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EARLY CHILDHOOD MOTHER-DAUGHTER INVOLVEMENT,
FEMININITY/MASCULINITY, AND EROTIC
ORIENTATION IN WOMEN

By

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ABSTRACT

EARLY CHILDHOOD MOTHER-DAUGHTER INVOLVEMENT, FEMININITY/MASCULINITY, AND EROTIC ORIENTATION IN WOMEN

By

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This study investigated a model proposing that femininity, masculinity, and erotic orientation in women develop in the early childhood process of differentiation from mother, and are mediated by differentiation in object representations. It was hypothesized that greater involvement with mother in early childhood is associated with identification with mother, less differentiated object representations, femininity, and sexual interest in men. Greater distance in the early mother--daughter relationship was hypothesized to be associated with more differentiated object representations, masculinity, and sexual interest in women.

A sample of 77 adult women (heterosexual, bisexual and lesbian) was obtained through friendship networks. Participants completed the following research measures; the Personal Attribute Questionnaire, the Erotic Orientation

Scale, a Maternal Involvement Scale, the Semantic Differential (assessing identification with each parent), written IAI stories scored for object differentiation, and a personal history questionnaire.

The results do not provide support for the model, however, some of the predicted relationships are supported. Early childhood maternal involvement was correlated with bipolar gender characteristics for heterosexual women. Heterosexual women who reported greater mother-daughter closeness were more feminine and less masculine on the M-F scale. Women's identification with their mothers was also significantly associated with their gender characteristics. High identification with mother was related to high femininity and low masculinity. Neither erotic orientation nor differentiation of object representations were associated with these variables.

Exploratory analyses of the data revealed a number of unpredicted findings. Masculinity in heterosexual women was positively correlated with the variety and frequency of their sexual interests in men. Furthermore, for the sample as a whole, scores in the masculine direction on the M-F scale were correlated with higher sexual interest in women.

Finally, information about sexual abuse showed that 22 of the 77 participants had been victims of sexual abuse. Post-hoc analyses indicated that a significantly lower incidence of sexual abuse victimization was associated with two variables: greater early childhood maternal involvement and higher identification with mother.

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Special appreciation goes to those persons who contributed their time, effort, and expertise to this study. Marty Aldenbrandt and Terry Stein offered valuable insights which improved the research design. Steve Kincaid and Nancy Hill coded the projective data in a sophisticated and conscientious manner. And I thank Sherrie Pearson and Dianne Roycraft for the considerable time and effort they devoted to data collection.

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PREFACE

Personhood is the product of a complex interplay of variables. Givens consist only of the fundamental biological state, drives, and predispositions of the human being, and the ecological milieu which the individual inhabits. Thereafter culture, socialization, maturation, experience and a multitude of additional known and unknown factors interact in the ongoing process of personality. Certainly ranking among the most complex facets of human existence is psychosexual life, gender identity, sex role, sexual orientation and attitudes about these.

One of the earliest conceptions of sexual orientation is a Greek myth, recorded in Plato's Symposium. Aristophanes tells the legend to his companions during a discussion of love. According to this tale, at the origin of human existence there were three sexes, man-man, woman-woman, and androgyn or man-woman. Each had two faces, four arms, four legs, and the like. These first humans conspired to scale to heaven and lay hands upon the gods. Zeus, in order to humble their pride and diminish their strength split them each in two. Thereafter, human beings have sought reunion through love, each individual searching for his or her original counterpart. In the man-woman relationship lies the

potential for procreation, in the union of man-man the highest expression of manliness, and for the woman-woman, the manifestation of womanliness.

This conception of the etiology and existence of homosexuality is strikingly value-free in comparison to the vast majority of those more recent in history and time. The legacy of the Judeo-Christian tradition has been a wholesale condemnation of homosexuality which permeates law, morality, and the collective thoughts and feelings of individuals in society, social scientists not exempt. Homosexuality has been regarded as the equivalent of perversion, abnormality, and vice. Persecution operates in many modes, among them social stigma and the sometimes subtle psychological reactions of individuals.

The past two decades have witnessed a radical transformation in the multifaceted relation of homosexuality and society. Within the context of a wider reevaluation of human sexuality and many of its cultural determinants, traditional thoughts and feelings about homosexuality have been challenged and in many cases reformed. Legal mandates are challenged, psychiatric and psychological views confronted, and social awareness fostered through the saliency of those who voice their concerns. But the collective image and social stigma of homosexuality remains largely adverse. Internalized affect-laden values, be they religious, ethical, cultural or familial are fundamentally relativistic, but they are integral components of personality and identity, and highly resistant to change.

The aim and purpose of this study strives to be not value-free, but based on a value system whose foundations are those of a definition of psychological health in which adaptation is central. Humans are social animals of tremendous complexity, plasticity, and creativity for adaptation. Homosexuality is not viewed as perverse or abnormal, but a variant form of human sexuality.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES . . . . .	.xi
LIST OF FIGURES.	xiii
INTRODUCTION	
Statement of Purpose	1
Gender and Sexual Orientation.	2
Definition of Terms.	2
Theories of Gender and Sexual Orientation Development. 6	
Psychoanalytic Theories	7
Sociological Perspectives . . . . .	.13
Object Relations Theories . . . . .	.15
Nancy Chodorow's Theory . . . . .	.18
Dorothy Dinnerstein's Theory. . . . .	.24
Critique and Overview. . . . .	.29
REVIEW OF THE RESEARCH LITERATURE	
Empirical Studies of Women's Gender Development. . . .	.34
Empirical studies of Women's Sexual Orientation. . . .	.37
Lesbianism and Psychopathology. . . . .	.38
Sexual Orientation and Gender Characteristics . . .	.39
Summary. . . . .	.45
Family Background and Sexual Orientation. . . . .	.48
Summary. . . . .	.53
Purpose and Perspective. . . . .	.54
METHODOLOGY	
Hypotheses and Rationale . . . . .	.62
Measurement of Variables . . . . .	.65
Early Childhood Maternal Involvement . . . . .	.65
Identification with Mother/Identification with Father . . . . .	.67
Level of Differentiation of Object Relations Representations. . . . .	.68
Psychological Femininity/Masculinity . . . . .	.70
Erotic Orientation . . . . .	.72
Secondary Variables and Rationale. . . . .	.74
Procedure. . . . .	.77
Data Collection . . . . .	.77
Sample Characteristics . . . . .	.78
Family Background and Personal Information . . . . .	.79
Preliminary Notes on the Data Analysis . . . . .	.80

RESULTS

Hypotheses I: Early Childhood Maternal Involvement and Femininity/Masculinity . . . . .	.84
Hypotheses II: Early Childhood Maternal Involvement Erotic Orientation . . . . .	.86
Hypotheses III: Maternal Involvement and Level of Differentiation of Object Representations. . . . .	.86
Hypotheses IV: Differentiation of Object Representations and Femininity/Masculinity . . . . .	.88
Hypotheses V: Differentiation of Object Representations and Erotic Orientation . . . . .	.89
Hypotheses VI: Erotic Orientation and Femininity/Masculinity . . . . .	.89
Hypotheses VII: Identification with Mother . . . . .	.91
Hypotheses VII: Identification with Father . . . . .	.95
Sexual Orientation and Gender Attributes: Exploratory Findings . . . . .	.95
Semantic Differential Item Analyses.	101

DISCUSSION	103
Identification with Mother and Femininity/Masculinity.	104
Identification with Mother and Agentic Characteristics	107
Maternal Involvement	108
The Bipolar M-F Scale.	109
The Proposed Mediating Variable: Differentiation of Object Relations Representations	110
Sexual Orientation and Gender Characteristics.	111
Women's Erotic Interest, Sexual Orientation, and Femininity/Masculinity	112
Bisexuality.	115
Patterns of Differences for Heterosexual and Lesbian Women.	115
Methodological Considerations.	117

APPENDICES

A	The Maternal Involvement Scale.	118
B	Photocopies of IAT Cards and Instructions	120
C	The Semantic Differential	123
D	Instructions for Scoring Level of Differenti- ation of Object Representation.	124
E	The Personal Attribute Questionnaire.	127
F	The Erotic Orientation Scale.	129
G	Questionnaire	132
H	Flier	135
I	Letter to Participants.	136
J	The IAT Measure	138
K	The Secondary Variables: Results of the Data Analyses.	144
L	Education and Sexual Orientation.	155
M	Semantic Differential Item Analyses	156
REFERENCES		159

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1 Means, standard deviations and intercorrelations of women's self ratings of their maternal involvement for four life stages . . . . .	.67
2 Socio-economic status of respondents. . . . .	.79
3 Socio-economic status of participant's family of origin. . . . .	.79
4 Intercorrelations between the PAQ M-F scale and Matinv scales 1-4 for heterosexual and lesbian groups. . . . .	.85
5 Partial correlation coefficients between object representations differentiation and Matinv1 . . . .	.87
6 Correlations between the PAQ and EROS Scales. . . .	.90
7 Partial correlations between identification with mother and levels of Maternal involvement 1 through 4 . . . . .	.92
8 Women's joint classifications of their three-way identification with mother by their two way categorization on the PAQ Scales. . . . .	.93
9 Frequencies of women's 3-way classification of identification with mother, by their combined M-F and M classification. . . . .	.94
10 Group means and correlations between self labeled sexual orientation and the PAQ Scales . . . . .	.96
11 Number and percentage of women in each of the sexual orientation groups falling into each of the four joint classifications of M and F . . . .	.97
12 Means and standard deviations on the PAQ scales and age for the 'low-erotic' and 'high-erotic' groups, and all subjects.	100
13 Correlations between SD items on which women rated themselves and their identification with mother scores. (Characteristics of self associated with identificatition with mother)	101
14 Joint frequency of women's self classification on Mativinv 1 by their IAI Group classification . . .	141

15	Correlations between IAT Scale 1, Scale 3, and each of the primary research variables.	143
16	Frequencies and percentages of women who had, and had not been victims of sexual abuse by their early childhood maternal involvement levels.	152
17	Frequency of women who were victims and non-victims of sexual abuse classified by their levels of identification with mother	154
18	Correlations between Matinv1 and the semantic differential items for Mother (Women's ratings of their mother's characteristics which are associated with maternal involvement)	156
19	Correlations between SD items on which women rated their mothers and their identification with mother scores. (Characteristics of mother which are associated with identification with mother.) . .	157
20	Item correlations between identification with father and women's ratings of their own characteristics.	157
21	Highest correlations for SD item on which women rated their fathers and their identification with father scores	158

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1	Number of women in each of the gynoeroticism and androeroticism categories99

INTRODUCTION

Statement of Purpose

This project explores personality and developmental factors which are hypothesized to be associated with gender-role personality attributes and sexual orientation in women. The guiding theoretical framework is derived from two theories of gender development proposed by Nancy Chodorow (1978) and Dorothy Dinnerstein (1977). A review of the research literature suggests that these theories may be relevant to variation in psychological femininity/masculinity and sexual orientation among women.

Nancy Chodorow and Dorothy Dinnerstein both rely on an object relations developmental framework and assert that feminine and masculine personality attributes are engendered in the differential qualities of the early mother-child attachment and separation-individuation process experienced by girls and boys. While these authors limit their discussions to the relative differences in the development of females vs. males, this researcher hypothesized that their theories might explain some factors relevant to variation in women's psychosexual and psychosocial functioning. The hypotheses derived from these two theories predicted that there are associations between five primary variables: Early Childhood Maternal Involvement; Level of Differentiation of

Object Relations Representations; Identification with Mother; Psychological Femininity/Masculinity; and Sexual/Erotic Orientation.

Gender and Sexual Orientation

The search for variables relevant to the development of gender-role characteristics and sexual orientation spans the range of biological (genetic, cortical, hormonal), intrapsychic, environmental, and socio-cultural realms. Until quite recently in history biology was viewed as the primary determinant of gender and psychosexual functioning. Recent research has debunked this assumption and indicates that most aspects of gender and sexual functioning are diverse, varied, and fundamentally independent of biological factors. A clear exposition of the terminology used in this area of study is in order.

Definition of Terms

Shively and De Cocco (1977) have delineated four different components of sexual identity. They are: 1) biological sex, 2) gender identity, 3) social sex-role, and 4) sexual orientation. Traditional conceptions of these factors have viewed them as typological--one is either male/masculine or female/feminine--or varying along a unidimensional, bipolar continuum. Conceptualizations which view them as either two orthogonal dimensions or as

multidimensional are now recognized as more accurate reflections and understandings of these aspects of human personhood.

Even at the level of biological sex, the pertinent factors are not as limited as is commonly assumed. Biological sex consists of at least seven anatomical and physiological components. Included among these are; sex chromosomes, internal reproductive organs, external genitalia, gonads, secondary sex characteristics, hormones, and cortical differentiation. Although these biological components are usually consistent as either female or male within the organism, this is not always the case.

The term 'Gender Identity' has unfortunately not been used with much consistency of definition. Shively and DeCocco define gender identity as an individual's subjective, psychological sense of being either female or male, feminine or masculine. It is an experienced awareness and usually conscious labeling of oneself based on one's identification with the constellation of personality traits which define gender-role.

