early childhood. Try to recall the following and provide a written account of your memory in the blank space. Please write about your impressions of yourself, other people, and the mood or feeling tone in the memory. Take your time.

Your earliest memory of your mother (step-mother or female caretaker); Include individual(s) in your memory, events taking place, the mood, what the individual(s) in your memory may have been thinking or feeling, and the outcome of the events in your memory:

APPENDIX K

Instructions for Interpretation of Responses to Early Memory Test (Mayman, 1968)

Use memories as a source of information about how a person construes, organizes, and presents her experiences. When interpreting the EMT, attend to qualitative factors such as how the self was represented, how the interpersonal world was represented, the affective tone of the material, whether the memories were narratively coherent or contained inner contradictions.

Is the world seen as somehow threatening, dangerous, malevolent, or frustrating? Is it associated with injury, disaster, traumatic punishment, or frustration? Does the person represent herself as at the mercy of external forces? These kinds of representations of self in relation to others may indicate distress or conflict.

Alternately, is the world seen as comfortable, safe, secure, benign, and gratifying? Do others, especially mother, come across as sources of gratification, comfort, or security? These kinds of representations of self in relation to others may indicate psychological health.

Another important aspect is narrative believability. Sometimes when a subject says she is happy in a memory, you will be convinced of this happiness. But sometimes when a participant says that she is happy the actual details will not convey the feeling of happiness, or they may even seem to contradict the subject's explicit statement. Similarly, a person may describe a parent as warm and comforting, but the details needed to convey an impression of warmth and comfort are not there. Trust your subjective impressions rather than the subject's explicit, manifest statements.

APPENDIX L

Rating System for Early Memory Test Responses

Rate on a scale ranging from 1 to 5 the degree to which the daughter's perceptions of the mother reflect emotional distress. Consider the presence of the following themes in forming your ratings of daughters' perceptions of mothers.

a. threat

b. danger

c. malevolence

d. frustration

e. injury

f. disaster

g. traumatic punishment

h. loss of sense of control; at the mercy of external forces

The various points on the rating scale include:

1: no distress; positive perceptions of mother

2: mild degree of distress

3: moderate degree of distress

4: moderate-severe degree of distress

5: severe degree of distress; negative perceptions of mother

APPENDIX M

Decision Steps in Structural Equations Modeling

The hypothesized measurement model displayed in Figure 3 did not fit the data well (GFI = .83; RMR = .65). Consequently, the correlations between the different subscales measuring each of the constructs, such as the correlation between Personal Values Subscales 1 and 3, were examined in order to construct a modified measurement model. The modified measurement model included all of the following measures completed by the daughters: First two subscales of the Personal Values Scale, the three subscales of the Psychological Separation Inventory, the Early Memories Test, the five subscales of the Student Attitude Survey, Projective Stories Task, the first three items of the Close Relationships Questionnaire, the TAT, the second subscale of the Depressive Experiences Questionnaire, and the Beck Depression Inventory.

The mothers' Personal Values Scale data was excluded from the modified measurement model because the data did not load positively onto the latent factor reflecting maternal values. A low correlation between mothers' responses and daughters' responses on this scale was found (r = .12). Furthermore, the mothers' responses on this scale did not correlate significantly with any of the other measures in the study. Therefore, mothers' data was excluded in the analysis of the alternative structural model.

The SAS program would not allow for a solution for the hypothesized structural model. Consequently, a series of correlations among the various factors were examined to construct an alternative structural model (Figure 5). Gender self-concept was not found to be significantly related to any of the other constructs in the hypothesized structural model, and was subsequently excluded from the analysis of the alternative measurement and structural models seen in Figures 5 and 6.

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