Social sex-role and gender-role refer to the multiple manifest physical, behavioral, and personality traits which are culturally prescribed as feminine or masculine. Recently the women's movement has fostered an awareness of the culturally/socially determined origin of gender-role traits, and called for a reevaluation of the desirability of our traditional prescriptions and proscriptions for sex-roles. The effect has been an increasing tendency to see these

traits as independent of biological sex, and a capacity to assess their merits outside of a value system in which they are seen as appropriate or psychologically fit depending upon one's biological sex. This has led to a recognition of the diversity and variability displayed by both sexes, as opposed to a limiting dichotomous view.

Thus the terms sex-role and gender-role refer to the many aspects of personality which are culturally defined as either feminine or masculine. In the context of this study, the terms 'psychological femininity' and 'psychological masculinity' are also used to refer to these aspects of personality.

Scales which assess femininity and masculinity examine interests, attitudes, and personality characteristics. Early scales were typically devised on a unidimensional-bipolar continuum. The Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1977) and the Personal Attribute Questionnaire (Spence & Helmreich, 1978) both represent an innovative advance over prior measures, both construe femininity and masculinity as separate, orthogonal dimensions. Here an individual achieves independent scores on each scale, and the conjoint relationships between femininity and masculinity can be explored.

Sexual orientation, too, was previously perceived as bipolar and as an integral component and product of biological sex, gender identity and sex-role. Any deviation or inconsistency was presumed to implicate other factors of a 'unified' whole. Hence homosexuality was thought to reflect

and accompany deviation of other factors including biological aspects (e.g., hormones), gender-identity, and social sex-role. Conversely, gender-role behavior deemed appropriate for the other sex aroused suspicions of homosexuality. More recent research and conceptualizations view sexual-orientation as a complex phenomena with many varying components. Among these are: overt physical sexual behavior, arousal, fantasy, desire, affectional and emotional intimacy. Each of these may vary in terms of their degree, frequency, proportion, quality, and conscious or unconscious manifestation. In this context homosexuality and heterosexuality are not separate and distinct categories, but a whole series of dimensions which may vary independently.

The scale which has been used most frequently to measure sexual orientation is the Kinsey Scale, which focuses on sexual behavior. This scale is bipolar and unidimensional, ranging from exclusive heterosexuality to exclusive homosexuality. In a recent study, Storms (1978), proposed a new conceptualization of sexual orientation. Paralleling changing conceptions of femininity and masculinity, Storms' Erotic Orientation Scale (EROS) is based on a two dimensional orthogonal model in which hetero-erotic and homo-erotic orientation vary independently. The EROS does not assess behavior, but arousal, attraction and fantasy. Use of the scale with college populations confirms the independence of homoerotic and heteroerotic orientations, and further shows that arousal is highly correlated with behavior as measured by the Kinsey Scale.

While our contemporary views now recognize the diversity and variability which characterize psychosexual life, we have relatively little understanding of how these aspects of social and sexual self-expression are interrelated, or of how they develop. The theoretical perspective of this research is that psychosexual life is composed of multiple factors which are interrelated in complex ways, not yet understood.

Theories of Gender and Sexual Orientation Development

Theories which attempt to explain the origin and development of gender-role and sexual orientation can be broadly classified into five main areas: Biological; Social Learning Theory; Cognitive Developmental; Psychodynamic; and Sociological.

In Western history, in the two centuries prior to Freud, sex-role and sexual orientation were believed to be biologically determined. Homosexuality and cross-sex behaviors were viewed as aberrations caused by genetic and biological 'taint'. The relationship between biology and psychosexual development has been the focus of research by John Money (1972), who has demonstrated that biology and physiology are not paramount in the determination of gender identity, femininity/masculinity, and sexual orientation. In his studies of cases of missassigned gender (individuals who had been misclassified as female or male at birth), Money found that individuals develop psychologically according to their sex of assignment, not their biological sex. Thus

broadly speaking it is learning and socio-psychological factors which determine psychosexual development.

Social Learning Theory asserts that gender-role and sexual orientation are learned behaviors, learned largely via differential reinforcement during childhood and adolescence. Within the behaviorist model, sexual orientation is viewed as a generalized drive which is channeled in a specific direction through environmental and socialization pressures.

In cognitive developmental theories the child is seen as an active participant in the socialization process. Through the stages of cognitive maturation and development, the child strives to master the culturally and socially prescribed behaviors and attitudes which correspond to the behavior of others toward the child, and the child's awareness of sex-appropriate traits, and sexual interests.

Psychodynamic theories posit various interpersonal and intrapsychic factors as interactive determinants of psychosexual development. Sociological theories extend their analyses to include broader societal and cultural patterns, with an emphasis upon the functional arrangements for the sexes in society. These theoretical perspectives are relevant to the two theories which are examined in this research, and will be discussed in greater detail.

Psychoanalytic Theories

It was Freud who first seriously sought to explain the psychological development of gender and sexual orientation.

His views, especially on female development, underwent numerous revisions, and subsequent theorists have further revised and expanded his concepts. All psychoanalytic views of gender development and sexual orientation focus on experiential determinants engendered in parent-child relations, and the resolution of unconscious conflicts of psychosexual development during the formative periods of infancy and early childhood.

In Freud's theory of personality development, psychosexual development is central to all personality organization and functioning. Freud saw sexual orientation and gender-role as highly related and interdependent phenomena. He held that 'normal' development led to psychological femininity and heterosexuality for women, while certain forms of 'pathological' parent child relations and intrapsychic processes are responsible for masculine personality characteristics or homosexual orientation in women. Yet Freud asserted that the human being is constitutionally and psychologically bisexual. By this he meant that all individuals are essentially capable of both homosexual and heterosexual interests and behavior. In the earliest years of life Freud saw the child as capable of many and diffuse forms of erotic pleasure and personality expression. Through the stages of psychosexual development the child's personality and sexuality move toward greater specificity.

During the first two stages, the oral and anal, development is the same for both sexes. The development of

gender characteristics and sexual orientation diverges during the third, the phallic stage, and is precipitated by sex differences in anatomy. The young girl enters this stage with mother as the primary object of both love and identification. The oedipal or electra complex begins for the girl with her discovery that she lacks a penis. This and the discovery that her mother too is deprived of a penis lead her to turn against her mother in anger for perceived castration. This opens the way for oedipal attachment to father who is desired because he possesses the 'prized organ'. A hostile identification with mother results as she is now a competitor.

When the girl realizes she cannot possess a penis, she gives up the wish and substitutes the wish for a baby. A successful resolution involves seeing father, and later other men as objects of love, and mother as the object of gender-role identification. Freud stated that this process leads to the formation of three key personality traits for women; passivity, masochism, and narcissism. The females displaced wish for a penis--to be penetrated, impregnated, and give birth are seen as passive and masochistic.

Any departure from this posited 'normal' development is seen to predispose the girl to variant forms of sexual and gender-role expression. In Freud's formulation the psychodynamics of female masculinity and female homosexuality are essentially the same (involving either or both of two key dynamics--masculine gender identification and or pre-oedipal attachment to mother as love object) though they may result

from a number of different courses. Homosexuality and masculinity may be the result of the girl's failure to accept her lack of a penis, and hence a failure to identify with mother. As such she remains fixated at the stage of pre-oedipal attachment to mother as a love object, and forms a masculine gender-identity and sex-role. Or later, an inability to transfer her attachment to father as love object to other men, or disappointment in heterosexual love may lead to a regression to female object choice. Thus masculine gender traits and homosexuality in women are viewed as a failure to appropriately enter, or resolve the oedipal conflict, concomitant fixation or regression to maternal love object choice and/or masculine gender-role identification.

Criticisms of the psychoanalytic formulation of female development have focused on what causes the young girl to switch from maternal to paternal love object choice. Freud's theory of penis envy has received harsh criticism. The notion of penis envy was based on Freud's assumption that the penis is anatomically superior to female genitalia. Many psychoanalysts reject this assumption in favor of a view of penis envy as symbolic of female envy of the male position of power and privilege in society.

Freud's theory of psychosexual development, which is the cornerstone of his theory of personality, is flawed by his patriarchal bias. His failure involved his inability to perceive the more complex and powerful role of mother in early childhood, in both interpersonal and intrapsychic realms. Instead, Freud manages to place father in a pivotal

and powerful position in early child development. Thus patriarchy attempts to prevail in one of the few domains of human experience which is in fact dominated and organized around women, and mothers. Feminist critiques of psychoanalytic theory view these constructs as manifestations of universal unconscious and defensive dynamics. The importance and power of mothers is denied precisely because mothers are so powerful in the phenomenology of early life.

The three central constructs of the early psychoanalytic theory of female gender and sexual-orientation development are penis envy, the oedipal conflict, and identification with mother. More recent approaches to early child development in psychoanalytic and other camps have emphasized the dynamics of the relationship with mother, and other interpersonal factors as more probable determinants.

Charlotte Wolff (1971) suggests a variant of the psychoanalytic model based on her extensive interview research with lesbian and heterosexual women. The important dynamics which lead to the choice of a female or male sexual orientation are as follows. The young girl develops a normal, intense attachment to her mother in early childhood. When she realizes that mother values males more highly than females, she experiences insecurity about her own value as a female, and strives to compensate for this, and to preserve or attain mother via one of two routes. The first involves an ingratiating and emulating position in which the girl chooses femininity and to be like her mother, in this manner she possesses mother by internalizing and identifying with

her. In becoming feminine the girl strives to attain that special position of primary intimacy and value with father and other men, that she cannot attain with her mother. Thus the male object choice is a secondary and substitute one. The girl's anger at her depriving mother motivates her to compete with mother in an attempt to outdo her. This developmental pathway results in insecurity about one's real worthiness to be loved, and loneliness. As a substitute choice, men can never provide the woman with the maternal love she continues to crave. Her loneliness is alleviated through intimate relationships with other women. Wolff notes that throughout childhood young girls engage in much physical intimacy and affection, and later emotional intimacy characterizes female bonds throughout the lifespan.

The route chosen by the prelesbian girl is different. She strives to be worthy of mother's love, and therefore emulates masculinity. In so doing she strives for an independent personal value and worth. The lesbian woman may be viewed as immature in her intimate sexual-relations, but she is seen as mature in her striving to be independent from male superiority and domination. The heterosexual woman remains immature in her relationships with men while developing mature capacities for relatedness with other women.

Wolff's attribution of the pertinent variables is suggestive of the manner in which these developmental processes are now viewed by many. Current thinking about psychosexual development involves an integration of

sociological and psychological perspectives. With what is essentially a reformulation of Freud's theory of psychosexual development and the oedipal conflict, gender-role characteristics as well as other aspects of personality are importantly seen to develop in the context of attachment to and separation-individuation from mother, and the various intrapsychic, interpersonal, and familial socialization forces at play. These current views take as their point of departure sociological analyses of family structure.

Sociological Perspectives

Sociological perspectives address feminine and masculine personality attributes through an analysis of the differential functional roles women and men perform within the structure of the family and society. Herein a variety of theorists have proposed conceptualizations of adult gender role functioning that focus on a key distinction, that which Talcott Parsons describes as the Instrumental-Expressive role dichotomy.

Talcott Parsons (1951) asserts that women, and especially mothers, engage in expressive behaviors, performing nurturing, supportive and integrative functions in the home. Fathers, in contrast are seen to serve primarily the instrumental functions in the family. Fathers, whose primary duties vis a vis the family, take them outside the home and into society, are the link with the outside adult world. They teach children of society and social norms.

While mothers love is relatively unconditional, father's love and regard is contingent upon the child's fulfillment of expectations and demands geared toward fostering the child's independence and maturity. As such fathers are seen to pry children loose from dependency upon mother.

This dichotomy has been challenged with the assertion that these differing functions are to a large degree shared, and that mothers perform a multitude of instrumental tasks in rearing children. Additionally, the family has changed dramatically since 1951, and a large percentage of mothers are now employed outside the home. However, the essence of Parsons' role dichotomy remains true, as mothers continue to be the primary nurturers and caretakers of children. And despite the changes in gender roles of recent decades, empirical studies continue to demonstrate that children perceive their parents as differing along these dimensions (Baumrind, 1979; Spence & Helmreich, 1978).

A similar distinction has been proposed by David Bakan (1966). Bakan's concepts of agency and communion have come into wide usage, and these terms are often considered synonymous with masculinity and femininity. Bakan describes the dichotomy as follows:

I have adopted the terms 'agency' and 'communion' to characterize two fundamental modalities in the existence of living forms, agency for the existence of an organism as an individual and communion for the participation of the individual in some larger organism of which the individual is a part. Agency manifests itself in self-protection, self-assertion, and self-expansion; communion manifests itself in the sense of being at one with other organisms. Agency manifests itself in isolation,

alienation, and aloneness; communion in contact, openness, and union. Agency manifests itself in the urge to master; communion in noncontractual cooperation. Agency manifests itself in the repression of thought, feeling, and impulse; communion in the lack and removal of repression.

In their theories of gender development Nancy Chodorow, an anthropologist, and Dorothy Dinnerstein, a cognitive psychologist, assert that these two fundamental differences in personality functioning described by sociologists arise through early childhood object relations development.

Object Relations Theories

A variety of contemporary theories of psychosexual development owe a tremendous debt to the works of Melanie Klein (1932), Edith Jacobson (1964), and Margaret Mahler (1975). Each of these women have offered elaborate theories of early personality development which focus on the experiences of the early mother-child relationship. Their theories are referred to as object relations theories. In what amounts to a revolution in psychoanalytic thought, Freud's structural model of the psyche is in recent decades being usurped by object relations views. Psychoanalytic thinkers are increasingly adopting object relations constructs as central to the understanding and explanation of personality development and functioning.

Althea Horner (1981) defines object relations as follows:

The term 'object relations' refers to specific intrapsychic structures, to an aspect of ego organization, and not to external interpersonal relationships. However, these intrapsychic structures, the mental representation of self and other (the object), do become manifest in the interpersonal situation. That is, "the inner world of object relations determines in a fundamental way the individual's relations with people in the external world. This world... is basically the residue of the individual's relations with people upon whom he was dependent for the satisfaction of primitive needs in infancy and during the early stages of maturation" (Phillipson, 1955, p.7) (Quoted from Horner, 1981, p.3)

Horner goes on to summarize development as follows:

For us to understand the concept of object relations and its complex ramifications, it is helpful to consider how these psychic structures come into being, to think in terms of the early mental processes by means of which the newborn infant organizes its world into meaningful patterns. One basic pattern is that of the self--the self-representation--while another is that of the object--the object-representation. The object refers to the primary mothering person or persons in the environment of the infant and the very young child. The structural and dynamic relationships between the self-representation and the object-representations constitute what we refer to as object relations. (Horner, 1981, p.4)

An increasing number of theorists have come to view object relations development as the central organizer of personality development. The development of personality traits are seen as occurring within, and being mediated by the matrix of object relations representations. Thus early social-relational experiences are internalized, and comprise the structural and dynamic patterning of psychological and personality organization and functioning.

Many object relations theorists (including Horner, Jacobson and Mahler) have focused on the developmental process in which the infant and toddler internalize and

organize personal and interpersonal experiences. Margaret Mahler in her book *The Psychological Birth of the Human Infant* (1980), provides a clear explication of this process which she calls Separation-Individuation. Mahler's theory is a stage theory of earliest intrapsychic and interpersonal personality development; it is derived from her extensive empirical observations. Described briefly, she asserts that the infant begins life in a stage she refers to as autism, where experience is largely undifferentiated. As cognitive maturation ensues, the infant attaches to the mother and experiences self and mother as one, this second stage is variously referred to as 'dual unity', 'primary identification' or for Mahler, 'normal symbiosis'. In the third stage the separation-individuation process begins. This process is viewed as consisting of two distinct though intertwined aspects. Separation refers to the achieving of a sense of separateness, an independent sense of self and identity. Individuation in this framework represents the acquisition of individual characteristics, capacities and components of personality and ego functioning. (The term 'differentiation' refers essentially to both aspects of separation-individuation.) In a Mahlerian framework it is this task, and not the Oedipal Conflict, which is most critical in early personality formation.

Though Mahler does not address gender differentiation in the context of development in the early mother-child relationship, Nancy Chodorow and Dorothy Dinnerstein do. Nancy Chodorow (1974, 1978) and Dorothy Dinnerstein (1977)

have sought to explain the development of feminine and masculine gender personality differences through the differential quality of mother-child relation, identity internalization, psychodynamics, and socialization variables experienced by the child in the process of attachment to and separation-individuation from mother. These theorists feel that universal sex-role differences are engendered and perpetuated in female-mothering.

Nancy Chodorow's Theory

Chodorow asserts that the universal phenomenon of female mothering impacts in differential ways on the formation of female and male gender development. She suggests that personality structure and deeply ingrained affect-laden personality traits that are central to an individual's consistent sense of self are derived from early attachment to, and differentiation from mother.

The infant begins life in a state of dependence, usually upon a female mother. This state is one of primary identification with mother. The infant does not differentiate her/himself from mother, with whom she/he experiences a sense of oneness. Attenuation of this primary identification with mother occurs with maturation and the child's increasing cognitive and emotional awareness of her/his autonomous existence. The early experience of attachment to and differentiation from mother is different for girls and boys.

Chodorow sees the mother of the female child as experiencing a double identification (Deutsch, 1944). She identifies both with her own mother as her maternal self, and with her daughter as herself. (Mothers say they identify more strongly with their female children, Chodorow, 1974.) This establishes a more potent mother-child identification through which primary identification and infantile dependency are facilitated.

The young boy too begins with a primary identification with mother. The boy's first identification--with a female mother--must later be supplanted by masculine gender identity. The sources of masculine identity for internalization are father, and other salient males, but in early life children have very little contact with men. Thus the primary source for learning masculine identity is masculinity socialization as oppositional to the experience of mother, and father/masculinity as invoked by mother. Masculinity develops, according to Chodorow, because "Mother treats son in a manner which emphasizes his differentness (masculinity) in opposition to herself" (Chodorow, 1974, p.48). Father in this context is an abstraction, masculinity a role, a set of prescribed principles and behaviors. The source of identity is not relational, but positional. "For the boy, the tie between affective relations and masculine gender identification and role learning (between libidinal and ego development) is relatively attenuated" (Chodorow, 1974, p.49). The boy's identity is a positional one, a fantasized identification with a role which requires a

rejection of the emotional, interpersonal experience of mother. Since there is no personal relationship with father, masculine identity is formed by negation, denying and denigrating anything feminine in self and others.

(Dinnerstein sees this as the source of the universal denigration of women). For Chodorow, the Oedipal conflict is the process through which the boy later and finally denies and represses his attachment to mother, and identifies with father. Chodorow concludes:

To summarize, four components of the attainment of masculine gender identity are important. First, masculinity becomes and remains a problematic issue for a boy. Second, it involves denial of attachment or relationship, particularly of what the boy takes to be dependence or need for another, and differentiation of himself from another. Third, it involves the repression and devaluation of femininity on both psychological and cultural levels. Finally, identification with his father does not usually develop in the context of a satisfactory affective relationship, but consists in the attempt to internalize components of a not immediately apprehensible role. (1974, p.51)

Feminine identity development for the girl is continuous and personal. It is engendered in the context of an interdependent and emotional relationship with the person with whom the young girl has experienced her earliest and most potent relationship. Here, early development of gender characteristics does not involve a rejection of emotional closeness and interdependence. The development of gender-role is a continuous process built upon the foundation of early primary identification and dependency.

Femininity and female role activities are immediately apprehensible in the world of her daily life....Because her mother is around, and she has had a genuine relationship to her as a person, a

girl's gender and gender role identification are mediated by and depend upon real affective relations. (Chodorow, 1974, p.51)

Embedded in these differing identification processes are factors which mediate and produce gender personality and sex-role traits. The mother-daughter relationship itself is internalized as feminine ego-structure, and therefore intrapsychic object relations are interpersonal in nature. Mother is internalized both as an 'object' in relation to self and as a 'self' object. The feminine object world is characterized by identification with the other and emotional interdependence. Feminine identity then involves a greater interpersonal and empathic orientation, and less differentiation between self and other. Masculine identity, by contrast consists of an abstract positional self and a denial of affective identification. The behaviors and traits which are fostered in the young boy are a set of prescribed principles for behavior, and amount essentially to role learning. Consequently psychological masculinity involves a more radical differentiation and separation of self and other. While a boy is encouraged and pushed to differentiate, a girl is encouraged to remain enmeshed. Ego-boundaries are thus firmly established for the boy, independence of self and other are clearly demarcated. Ego-boundaries are highly permeable and more diffuse for the girl.

Chodorow asserts that exclusive female mothering, and the differential behaviors of mothers toward their daughters and sons are the critical antecedents in this developmental

process. Mothers reward, foster and encourage in multiple ways differing behaviors from their daughters and sons, with concomitantly differing ramifications for the child's interpersonal and psychodynamic experience and development. Mothers reward and foster the emulation and imitation of themselves, i.e., of feminine and maternal traits in their daughters. Mothers encourage and foster dependency in their daughters, enabling them to remain emotional, dependent, and vulnerable, until much later in childhood. In their continued responsiveness to their daughters' dependency needs, they maintain the potency of the mother-daughter union. In contrast, mothers push their sons to separate and individuate. Mothers are less apt to gratify their sons dependency needs, more apt to encourage the inhibition of emotional dependency and vulnerability, and in general foster self-reliance and independence in their sons.

The Oedipal stage, with its 'normative resolution' in heterosexual erotic-orientation, proceeds differently for the sexes. The development of heterosexual object-choice for the male is essentially continuous. His internalized love-object choice remains one which embodies characteristics of mother--females and femininity. The girl's erotic orientation development is more complex. Her primary love-object is mother, she turns to father, according to Chodorow, in an attempt to escape her unity with and dependence upon mother. But the girl is never completely free of her early libidinal attachment to mother, her oedipal stage attachments are to both her mother and her father.

Though her erotic and genital cathexis may become predominantly male-oriented, her affective interests remain dual.

In contrast to the boy, whose erotic and affective object is one--mother and then other females, the girls internal object world is more diffuse and complex. Father for children of both sexes is more distantly experienced both because his work takes him out of the home, and because his own development and socialization are characterized by denial and constriction of emotional expression. Thus relationships with men for both women and men are less directly emotional. The young girl does not find her relationship with her father capable of fulfilling her needs for mutual affirmation and love, it does not replace her relationship with mother. Mother and women remain the primary source for emotional relationships for both sexes. Women, throughout life, have closer personal ties and affectively richer involvements with relatives, other women and their children.

The internalized object world which defines psychic structure and concomitantly external interpersonal relations are different for females and males, in structure, quality and intensity. Masculine identity consists of an object independent, highly differentiated, and affectively insulated identity. Identity and 'self' for the male is less relationally defined. Masculine personality development outfits the male for an affect-free mode of involvement in public and work spheres where interpersonal ties are based on

role enactments, on contractual and universalistically defined role expectations.

For girls, feminine development is derived from interdependent, emotional and relational identification with mother. Chodorow proposes that an object-dependent and less differentiated object world is defining of self and identity for women. In psychoanalytic terms women have more flexible ego-boundaries, and a less individuated identity. Women's development prepares them for mothering, for serving the expressive and communal functions in the family.

Dorothy Dinnerstein

The theory of gender development offered by Dorothy Dinnerstein shares many parallels with the writings of Nancy Chodorow. Dinnerstein in her book, *The Mermaid and the Minotaur: Sexual Arrangements and Human Malaise*, sets forth a broad descriptive framework in which to understand her concepts. She too takes as her primary point of departure the functional asymmetry of the social-familial roles for women and men.

Until quite recent technological developments opened new possibilities (so far largely unused), most of the world's women have been obliged to invest major energy in the biological task of perpetuating the species. This reproductive task has tended to make them specialists in the exercise of certain essential human capacities, capacities crucial for empathic care of the very young and for maintenance of the social-emotional arrangements that sustain primary group life. (1977, p.20)

Dinnerstein asserts that many elements of adult personality, including emotional proclivities and sex-typed

modes of interpersonal relating are derived from both the actual and the desired-fantasized qualities of the prerational experience of mother. She sees the characteristics of sexual relationships as reintegrating the early mother-child bond. Though this author acknowledges the importance of ongoing socialization and learning as major determining factors in this area of psychological development, her focus is on the psychodynamic and object relations developmental phenomena which characterize the earliest years of life.

Dinnerstein's exposition begins with a formulation of early infant experience drawn from Melanie Klein's theory of early object relations development (1932). During early infancy mother is experienced as the ground of existence, in Primary identification, there is no differentiation of self, mother, world. Experience is an unbounded oneness wherein everything is holistically experienced as mother. Affect is unmitigated and as such pleasure and pain are holistically experienced. All that is positive and pleasurable is internalized as an intrapsychic constellation of the 'good mother', while frustration, pain, and displeasurable experiences form the constellation of 'bad mother'. As the child matures mother begins to be differentiated out and perceived as a separate, autonomous, intentional entity, and a creature whose intentions are not always geared toward giving the infant pleasure. A source of frustration for the infant, she/he wishes and desires to exclusively possess the good-responsive mother, one whose intentions are not

independent and never counter to the immediate needs and desires of the infant. Here, Dinnerstein asserts that this wish for exclusive possession of an all-good mother undergoes divergent transformations for the two sexes. Girls who are encouraged to imitate maternal behaviors and emulate mother, resolve their desire to possess the 'good mother' by becoming her: The female gratifies her wish for possession via introjection and identification. For the woman's recreation of herself as mother she needs affirmation through another who seeks her nurturance and succor. Mothering is an identity which is dependent upon relation with another. The male wish for the 'good mother' is gratified more directly in his intimate relationships with women. Males thus do not experience the restrictions and limitations attendant to their gender identity development.

The potency of the experience of mother is derived from its primacy during the child's preverbal, prerational period. Maturation and increasing autonomy are experienced with both the inherent joy at newfound capacities for mastery, competence, and self-reliance, and simultaneously pain of the lost oneness with mother. By the time father becomes important in the child's object world, cognitive maturation engenders a very different phenomenological matrix in which he comes to be known. Father does not pose the threat of regressive merging. Father is idealized both through displacement of the 'good mother' and because he does not represent the source of the conflicts and ambivalence the child is now experiencing. With a degree of separation

achieved, entering into a relationship with father provides the child with a safe alternative to mother and fosters the process of separation-individuation. In a mode of experiencing which is now verbal, rational, and relatively differentiated, the child approaches father to engage in a more mature relationship.

Dinnerstein sees father as important for heteroerotic socialization of the young girl. It is he who elicits the shift in her erotic alliance from maternal to paternal object-choice. This is achieved by virtue of the fact that father offers his daughter the desired non-infantile relationship, which is construed in seductive, erotic terms by father. Father acts seductively toward his daughters, the offer to leave mother is for erotic love, and to become like mother in relation to another.

Dinnerstein muses that it is perhaps the cultural taboo against homoerotic experience that prevents father from displaying sensual and affectional behavior toward his son. Heteroerotic or gynoerotic experience is continuous for the male. Father fosters his son's individuation from maternal identification with offers of friendship, comradeship, and access to the privilege of power in both the home and public world.

The girl's oedipal experience is more complicated. She experiences both homoerotic and heteroerotic pulls, and dual rivalry with both parents.

A variety of aspects of adult gender functioning are cast in these early years. Both sexes strive to actualize in

women the wished for good mother, and to deny in women traits which threaten or compromise the fantasy of an all good mother. Women are universally denied their full independence and individuality because they represent our early wishes for a mother who exists solely to gratify our needs, and our frustration with the real autonomous and uncontrollable mother--the loss of passive, effortless wish-fulfillment. Thus both sexes strive to actualize in women the wished for good mother, and to deny in women traits which threaten or compromise the fantasy of an all good mother. Hence women as mothers form an identity based on gratifying the needs of others. Dinnerstein proposes that both women and men encourage women to emulate personality attributes which reflect our early notions of the good mother as an all-giving, all-providing, nurturing entity whose behaviors, thoughts, and feelings are always geared toward the fulfillment of the needs of others.

The experience of sexual intimacy reintegrates the early experience of mother. Sexual intimacy comprises a highly tactile, intensely pleasurable experience with varying degrees of interpersonal merging. Dinnerstein believes that the early mother-child union is the prototype of erotic-sexual intimacy. She describes at length the pleasure associated with intimacy with mother in infancy, pleasure for which intensity is derived from the phenomenological nature of consciousness at this time of life, e.g. affects are unmitigated. In adult life, the experience of romantic love, and erotic pleasure reintegrate this early experience.

Critique and Overview

These two theories of gender development converge on a number of points. Both Chodorow and Dinnerstein seek to explain gender-role asymmetries, i.e. the tendency of women to express feminine traits and the greater expression of masculine traits in men. Both authors assert that gender-role asymmetries exist and are perpetuated because: 1) Females are the primary and often sole mothers/caretakers of children; 2) Women bring to their mothering their own asymmetrical psychological organization and functioning relevant to gender issues; and finally 3) the asymmetries result from the psychodynamic and object-relational phenomena that each author hypothesizes as operating within the child vis a vis the mother. In this regard both authors concur that the mothering of the female child fosters an identification with mother, and the internalization of modes of socio-emotional functioning based on maternal and mother-child relationship dynamics. In contrast mothering of males fosters an identity which is non-maternal, more separate, differentiated, independent, and less related.

Chodorow and Dinnerstein postulate two distinctly different modes of development for the two sexes. The many factors which they describe as leading to gender differentiation can be viewed as dimensions which they characterize as functioning in polarized ways across the

sexes. However both common sense and empirical research indicate that many of the inter- and intra-personal factors addressed in these theories are highly complex and varied both within and across sex. For example maternal behaviors and the feminine and masculine personality traits which the theories seek to explain are not unitary phenomena, but are complex, multifactored and variable within as well as across biological sex. Thus while the authors offer conceptualizations which are dichotomous and polarized, the phenomena they describe are more accurately viewed as multivariate factors which vary along continuous dimensions.

Both theories offer causal models to explain gender development. Framed simply, both theories postulate:

- 1) That mothers respond differently to their female and male children.
- 2) That the differences in maternal behavior produce differences in intrapsychic structures and personality organization in the child.
- 3) And that these differences in personality organization and intrapsychic structures produce differences in gender attributes.

Implicit in this first postulate is the assumption that universally, the biological sex of the child is a major and key determinant of mother's behavior toward her child.

Empirical research to date provides some support for this general assumption, there is evidence that many differences in maternal behavior are linked to the biological sex of the child. (For reviews of this literature see Donelson &

Gullahorn, 1977; Hyde & Rosenberg, 1980; and Unger, 1979.) However many other factors impact on the early mother-child relationship including the personality traits of mother and infant temperament. These factors lead to substantial differences in maternal behavior and subsequent mother-child interactions. If the psychodynamic processes described by Chodorow and Dinnerstein do contribute to psychosexual development, then it is maternal behavior and interaction with child, regardless of origin or precipitator which should account for differences in psychological femininity/masculinity and sexual orientation both within and across biological sex.

Psychological femininity and masculinity have been shown to be multidimensional for females and for males. Spence and Helmreich have identified sets of gender-role attributes which are independent and may coexist, and sets which are bipolar and mutually exclusive (1978). While as groups women and men tend to display the stereotypically expected differences in femininity and masculinity, within sex variation is greater than across sex differences. In their theories Chodorow and Dinnerstein do not address this variability. Again, if the developmental processes they describe are correct, these should explain the variation in feminine/masculine traits among women alone.

Neither of the theories address variation in sexual orientation in women or in men. Their goal is to explain heterosexuality, and traditional gender-role development. Nancy Chodorow does not offer a clear exposition of the

interpersonal and intrapsychic factors which lead to sexual orientation, her primary focus is upon gender characteristics. Dinnerstein's theory does offer a formulation of the process which leads to sexual-affective interests in women or men, though again she describes only opposite sex attraction. Her explanation of the pertinent dynamics is essentially the same as the process delineated by Charlotte Wolff. Thus Wolff and Dinnerstein concur that the child's desire for affectional closeness and intimacy with mother is gratified either by internalizing, emulating and identifying with mother; or striving for intimacy with other women.

Both theories are further limited by their failure to address varying forms of the family system. Chodorow and Dinnerstein begin with the assumption that children are raised in two parent nuclear families characterized by traditional parental roles, i.e., father is the sole wage earner while housewife-mother is the primary caretaker and is not employed outside the home. Recent statistics indicate that this form of family system constitutes only 14% of the families in the United States today. The family has changed dramatically in recent decades. Many children are raised in single parent families, and dual wage-earner families. Both women's and men's roles in the family and in society are changing. Women who are employed are engaged in a broader range of activities outside the home and are less exclusively involved in the primary care of children. Roles appear to be changing for men too. Trends in the media suggest that

fathers are becoming more involved with their children in more nurturing ways. And though the numbers are small, an increasing number of fathers are assuming the primary caretaking role.

While Chodorow and Dinnerstein address only the relative development of females vs. males, this writer reasons that their theories can be extended to the relative differences in development among women alone. This research study examines the relationships between the variables these theories posit as important in development across the sexes, in just women. The interrelationships between early childhood mother-daughter involvement, degrees of identification with mother, differentiation of object relations representations, femininity/masculinity and sexual orientation are assessed.

The empirical research on women's gender and sexual orientation suggests that these constructs are worthy of investigation.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Empirical Studies of Women's Gender Role Development

Since the 1960's many researchers have investigated the structure of gender roles in our society and the innumerable variables which determine, perpetuate and maintain gender roles. Most of the empirical studies of gender development examine the differing socialization experiences of girls and boys which might account for the differential development of gender-role personality traits across the sexes.

The many differences described by Chodorow and Dinnerstein in mother's behaviors toward daughters vs. sons are broadly supported by numerous research studies. Both mothers and fathers have warmer, closer, and more affectionate relationships with their daughters from the time that their daughters are about six months of age (Block, 1978, 1984; Goldberg & Lewis, 1969; Lewis, 1972; Moss, 1967). Both mothers and fathers encourage their daughters to be more dependent and less autonomous in their behaviors (Block, 1978, 1984; Collard, 1964, cited in Donelson & Gullahorn, 1977; Lewis, 1972; Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). And mother's engage in more childrearing practices which teach and foster empathy and prosocial behaviors with their daughters than with their sons (Block, 1978, 1984; Yarrow & Waxler, 1977).

Comparatively few studies have examined the relationships between parenting and family variables and the differential development of feminine and masculine characteristics in women. However, investigations from a range of different areas do illuminate some of the factors which are associated with differences in femininity and masculinity among women. These areas of research include studies of parent-child interactions, studies of achievement motivation and maternal employment, among others.

Converging evidence from a variety of different studies indicates that high degrees of maternal involvement, nurturance, and warmth are associated with a lack of agentic characteristics in daughters (Baumrind, 1979; Hoffman, 1978). Studies have found that high levels of maternal warmth and protectiveness are associated with personality traits including passivity, conformity, and low achievement orientation (Crandall & Battle, 1970, cited in Donelson & Gullahorn, 1977; Kagan & Moss, 1962, cited in Unger, 1979). Moderate levels of maternal involvement and warmth are associated with greater independence and dominance in daughters. High achievement orientation in girls and women is related to moderate, not high levels of maternal involvement, affection, and protectiveness (Anderson, 1973; Bardwick, 1971; Hatfield, Rau & Alpert, 1967).

Another area of research which has examined family variables and gender-related characteristics in daughters is studies of maternal employment. These studies were often undertaken to assess whether maternal employment outside the

home had detrimental effects on childrens' development. Findings of numerous researchers indicate that maternal employment has positive effects on daughters. Daughters of working mothers are more androgynous (Seigel, et.al., 1963, cited in Hyde & Rosenberg, 1980); and are higher achievers and have higher career aspirations (Almquist & Angrist, 1970; Astin, 1969, cited in Donelson & Gullahorn, 1977; Astin, Suniewick & Dweck, 1971, cited in Donelson & Gullahorn, 1977; Marecek, 1976, cited in Unger, 1979).

The relationship between the gender role-characteristics of parents and their daughters is complex. Parents who are strongly sex-typed in the traditional asymmetrical pattern have daughters who are most likely to be highly female sex-typed (Spence & Helmreich, 1978). Androgyny in either mother or father is associated with androgyny in daughters (Spence & Helmreich, 1979). Research findings suggest that the degree to which fathers are masculine sex-typed is highly correlated with the level of sex-typed femininity in daughters while mother's gender role attributes are less strongly related to daughter's (Heatherington, 1967; Mussen & Rutherford, 1963; Fling & Manosevitz, 1972). However, daughters who identify with a feminine sex-typed mother are most likely to be feminine sex-typed. (Douvan & Adelson, 1966).

Gender-role attributes are significantly associated with socio-economic status. Low and working class SES is related to higher frequencies of traditional asymmetrical sex-typing in both parents and children, while middle and upperclass SES

is associated with more androgynous and less stereotyped gender-role traits and attitudes (Hall & Keith, 1964; Nadelman, 1974; Spence & Helmreich, 1978).

Empirical Studies of Women's Sexual Orientation

Empirical studies of female sexual orientation have of course focused on attempts to understand homosexuality. To this end homosexual women have been the primary focus of study, while heterosexual women are often included as the comparison or control group.

Two major methodological problems beset studies of homosexuality. The first concerns the definition and identification of who is homosexual. As discussed earlier, sexual preference is a complex phenomena involving behavior, fantasy, and affection. Across studies investigators have used differing criteria ranging from self identification to differing classifications derived from the Kinsey Scale. The second problem involves the difficulties in obtaining a representative sample. From the outset the social stigma which prevents many homosexuals from publicly acknowledging their sexual preference leads to biased samples. It is conceivable that those individuals who publicly acknowledge thier homosexuality are different than those who do not.

Empirical research on female homosexuality spans a broad range of content areas. Among these are; incidence, personality traits and types, psychopathological factors, the 'coming out' process, and aspects of lifestyles and

relationships. Research into the development of lesbianism has examined factors such as early intrafamilial relationships, socialization, learning, and 'critical' experiences.

Lesbianism and Psychopathology

Until recently much of the focus of the literature and research on female homosexuality has been on the 'deviant' and 'psychopathological' nature of homosexuality. Thus most of the early studies sought to establish a link between psychopathology and lesbianism. This pervasive assumption proved false; on numerous measures of psychological adjustment lesbian women typically emerge as no more neurotic or disturbed than heterosexual women (Adelman, 1977; Laner, 1977; Oberstone & Suknoeck, 1977; Ohlson and Wilson, 1974; Rosen, 1974).

In many studies lesbians display greater psychological health and adjustment than their heterosexual peers (Freedman, 1975; Hopkins, 1969; Siegelman, 1972; Wilson & Green, 1971). In studies which do find significantly greater disturbance among lesbians, it is primarily alcoholism which is more prevalent in homosexual women, and authors conclude that no specifiable clinical feature accompanies same-sex sexual preference in women (Armon, 1960; Saghir, Robins, Walbran & Gentry, 1970; Swanson, Loomin, Lukesh, Cronin, & Smith 1972; Thompson, McCandless & Strickland 1971). The only two studies which have found lesbians to be

significantly more neurotic than controls were done in Britain using British populations (Kenyon, 1968; Wolff, 1971). In the study reported by Kenyon, lesbian women obtained mean scores on the Maudsley Personality Inventory Neuroticism Scale which were higher than those of a heterosexual control group, but lower than those of a mixed group of English University students upon whom the scale was standardized.

The preponderance of evidence thus warrants the conclusion that female homosexuality is not a clinical entity, and as such lesbianism is best viewed as a variant--not a deviant form of sexual expression.

Two broad areas of research which compare lesbian and heterosexual women are relevant to this project, studies of personality correlates, and of family background.

Sexual Orientation and Gender Characteristics in Women

The methodological problems which beset research studies of personality variables are many. Studies which examine personality traits are potentially biased by socio-cultural differences important to geographical region, cohort, and generational effects. Studies often compare lesbians to heterosexual women who are married and unemployed. These groups of women have vastly different lifestyles, demands, responsibilities, and sources of need gratification. In repeated studies the effects of marital status, employment, and education are shown to be related to self esteem,

psychological well-being, and femininity/masculinity among both women and men (See Donelson & Gullahorn, 1980; Gove, 1976). Among women, being single and being employed are associated with androgyny. This is a potential source of confound for studies which do not control for these variables.

In studies which have compared lesbian and heterosexual women on measures of femininity/masculinity, lesbian women generally emerge as more androgynous than heterosexual women. In a variety of studies reported in the literature lesbian women endorse significantly more masculine traits than their heterosexual peers, while there are often no differences in the endorsement of feminine characteristics. Significant differences in feminine traits where they do occur, and nonsignificant trends show heterosexual women to be more feminine sex-typed. Many other studies report personality differences which are relevant to gender attributes. Frequent findings indicate that lesbian women are significantly more dominant, assertive, and self-sufficient. The following review presents the research on personality correlates of sexual orientation in women in chronological order.

In the earliest study of gender characteristics in lesbian women, Terman and Miles (1936) studied femininity and masculinity using a multiple choice test of 910 items. Their 18 lesbian subjects achieved total masculinity scores equivalent to those of male M.D.'s and Ph.D.'s, excelled only by male athletes. When compared to heterosexual women of

similar age and education, the mean femininity/masculinity scores on a bipolar scale show a difference of 4.2 standard deviations. These lesbian women showed a high degree of femininity on word association tasks. All other scales were within the average range for women.

In 1957, Grygier (cited in Kenyon, 1968b) used a broad array of measures to study lesbians. Though lesbian women scored higher than heterosexual women on masculinity scales, significant correlations with the professional status and intelligence of subjects explained these differences.

Using a measure devised for his study, Steven Giannell (1966) found that homosexual women scored significantly higher than heterosexual women on scales of Autonomy, Aggression and Need for Nurturance, while scoring lower on Need for Deference. Homosexual and heterosexual women were equal on a Succorance scale.

Freedman (1968, 1971, 1975) administered the Eyesenck Personality Inventory (EPI), and the Personal Orientation Inventory (OPI) to 86 lesbian women and 67 heterosexual women recruited from women's organizations. Though the groups were matched for educational background, the majority of lesbian women were single and employed while the heterosexual group were largely unemployed and married. The lesbian group achieved significantly higher scores ($p < .01$) on OPI scales of Self-Actualizing Value, Existentiality, Feeling Reactivity, Spontaneity, Acceptance of Aggression, and Capacity for Intimacy. Lesbian women scored significantly lower on the EPI lie scale, indicating greater candor and self-disclosure.

Hopkins (1969) using the Cattell 16PF Questionnaire compared 24 lesbian and 24 heterosexual women matched for age, intelligence, education and profession. The lesbian women scored higher on scales of Alert Poise and Independence ($p < .02$). Heterosexual women scored significantly lower on scales of Dominance, Assertiveness, Progressiveness, and Self-Sufficiency (all p 's $< .02$). The lesbian group was also found to be more tense, driven, reserved, detached, critical, and cool (p 's $< .02$).

Wilson and Green (1971) used the California Personality Inventory, the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule, and the EPI in their investigation of 46 heterosexual and 46 lesbian women. The two groups were matched for age, and all were college graduates. Lesbian women scored higher on scales of Dominance, Capacity for Status, Good Impression, Intellectual Efficiency, and Endurance. The heterosexual group scored significantly higher on scales measuring Neuroticism and Femininity ($p < .05$).

In a 1971 study, Thompson, McCandless, and Strickland, compared 84 lesbian and 94 heterosexual women on three scales of the Adjective Check List (ACL), and a Semantic Differential. Only one significant difference distinguished the two groups. Lesbian women achieved significantly higher scores on the Self-Confidence scale of the ACL.

Siegelman (1972) conducted a study comparing the responses of 84 lesbian and 133 heterosexual women on the Cattell Neuroticism Scale Questionnaire and the Crowne and Marlowe Social Desirability Scale. All participants were

either college students or in professional occupations, however the heterosexual group were significantly younger. Lesbian women were less apt to give socially desirable responses illustrating a more candid response style. Significant differences (p 's $< .001$) indicate that lesbian women are more goal directed, self accepting, tenderminded, and dominant. Heterosexual women scored significantly higher on scales of Neuroticism, Depression, and Submissiveness (p 's $< .01$).

Saghir and Robins (1973) interviewed 101 women, 44 heterosexual and 57 lesbians. Only three factors differentiated between the two groups: Lesbian women identified themselves as masculine more often, had higher alcohol abuse rates, and had dropped out of college more often.

In a study published in 1974, Ohlson and Wilson recruited 64 lesbian and 64 heterosexual women matched for age and education. An item analysis of the MMPI yielded 38 interpretable items which significantly differentiated the two groups. Authors classified the items into clusters, the lesbian group were distinguished from the heterosexual group by lower anxiety, fewer physical complaints, a masculine orientation, social introversion, and endorsement of overt homosexuality.

Anne Steinmann, (1974) found that lesbian women as a group had the highest scores on her devised measure of Self-Achieving Orientation vs. Family Orientation of several thousand women worldwide.

Hassell and Smith (1975) administered the ACL to 24 lesbian and 24 heterosexual women matched for age and education. Lesbians scored higher on scales of Autonomy, Exhibition, and Change. Heterosexual women scored higher on scales of Abasement, Deference, Defensiveness, Order and Endurance. (All p 's $< .05$) There were no differences on scales measuring Succorance and Self Confidence.

Ward (1974; cited in Spence & Helmreich, 1978) obtained data from 54 lesbian women on the Spence & Helmreich Personal Attribute Questionnaire and compared these to the unselected college sample of women upon whom the measure was standardized. The lesbian sample scored significantly more masculine and less feminine on all three scales of femininity and masculinity. When subscales are combined, lesbian women display a significantly elevated frequency of androgyny, and are also more likely to be classified in the undifferentiated and masculine sextype groups.

McCauley and Ehrhardt (1977) examined the responses obtained from 15 lesbian women on the WAIS, the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI), and Embedded Figures Test. Lesbians showed significantly higher Verbal than Performance subscale scores on the WAIS, typical of the pattern for women in contrast to men. The lesbian group's mean score on the embedded figures test was closer to the male than to the female norms established for this test. Finally, lesbian women were most apt to be androgynous on the BSRI.

The BSRI was also administered to a sample of 75 lesbian women age 18 to 52, in a study conducted by Van Cleave

(1977). Significantly more of these women endorsed traits indicative of androgyny, rather than feminine or masculine sex-typed.

In a study of gender attributes, Spence and Helmreich (1978) compared 101 heterosexual and 100 lesbian college women on the Bem Sex Role Inventory. Heterosexual women were significantly more likely to be feminine sex-typed, while lesbians were more frequently classified as androgynous, masculine or undifferentiated.

Shavelson, Biaggio, Cross and Lehman (1980) compared the responses of 26 lesbian and 26 heterosexual women on the BSRI. Significantly more lesbians reported attributes indicative of high masculinity and low femininity, and heterosexual women were significantly more likely to be categorized as undifferentiated.

Storms (1980) found significant differences between lesbian and heterosexual women on one of the three subscales of the Spence Helmreich Personal Attribute Questionnaire. Lesbian women achieved higher mean scores on a bipolar scale of masculine and feminine traits, indicative of greater masculinity.

Summary

Across studies, lesbians clearly emerge as more androgynous, ie., displaying traits which include both those ascribed as feminine and masculine, than their heterosexual counterparts. Across measures, lesbian women endorse items which indicate that they are more dominant, autonomous,

assertive, inner-directed, self-accepting, and self-actualizing than heterosexual women. They are less self-abasing, deferential, submissive and defensive.

It is not yet possible to determine whether these differences are attributable to aspects of early personality development (core personality) or whether they result from the lesbian's struggle to integrate her sexual preference and independent lifestyle in a society which deems it deviant.

While most studies do find group differences between lesbian and heterosexual women, within group variation is far greater than between group differences. Authors consistently agree that the personality profiles of lesbian and heterosexual women as groups are much more diverse than unified, comprising a wide spectrum of variation. Heterosexual and homosexual women and men are heterogeneous groups. Research on both male and female homosexuality has recently begun to examine the diversity displayed, and to search for discernable typologies. Three studies of this nature are pertinent here.

Clingman and Fowler (1976) asked 128 male and female homosexuals to classify themselves as predominantly masculine, feminine, or neither. While most of their subjects did not subscribe to a gender-role label, the feminine vs. masculine women scored significantly different on three scales of the Adjective Check List. Feminine women had significantly higher Succorance, Abasement and Deference mean scores, and reported realizing their homosexual orientation at an older age. The masculine identified women

scored higher on Dominance and lower on Abasement than any of the remaining groups.

Vance (1977) in an unpublished doctoral dissertation, interviewed 43 lesbian women, with a focus on the process through which they became lesbian. The distinction she proposed was validated. "Socialized" lesbians were socialized into a homosexual orientation early in childhood, showed more rigid masculine gender characteristics, and were more proficient at masculine behaviors. "Enculturated" lesbians adopted a homosexual orientation in late childhood or adulthood, were more flexible in their gender-role functioning, and less adept at masculine skills. Vance notes that despite these differences, both groups were effective in both feminine and masculine behaviors.

Results of these two studies concur, indicating that the more masculine lesbian traces the development of her awareness of her sexual preference to early childhood while a later awareness of development of same-sex sexual preference is associated with greater femininity.

Saghir and Robins (1970) suggest, based on an analysis of their data that there are two kinds of lesbians, those who were conventionally feminine during childhood and those who displayed a masculine sex-role orientation. These authors define the "tomboy syndrome" as a "persistent aggregate of behaviors that are preferred by girls, and that are primarily appropriate to boys." They go on to state "it is not a short passing phase during development but a persisting pattern of conduct starting in childhood and extending at least into

adolescence".(1973, p. 193) In their early studies, over two thirds of their lesbian subjects reported masculine interests and behaviors during childhood, vs. 16% of the heterosexual controls. These women differed from the conventionally feminine lesbians in their responses to a variety of questionnaire items. Significantly more tomboy lesbians reported a primary identification with father (47% vs 6%) and a lack of closeness to mother.

Family Background and Sexual Orientation

Studies of family background are beset with the problems of post-hoc memory data. Memory is constructive and selective. The cultural prohibitions against lesbianism are likely to lead to difficulties in the lesbian's relation to her family. As such current conflicts or tension may bias her perceptions of past family relationships. This factor is likely to account for some of the self-reported differences in the family relationships of lesbian and heterosexual women, and should be considered as a contributing factor. In the following review the empirical studies of family background are presented chronologically.

Bene (1965) compared responses on the Bene-Anthony Family Relations Questionnaire obtained from 37 lesbian and 80 married heterosexual women. Though differences did not reach statistical significance, lesbians reported having received less affection from their mothers and having felt less warmth toward them. Significant differences were found

on feelings of hostility toward fathers; lesbian women reported more hostility toward and fear of their fathers.

In a study utilizing a patient population, Kaye, Berl, Clare, Eleston, Geschwin, Kogan, Torda, and Wilbur (1967) obtained questionnaire data from the psychoanalysts of 24 lesbian and 24 heterosexual women. No significant differences were found for the two groups on items assessing the mother-daughter relationship, but analysts reported that their lesbian patients more often felt fearful of their fathers and felt exploited by them.

Gundlach and Reiss (1968) used a questionnaire in a study of 226 lesbian and 234 heterosexual women matched for age, education, and geographic distribution. Significant findings indicated that lesbian women more frequently felt neglected and ignored by their mothers, treated impersonally and without love. Lesbian women more often reported that their fathers were indifferent, less warm and less affectionate. Heterosexual women reported less parental discord, had spent significantly more time with their mothers, and though not statistically significant, heterosexual women felt more dependent upon their mothers. Lesbian women spent less time with both parents.

Kenyon (1968b, 1968c) administered a family history questionnaire to 123 lesbian and 124 heterosexual women. One half of the lesbians and three-fourths of the heterosexuals stated that they got along well with their mothers. "Quite poor" relationships with mother were reported by 21% of lesbians compared to 0.8% of heterosexuals ($p < .001$). Among

the heterosexual group, 83% stated that their parents were happily married, in contrast to 46% of the lesbian group, and more parents of lesbian women were divorced (22.8 vs 4.9%)

The developmental model of female sexual orientation proposed by Charlotte Wolff described earlier, was derived from her data based on interviews and questionnaires from 108 lesbian and 123 heterosexual women (Wolff, 1971). Pertinent family history differences were tested for statistical significance using a chi-square analysis of the questionnaire responses. Mothers of lesbian women were more often negligent, indifferent, and less loving ($p < .001$). Fathers of lesbian subjects were reported to be less loving and more negligent ($p < .01$). Significantly more mothers of the prehomosexual girls would have preferred the subject to be a male, and significantly more favored a son in the family. Mothers were more often the dominant parent and marriages were more frequently unhappy and disrupted.

Poole (1972) devised a questionnaire to assess the family background of 50 heterosexual and 50 homosexual women. Statistically significant differences were found with lesbians reporting fewer recollections of mother as affectionate and understanding, fewer mothers being happy in their role, and fewer fathers who displayed affection.

In the Swanson et. al., (1972) study cited earlier, case records of 40 heterosexual and 40 lesbian women in out-patient psychotherapy were compared. No group

differences were found, family disorganization and feelings of parental rejection were high for both groups (75%).

Loney (1973) compared the responses of 11 homosexual and 12 heterosexual women on the Elias Family Adjustment Test. Statistically significant differences found lesbian women to score higher on scales measuring negative attitudes toward both mother and father, struggle for independence, parent-child friction, parental rejection, and interparental friction.

Saghir and Robins (1973) found a variety of differences between their 54 lesbian and 43 heterosexual women in data they collected from interviews. Lesbians more frequently described poorer relationships with their mothers; while 85% of heterosexual women reported that their relationships with their mothers were good, only 23% of lesbian women did. Lesbians more often reported a closer relationship with their fathers, and 77% of lesbians vs 15% of heterosexual women did not identify with their mothers, but identified with either father or no parental figure. Family disorganization and marital discord were more prevalent in the lesbian family background.

Siegelman (1974) used a measure which assessed recollection of family relationships--the Parent Child Relations Questionnaire Form 2, and a biographical questionnaire. Significant differences were found with homosexual women reporting both mothers and fathers to be less loving, fathers more rejecting, and mothers more

demanding. Heterosexual women were closer to mother and closer to father.

Beverly (1976) used an open interview format with 6 lesbian women. Four of these women described a distant or seriously disturbed mother.

Crouch (1977) examined family relationships of 67 heterosexual and 55 lessbian women using the Elias Family Adjustment Test (FAT). No differences in total FAT scores indicate that there are no significant differences in overall family adjustment. However significant differences were found with lesbian women more often reporting rejection by one or both parents during early childhood.

Hogan, Fox and Kirchner (1977) recruited 205 homosexual women from lesbian organizations throughout the state of Illinois to complete a 200 item questionnaire. Forty-five percent of these women indicated that they felt rejected by their mothers, and 38% reported feeling rejected by their fathers.

Shavelson, et. al., (1980) compared the responses of 26 lesbian and 26 heterosexual women on the Schaefer Child Report of Parental Behavior Inventory. They found no significant differences on any of the parent-child or parental-relationship dimensions. A regression analysis of all the variables did not yield any significant combination in predicting sexual orientation.

Bell, Weinberg and Hammersmith (1981) conducted one of the most comprehensive large scale studies of sexual orientation. Using structured interviews, 229 caucasian

lesbian and 101 caucasian heterosexual women were compared on a broad range of factors. In this sample significantly more lesbian women spontaneously described their relationships with their mothers as predominantly negative (49% vs. 21%), characterizing their mothers as more hostile and rejecting. Heterosexual women were more apt to report childhood identification with mother, and feeling that they were similar to their mothers as they were growing up (85% vs 53%). The lesbian women report significantly higher frequencies of parental discord, mother-dominant marriages, and detached, hostile fathers. The investigators entered all significantly differentiating variables into a path analysis. Of the many factors examined, the lesbians' greater tendency to report having been masculine during childhood (62% vs 10%) was the single strongest predictor of adolescent and adult homosexuality. The path analysis indicates that the family relationship variables explored explain only 25% of the variance of childhood masculinity. The researchers conclude that there are many different pathways to adult sexual preference, and that the family relationship variables they examined do contribute although the total effects are of modest magnitude.

Summary

In accordance with the recently pervasive belief that homosexuality was an aberrant form of erotic expression, and that the determinants of same-sex sexual preference could be found in pathological parent-child relationships, many of the

studies reviewed above searched for differences in the family history of lesbian vs. heterosexual women. The empirical data indicates that disturbances in family relationships are neither ubiquitous nor in any consistent form exclusively characteristic of lesbian women.

Yet, in most of the studies, lesbian women do report significantly more emotional dissatisfaction with their mothers, and with their fathers, and significantly more interparental discord. Across studies lesbian women are more apt to perceive their mothers as less loving, affectionate, understanding, and involved; and lesbians are more likely to perceive fathers as distant and hostile. Where percentages are reported, 50% to 70% of lesbian women characterize their relationships with their mothers and with their fathers as less close and less positive. In contrast heterosexual women tend to report greater closeness and warmth in their relationships with both parents. These differences may be relevant components in a complex array of factors which are influential in the development of same-sex vs. opposite-sex erotic-responsiveness.

Purpose and Perspective

Empirical studies of the development of gender-role attributes and sexual orientation in women suggest that the theories offered by Chodorow and Dinnerstein to explain gender development across the sexes may be relevant to the

development of psychological femininity and masculinity and varying sexual orientation in women alone.

Thus, according to Chodorow traditional femininity develops in the context of an early childhood relationship with mother which is characterized by high levels of closeness, nurturance and warmth, leading to extended dependency and a potent and prolonged identification with mother. Chodorow asserts that the greater closeness mothers experience with their daughters, the prolonged dependency allowed the infant girl, and the expression and emulation of maternal behaviors which are allowed to the female child, all lead to the formation of an internal object world in which self and other representations are characterized by identification and highly affective relatedness. Personality organization is such that the self is defined in relational terms, is object-dependent and relatively undifferentiated. As Dinnerstein (and Charlotte Wolff) suggest, a daughter resolves her feelings of maternal rejection or loss of oneness with mother by internalizing and striving to become the wished for 'good mother'. These factors, together with further socialization processes produce an object-dependent ego structure leading to personality functioning characterized by a high degree of empathic merging, an other-defined self, and the numerous communal personality traits considered feminine. Hence, women are nurturing, compassionate, loyal, subjective, emotional, submissive, dependent, compliant, etc...

Psychological masculinity in contrast develops when mothers are less close, less nurturing and relate to their infants in more differentiating ways. As such masculinity develops via a rejection of identification with mother, hence a rejection of affective relatedness. Masculinity involves the differentiation of self from other, and forms of relatedness which emphasize differentness, and affective boundaries between self and other. The masculine object world is characterized by greater differentiation of self, which is not dependent upon or defined in relation to others. Personality traits which emerge are ones which reflect an insulated and independent identity, among these are dominance, autonomy, aggression, assertiveness, objectivity, and self determination. The longed for oneness with the good mother is achieved in intimacy with women.

The empirical research which was reviewed here suggests a broad base of support for the basic tenets of these theories. Studies which examine the relationship between family variables and femininity/masculinity in women indicate that maternal distance, and demandingness are associated with the presence of agentic characteristics in daughters, while identification with highly feminine mothers can lead to high femininity. In either or both parents androgyny or highly sex-typed characteristics are associated with similar patterns of gender-role expression in women. As Diana Baumrind and many other developmental psychologists have noted, mother-daughter relationships which involve high degrees of maternal warmth, closeness and involvement are

associated with a variety of undesirable characteristics in daughters, reflective of the detrimental attributes of high femininity, and low masculinity (e.g., dependency, submissiveness, low self-esteem, low achievement motivation, etc...).

In studies which compared lesbian to heterosexual women, the majority of findings show lesbian women to be more androgynous, i.e., endorsing traits which include both those ascribed as feminine and masculine. In many of the studies reported, lesbian women endorsed significantly more masculine and agentic traits than their heterosexual peers; while there are generally no significant differences in the endorsement of feminine traits. Significant differences in feminine attributes where they do occur, and nonsignificant trends show heterosexual women to be more female sex-typed than lesbian women. Across a wide range of measures lesbian women consistently emerge as more dominant, assertive, autonomous, and inner directed than heterosexual women. Thus the personality attributes which distinguish lesbian from heterosexual women are those which reflect the agentic, masculine, and more interpersonally independent identity.

In investigations that compared the family backgrounds of heterosexual and homosexual women, the significant findings indicate that homosexual women are more apt to have experienced mother as distant, uninvolved, and neglectful or rejecting; while heterosexual women report having experienced greater maternal nurturance, and greater dependency upon their mothers. Prevalent patterns of differences include

lesbian women's perceptions of their mothers as less loving, affectionate, understanding and involved, more hostile, cold, and rejecting; and a father who is perceived as distant, hostile and exploitative. While these patterns were found to significantly differentiate lesbian women from heterosexual women, they are by no means pervasive nor ubiquitous in characterizing the family backgrounds of lesbian women. Across all studies reviewed, these differences are reported by 50 to 70% of the lesbian women. According to the theoretical conceptualization of this research, the maternal distance experienced by the lesbian may be an important component of the developmental processes which lead to both masculine personality attributes and female sexual preference. The lesbian woman thus does not experience the dependency-identification mode of feminine socialization, though she certainly experiences a wealth of other socialization forces common for girls, perhaps explaining her androgyny. The maternal behavior experienced by the prehomosexual girl may be no more distant or rejecting than that which typifies the mother-son relationship. It is possible that the lesbian openly acknowledges her feelings of maternal rejection because she lacks the full range of masculine socialization pressures which prevent the boy from acknowledging dependency needs and force him to construe maternal distance as fostering of his own independence, self-reliance and freedom.

The personality traits which distinguish lesbian from heterosexual women, those such as autonomy, dominance,

aggression, etc..., reflect the more interpersonally independent identity which characterizes masculine attributes. It is conceivable then that the early mother-child relationship pattern and separation-individuation development of the prehomosexual girl more closely approximates that which Chodorow and Dinnerstein describe as typical of this developmental process for boys, and that this route of differentiation from mother and identity formation is related to female sexual preference for both females and males. Thus the early childhood experience of the prehomosexual girl would reflect the absence of prolonged maternal nurturance, greater differentiation from mother, and the development of an identity which is not highly object-related but rather more differentiated and affectively insulated.

How might this lead to female sexual preference? According to Dinnerstein the child's desire to possess the 'good mother' is met either by internalizing, introjecting and becoming the good mother through identification with mother, the good mother, or one maintains the desire for physical-emotional intimacy with females. Remember Dinnerstein proposes that the infant's global experience of mother is a highly tactile-sensual-physical and emotional knowing of a woman's body, and that for all individuals the erotic experiences of adulthood redintegrate this early sensual contact. For the heterosexual male and the lesbian woman, it is a woman which provides this experience. The

heterosexual woman according to Dinnerstein actualizes the 'good mother' in herself in sexual intimacy.

If the developmental processes described by Chodorow and Dinnerstein are correct, then the nature of the early mother-child relationship should be associated with degrees of identification with mother, differences in object-relations representations, psychological femininity/masculinity, and sexual orientation in women. Specifically, high maternal involvement, warmth and nurturance which accompany mother-child enmeshment should be associated with strong identification with mother, relatively undifferentiated and emotionally interrelated object-relations representations, psychological femininity, and sexual preference for males. An early childhood relationship with mother which is characterized by less warmth and nurturance, and greater distance (greater mother-child differentiation) should produce more highly differentiated and isolated object representations, disidentification with mother, psychological masculinity, and sexual preference for females. In fact the empirical examination of these theories using only women subjects serves to isolate the theoretically important variables in the mother-child relationship from numerous other potentially confounding factors, including possible biological sex-linked determinants and the influence of other socialization forces such as peers, other adults, the media, etc., which differ for girls and boys. It serves as a control for the numerous socialization factors which differ for the two sexes.

As earlier discussions have noted, sexual orientation and femininity/masculinity are neither unitary, single dimensional nor bipolar. Women may display a range of feminine and masculine personality attributes in varying degrees, and may express sexual interest in either or both women and men in varying degrees. This study was designed to examine these variables in a manner which allows for diversity and variation.

METHODOLOGY

Hypotheses and Rationale

I Early Childhood Maternal Involvement and Femininity/Masculinity

1) Maternal involvement in early childhood is positively associated with femininity in women. High early childhood maternal involvement is associated with high femininity.

2) Maternal involvement in early childhood is inversely associated with masculinity in women. High maternal involvement in early childhood is associated with low masculinity.

These hypotheses were designed to test Chodorow's theory of gender development. They examine her assertion that psychological femininity and masculinity result from the degrees of involvement and differentiation in the early mother-child relationship.

II Early Childhood Maternal Involvement and Erotic Orientation

3) Maternal involvement in early childhood is positively related to androeroticism (sexual interest in men). High maternal involvement is associated with high androeroticism.

4) Early childhood maternal involvement is inversely associated with gynoeroticism (sexual interest in women). High maternal involvement is related to low gynoeroticism.

The proposed relationship between gyno/andro-eroticism and the early mother-child relationship are deduced from

Dinnerstein's theory of erotic attraction. If these variables are significantly related, they would lend support to Dinnerstein's assertion that the gender-related dynamics of erotic-responsiveness are derived from differences in the early mother-child relationship.

III Early Childhood Maternal Involvement and Level of Differentiation of Object Representations

5) Levels of early childhood maternal involvement are inversely associated with levels of differentiation in object relations representations. High maternal involvement in early childhood is associated with undifferentiated and interrelated object representations. Low maternal involvement is associated with highly differentiated and isolated object relations representations.

This hypothesis describes Chodorow's assertion that the degrees of differentiation in the early childhood relationship with mother are internalized and become the basis for the enduring structure of mental schemata of self and other representations.

IV Level of Differentiation of Object Relations Representations and Femininity/Masculinity

6) Differentiation in object representations is positively associated with masculine personality attributes. Highly differentiated object representations is associated with high masculinity.

7) Differentiation of object representations is inversely associated with femininity. Low levels of object representation differentiation is related to higher femininity.

These hypotheses examine the relationship between the levels of differentiation of object relations representations

and gender attributes. They test Chodorow's theory that feminine and masculine personality attributes are mediated by differences in the mental schema for interpersonal relations.

U Level of Differentiation of Object Relations Representation and Erotic Orientation

8) High differentiation in object-representations is positively associated with gynoeroticism.

9) Low differentiation in object-representations are positively related to androeroticism.

These hypotheses investigate whether the object relational paradigms from Chodorow's theory are associated with erotic orientation.

VI Erotic Orientation and Femininity/Masculinity

10) Gynoeroticism is associated with masculine personality attributes.

11) Androeroticism is positively related to feminine personality attributes.

VII Identification with Mother, and Identification with Father

12) High identification with mother is associated with high early childhood maternal involvement.

13) High identification with mother is associated with low levels of differentiation of object relations representations.

14) Identification with mother is positively correlated with femininity.

15) Identification with mother is positively associated with androeroticism.

16) Disidentification with father is positively correlated with femininity and androeroticism. High identification with father is associated with low early childhood maternal involvement and levels of object relations representation characterized by high differentiation.

Measurement of Variables

Early Childhood Maternal Involvement

Early childhood maternal involvement was measured with a six point (or level) rating scale on which subjects rate their early childhood relationship with mother.¹ Each scale point is described and defined for subjects. Each of the scale levels describes differences in the degree of mother's involvement, warmth, closeness and nurturance; and concomitantly, daughters feelings of involvement, closeness, separateness and differentness. Thus each of six paragraphs which define each of the six levels summarizes a range of behaviors and feelings, in an effort to capture women's overall or general experiences of their mothers along these dimensions. The points along the scale are arranged to represent a continuum, ranging from high maternal involvement at point 1, to low maternal involvement at point 6. The scale is contained in Appendix A. This scale is abbreviated Matinv1.

In addition to women's ratings of their relationship with their mother during early childhood (defined for

¹ A second measure of early childhood maternal involvement was developed in a pilot study, and consists of a scoring system for IAT stories. Results of data analysis revealed that the two measures are only modestly associated, and furthermore use of the IAT measure involves substantial reduction of the sample size. As such only the Maternal Involvement Scale is used to assess this variable. Description and results of the data analysis with the IAT Measure are provided in Appendix J.

participants as the years from birth to age six), respondents were asked to rate their mother-daughter relationships using the same scale for late childhood, for adolescence, and for their present relationships with their mothers. (These ratings are abbreviated Matinv2, Matinv3, and Matinv4, respectively.)

The Maternal Involvement scale is a straight forward and reasonable self-report measure. As such it has face validity, though the reliability of the scale is unknown. However, the pattern of means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations of women's ratings of their mother-daughter relationships for the four life stages are consistent with intuitive expectations and strongly indicate that this is a valid and reliable measure. These data are presented in Table 1. As the group means reveal, mother-daughter involvement is highest during early childhood, and lowest during adolescence, as would be expected. The intercorrelations between mother-daughter involvement across the four time periods show the strongest associations for contiguous time periods with step-wise decreases with each life phase. The correlations reveal strong linear relationships across time periods, highlighting considerable stability in the closeness vs. distance and differentiation in mother-daughter relationships over the life-span.

When these means and intercorrelations are computed separately for lesbian and heterosexual women as groups the

values are nearly identical. These data further suggest that the scale has stable psychometric properties.

Table 1 Means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations of women's self ratings of their maternal involvement for four life stages

	Mean	S.D.	Intercorrelations		
Early Childhood	2.9	1.3	1.0		
Late Childhood	3.0	1.3	.87	1.0	
Adolescence	3.8	1.5	.55	.65	1.0
Adulthood	3.4	1.3	.40	.45	.56

Identification with Mother/Identification with Father

Levels of identification and disidentification with both mother and father are measured with a semantic differential (SD) designed for this study. (These variables are abbreviated IDMO and IDFA.) Semantic Differential is the term used to describe any instrument which asks subjects to rate concepts (in this case 'yourself', 'your mother' and 'your father') on a Likert format scale of bipolar adjectives. Thirty six bipolar adjectives were chosen for the SD. These adjectives reflect a broad range of personality characteristics. A number of the items from Charles Osgood's recommended scales are included. Women complete three semantic differentials, one for 'yourself', one for 'your mother', and one for 'your father'. The semantic differential is contained in Appendix C.

The degree of identification vs. disidentification with each parent was measured by taking the absolute differences of subject's scores for self and mother, and self and father, on each item, then summing over the 36 items. This yielded a single score for the degree of similarity between self and mother, and a single score for self and father. Low scores reflect greater similarity and greater identification, while high scores are reflective of dissimilarity and disidentification.

The data obtained consist of a distribution of scores for all respondents which are used in correlational analyses. For the purposes of group comparisons, the women were divided into three groups reflecting high identification, middle, and low or disidentification. The criteria for group classification was simple percentage, i.e., the range of scores were divided so that one third of the participants fall into each of the three groups.

Level of Differentiation of Object Relations Representations

The Level of Differentiation of object representations (LD) is measured with a scale (or scoring dimension) which is scored for subject's IAT stories. The dimension is scored on one of five levels which are:

- 1) Merged and Undifferentiated.
- 2) Superficially Individuated and Interrelated
- 3) Superficially Individuated and Isolated
- 4) Fully Individuated and Interrelated
- 5) Fully Individuated and Isolated

This dimension is designed to measure the object relations constructs proposed by Chodorow's theory. She hypothesizes that a prolonged, close relationship with mother leads to a relatively undifferentiated 'self' organization which is object-related or object-dependent. A more distant early childhood relationship with mother and earlier differentiation is proposed to result in a highly differentiated and less interrelated 'self' representation. These constructs are assessed by examining the levels of individuation, and of interrelatedness of characters in subject's IAT stories. The term 'individuation' in the scoring dimension refers to the degree to which a character is elaborated, developed, and differentiated--separate from other characters. The 'interrelated' and 'isolated' components refer to the extent of interaction and the nature of the character's relatedness to other characters in the story told. The assessment of 'self' representation is based on the character of the heroine or pivotal figure in subject's stories, while other characters in the story are rated as representations of 'others'. Instructions for scoring the LD are contained in Appendix D.

Each of the participant's two IAT stories were scored two times on this scoring dimension, once for each story with one scoring for the heroine of the story and the other for the other characters. Photocopies of the two IAT cards chosen for this study, and the instructions provided to participants are contained in Appendix B.

Two individuals with Bachelors degree's in psychology scored the IAT stories on the level of differentiation dimension. These coders had been trained to use this scoring dimension for an earlier pilot study (see Berry, 1985). Working independently, the coders had achieved a high degree of interrater reliability with the pilot data (percent agreement was 85). For the purposes of this study, two refresher training sessions were held. Both coders scored the first 20 IAT stories independently. Their percent agreement was 89%. For the remainder of the data set, each respondent's IAT stories were scored by only one of the coders.

Psychological Femininity/Masculinity

Women's femininity/masculinity was measured with the Spence-Helmreich Personal Attribute Questionnaire (PAQ) (see Appendix E). The PAQ contains three subscales of 8 items each. Based on their research, the subscales were shown to consist of an independent Feminine dimension (F), an independent Masculine dimension (M), and a dimension which reflects bipolar feminine and masculine traits (M-F).

The PAQ is a self-report measure of gender linked personality attributes. Each of the 24 items are measured on a 5 point bipolar scale. Each item describes a gender-role characteristic and was chosen for the instrument based on significantly different mean ratings achieved by women and men in the stereotypically expected directions.

Psychometric properties of the scales indicate that a tripartite conceptualization of masculinity-femininity is valid. Intercorrelations among the scales suggest that the masculine and feminine scales are separate and distinct dimensions. (They have low positive correlation for both sexes). The M-F scale was shown to have internal validity and sex linked bipolarity. The M-F scale was moderately correlated with the M scale, and had a low but substantial negative correlation with the F scale.

Items on the M and F scales were rated as socially desirable for both sexes, but more characteristic of one sex. The items on the F scale describe interpersonal awareness and concern for others. The items on the M scale refer to agentic or masculine personality characteristics including independence, competitiveness, perseverance, etc... The items of the M-F scale are all scored in the masculine direction. This scale contains two masculine items assessing aggression and dominance. The remaining six items describe emotional vulnerability, expressiveness and dependency. These reflect susceptibility to emotional hurt and need for emotional support. High scores indicate aggression, dominance and lack of emotional vulnerability and dependency. The M-F scale items were each rated as socially desirable for one sex, consistent with stereotyped expectations. Despite this finding, the scale reflects undesirable characteristics at both extremes.

The three scales are linear and continuous measures and

were used in correlational computations. To assess the conjoint relationships between the scales, Spence and Helmreich recommend a two way classification for each scale based on the median scores. Thus participants are classified as high or low on each of the three scales, and the conjoint relationships between each pair of scales are expressed by means of two by two tables. Such categorical analyses were also computed.

Erotic Orientation

Erotic orientation is measured with a scale called the Erotic Orientation Scale (EROS) developed by Michael Storms (1980, 1981). Storms devised this scale based on a model of erotic-responsiveness in which sexual attraction to women (gynoeroticism) and sexual interest in men (androeroticism) are separate dimensions. Subjects respond to eight Guttman-format items on two distinct subscales, one measuring the frequency and nature of erotic interests and fantasies of women; the other measuring the frequency and nature of erotic interests and fantasies of men. Scores on the two scales were orthogonally combined to yield four categories: 'low-erotic', 'high-erotic', 'androerotic', and 'gynoerotic' groups. Storms tested the scale on a population of 185 college students. Subjects completed the EROS, the Kinsey Scale, and a questionnaire item which asked subjects to label themselves as homosexual, heterosexual or bisexual.

Statistical results confirmed the hypothesis that gynoerotic and androerotic orientations vary independently and are therefore best conceptualized as independent and orthogonal dimensions. Findings of this study also confirmed that erotic fantasy and interest are related to behavior as measured by the Kinsey scale, and by subjects' self assignment of their sexual orientations. Storms found that homosexual subjects report more heterosexual fantasy than vice-versa, and that bisexual subjects report as much heteroerotic fantasy as the heterosexual group and as much homoerotic fantasy as the homosexual group.

Psychometric properties of the scale indicate that it has high internal reliability and validity, and that it is consistently reliable across sexual orientation groups.

The EROS is superior to the Kinsey Scale in a number of ways. It discriminates between bisexual and asexual individuals, while the Kinsey Scale places them in the same range. The EROS makes finer discriminations of erotic interest, and accurately assesses gynoeroticism and androeroticism as separate dimensions.

The EROS provides two sets of scores which are linear, and were used for correlational analyses. For the purpose of group comparisons, a median split classification of women's scores on the two subscales were combined as described above. Group comparisons on the basis of respondents' self designated sexual orientation were also used. The EROS is contained in Appendix F.

Secondary Variables and Rationale

A variety of additional information relevant to this area of research was obtained from participants on the questionnaire they completed. (See Appendix G for questionnaire.) The items on the questionnaire requested information about demographic factors, and a number of secondary variables which previous studies have shown to be related to aspects of women's psychosexual development and expression.

The demographic information obtained included age, race/ethnicity, education, occupation, and the respondents' classification of their present socio-economic status and the socio-economic status of their families during their childhoods. These factors are known to be related to gender role attributes in women.

Respondents were also asked whether they were raised in single or two parent families, whether their parents separated or divorced during their childhoods, who their primary caretaker was during early childhood and whether there was any significant time period of separation from this person. In addition to the rating scale which assesses the subject's early childhood relationship with mother, women were asked to indicate whether any of a brief list of adjectives characterizes their father's behavior toward them during childhood, and whether they would characterize themselves as having been "Daddy's Princess" or "Mother's Girl".

A number of questionnaire items requested information relevant to intimate relationships. Women were asked to indicate their 'relationship status', i.e., single, coupled or married. They were asked whether they were currently in an intimate relationship, and how long they have been in this relationship. Two further questions asked women how many 'significant' intimate relationships they have had and the length of their longest intimate relationship. The interrelationships among these items and the primary research variables were examined to discern what if any differences might characterize women with differing relationship patterns.

Previous studies of both heterosexual and lesbian women have found that feminist ideology is associated with androgyny. Participants were asked to rate their views of women as either traditional, liberal, or feminist. The relationship between women's gender ideology and the other variables was examined.

Three items refer to areas of personal/developmental history which were examined for relationships with the other research variables. The first item which has been shown to differentiate lesbian women from heterosexual women asked subjects if they were "tomboys" during childhood. The next two items asked women how old they were when they first experienced sexual sensations or feelings, and how old they were when they first became aware of their sexual orientation. Previous studies have found that lesbian women who realize their lesbian sexual orientation later in life

are more feminine than lesbians who are aware of their homosexuality at an earlier age (Clingman & Fowler, 1967; Saghir & Robins, 1973; Vance, 1977).

The final questionnaire item asked whether respondents had ever been the victim of sexual abuse, rape, or incest, who the abuser was and how old they were at the time of the abuse. A comment which preceded this question stressed that participants did not have to answer the question if they chose not to. Sexual abuse is a traumatic life event which can affect many areas of women's personality functioning. The relationship between sexual abuse victimization and the other research variables was examined.

Whereever demographic or family background variables were significantly associated with the research variables, these effects are controlled for with partial correlation coefficients. (Results of exploratory analyses of the secondary variables are provided in Appendix K.)

Procedure

Data Collection

The sample for this study was obtained through the voluntary and anonymous participation of women who were recruited through three sources: 1) Extended friendship networks; 2) Places of work; 3) Women's organizations.

A flier which briefly described the purpose and procedure of the study and invited participation, was distributed through friendship networks and was posted on bulletin boards in a variety of work settings and in offices of women's organizations. For each of the public places where fliers were posted permission was gained from the person in authority. Each flier designated a contact person in that particular setting from whom the research measures could be obtained. (The flier is contained in Appendix H.)

Volunteers were given a large sealed envelope which contained a cover letter from the researcher (Appendix I), the research instruments and instructions (Appendices A to G), and a stamped envelope addressed to the researcher. The cover letter contains information about the study, instructions about the procedure, and orients volunteers to the research instruments. The cover letter stresses that participation is completely voluntary and anonymous, and describes the confidentiality safeguards. Participants were

instructed to mail their completed research forms to the researcher in the envelope provided. The researcher's name, address and phone number were included with the cover letter, and women were informed that they may contact the researcher if they had any questions or wanted further information about the study.

The research forms included in the envelope contained the Questionnaire, the Maternal Involvement Scale, the PAQ Scale, the Eros, the Semantic Differential, and photocopies of the two IAT cards, with instructions and paper for the written stories.

Sample Characteristics

A total of 77 women completed and returned the research measures for this study.

The sample ranges in age from 18 to 58 years old with a mean age of 32 and a standard deviation of 8 years. One half of these women are between 26 and 36 years of age. The racial composition of the sample is almost exclusively white, 69 participants or 90% of the sample identified themselves as caucasian. Information on educational background indicates that this is a highly educated sample: 24 women have completed graduate or professional training; 23 have completed four years of college; 20 women have completed at least one year of college and the remaining 10 respondents have completed High School. Seventy-five percent or 58 of the participants are employed, six women are not employed,

and 13 of the women are students.

Women were asked to indicate their present socio-economic class, and additionally the standardized Hollingshead and Redlich index of socio-economic status was computed using the formula which combines education and occupation. The Hollingshead and Redlich SES composition of the sample is:

Table 2 Socio-economic status of respondents

SES Class	Number of Subjects
(highest) I	7
II	20
III	28
IV	12
V	5
Unclassified	5

The breakdown of Women's self ratings of their present SES and their ratings of their families socio-economic class during their childhoods are as follows:

Table 3 Socio-economic status of participant's family of origin

	Self	Family
Upper Class	0	1
Upper Middle Class	16	20
Middle Class	36	28
Working Class	23	26
Lower Class	1	2

Family Background and Personal Information

Thirty nine of the participants classified themselves as heterosexual, 28 classified themselves as lesbian and 10

classified themselves as bisexual. Due to the small number of bisexual women, this group is not included in forms of data analysis which involve group comparisons of women based on their sexual orientation. In response to the question on relationship status, 55 of the women were in an intimate relationship, 18 of the respondents view themselves as married, and 28 view themselves as 'coupled'. Questions about family background indicate that 56 of the women were raised in intact two parent families, 17 of the respondents are from divorced families. Seventy-two of the women indicated that their biological mothers were their primary caretakers during early childhood.

Preliminary Notes on the Data Analysis

The raw data for each subject consists of the Questionnaire, the Maternal Involvement Scale, the PAQ, EROS, the Semantic Differential, and two IAT stories. All 77 participants completed the questionnaire; the PAQ, EROS, and SD were each completed by 75 respondents, however only 58 women returned written IAT stories.

The means and distributions of women's scores on the PAQ scales and the EROS scales are consistent with those reported in the literature for the standardization samples. Women's scores on all three PAQ Scales and on the androeroticism scale are essentially normally distributed. However women's scores on the gynoeroticism scale are bimodally distributed.

Differences within Sexual Orientation Groups

An exploratory examination of the data revealed that the patterns of relationships between the research variables for the sample as a whole are often different from the patterns of relationships within each of the two major sexual orientation groups when examined independently. In a number of cases this discrepancy is due to differences in the distributions of scores across lesbian and heterosexual women. However, in other instances it is evident that findings which emerged from the data analysis of the sample as a whole reflect the characteristics of one sexual orientation group but not the other. Furthermore, the relationships between the research variables often differ for each of the sexual orientation groups. In these instances, statistical analysis and results are presented for each of the two major sexual orientation groups independently. In the presentation of the findings in the Results chapter, these differences are presented and later discussed.

The Measurement of Object Relations Representations

The data from respondents who returned IAT stories provides four scores for each participant on the level of differentiation of object representations dimension. For each of their two IAT stories the dimension is scored once for the pivotal figure in the stories and once for the other characters. An examination of the intercorrelations between these four scores indicates that women's projections of self

and others in the two stories are very similar. For the purposes of simplifying the analyses of the data, the four scores for each participant are summed to provide a single score. Hence each subject has a single score representing the sum of their scores on the four ratings, and these values are used in the data analysis.

Methodological Considerations

A number of features of the sample support its representativeness. The overall sample means and standard deviations on all of the standardized research measures are consistent with those reported in previous studies with these measures for college populations. Many of the potential sources of confound in studies which compare lesbian and heterosexual women are minimized in this investigation. The lesbian and heterosexual women are matched for age, and almost all are employed. The majority of women from both groups are college educated; and while 16 of the heterosexual women are married, the differences in women's relationship status (single vs. coupled) and the length of their current relationship were examined as these related to the research variables.

The generalizability of the findings are limited by three constraints on the representativeness of the sample. The women who participated in the study are highly educated. While the effects of education are controlled for wherever it was a relevant variable, the lower range of education is not

adequately represented in the sample. A second unrepresentative feature involves group differences in the socio-economic family background of lesbian and heterosexual women. Forty percent of the lesbian women in this sample are from upper or upper-middle class family backgrounds, in contrast to only 15% of the heterosexual group. Family SES is significantly associated with many of the research variables, and again the effects of family SES are controlled for wherever possible. And finally, the many difficulties which accompany defining and obtaining a representative sample of lesbian and bisexual women further restrict the generalizability of findings for these groups.

RESULTS

Hypotheses I

Early Childhood Maternal Involvement and Femininity/Masculinity

1) Maternal involvement in early childhood is positively associated with femininity in women. High early childhood maternal involvement is associated with high femininity.

2) Maternal involvement in early childhood is inversely associated with masculinity in women. High maternal involvement in early childhood is associated with low masculinity.

These hypotheses predicted relationships between the level of early childhood maternal involvement and respondents' femininity/masculinity as measured by the three PAQ Scales, F, M, and M-F. Pearson correlation coefficients were computed for each of the three PAQ scales and the Matinv1 scale. For the sample as a whole, there was no significant association between women's ratings of their earliest childhood relationships with their mothers and their gender characteristics. When the relationship between early childhood maternal involvement and femininity/masculinity is assessed within sexual orientation groups, the findings reveal one significant partial correlation between Matinv1 (early childhood maternal involvement) and the bipolar M-F scale for heterosexual women in the predicted direction (see Table 4, partial r controls for education). Here greater

maternal nurturance and closeness is related to the endorsement of feminine traits which are reflective of emotional vulnerability and dependency, and the absence of aggressiveness. Conversely, low maternal involvement in early childhood is associated with bipolar masculine attributes which reflect aggression, dominance and lack of need for emotional support.

Table 4 reveals the correlation coefficients for Matinv1 through 4 and the M-F scale for each of the sexual orientation groups.

Table 4 Intercorrelations between the PAQ M-F scale and Matinv scales 1-4 for heterosexual and lesbian groups.

	PAQ M-F Scale	
	Heterosexual	Lesbian
Matinv1	.33*	.07
Matinv2	.40**	.11
Matinv3	.23	.32*
Matinv4	.17	.06

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$ (Correlations for heterosexual women are partial correlation coefficients which control for education.)

As the table reveals, bipolar femininity/masculinity is related to maternal involvement in the predicted direction during early and late childhood for heterosexual women and during adolescence for lesbian women. There are no statistically significant relationships between the

independent Femininity and Masculinity scales and maternal involvement at any of the four time periods assessed.

Hypotheses II

Early Childhood Maternal Involvement and Erotic Orientation

3) Maternal involvement in early childhood is positively related to androeroticism for women. High maternal involvement is associated with high androeroticism.

4) Early childhood maternal involvement is inversely associated with gynoeroticism in women. High maternal involvement is related to low gynoeroticism.

The association between women's early childhood relationship with mother and their erotic orientation was tested with the correlations between Matinv1 and the EROS gynoeroticism and androeroticism scales. Results show no significant relationships between early childhood mother-daughter closeness and erotic orientation. The hypotheses that distant and differentiating mother-daughter relationships are associated with greater sexual interest in women; and that close and enmeshed mother-daughter bonds result in erotic interest in men are not supported.

Hypotheses III

Maternal Involvement and Level of Differentiation of Object Representations

5) Levels of early childhood maternal involvement are inversely associated with levels of differentiation in projected object relations representations. High maternal

involvement in early childhood is associated with undifferentiated and interrelated object representations. Low maternal involvement is associated with highly differentiated and isolated object relations representations.

Early childhood maternal involvement is significantly correlated with the levels of differentiation of object representations in IAT stories as predicted, for lesbian but not for heterosexual women. Table 5 contains the partial correlation coefficients (controlling for education and family SES) between maternal involvement and object differentiation, for each of the sexual orientation groups.

Table 5 Partial correlation coefficients between object representations differentiation and Matinv1.

	Lesbian	Heterosexual
Matinv1	.47*	.00
Matinv2	.42*	-.15
Matinv3	.55*	.05
Matinv4	.44*	-.25

*significant at $p < .05$ All partial correlations control for education and family SES.

Thus among lesbian women, high levels of early childhood maternal involvement are associated with less differentiated object representations, while low early childhood maternal involvement is associated with highly differentiated object relations representations.

(The direction of the correlation between education and object representations differentiation differs for lesbian

and heterosexual groups, and is noteworthy because this group difference also characterizes the relationship between education and both gynoeroticism, and the bipolar M-F scale. In each case, the heterosexual group shows a significant positive relationship between education and each of the three variables (object differentiation, masculinity, and gynoeroticism); while education shows a significant negative correlation with these variable for lesbian women. For further discussion see appendix L.)

Hypotheses IV

Differentiation of Object Representations and Femininity/Masculinity

6) Differentiation in object representations is positively associated with masculine personality attributes. Highly differentiated object representations is associated with high masculinity.

7) Differentiation of object representations is inversely associated with femininity. Low levels of object representation differentiation is related to higher femininity.

There is no evidence for the hypothesized association between women's gender characteristics and the differentiation and interrelatedness of characters they project into TAT stories of family relationships. The results of an analysis of variance, and also correlation coefficients indicate that there are no significant relationships between the level of differentiation of object representations and the three scales used to assess femininity/masculinity.

Femininity is not associated with projections of object-dependent--and highly interrelated characters, and likewise masculinity is not related to differentiated and more isolated object representations.

Hypotheses U

Differentiation of Object Representations and Erotic Orientation

8) High differentiation in object-representations is positively associated with gynoeroticism.

9) Low differentiation in object-representations are positively related to androeroticism.

The hypotheses that differentiation of object representations would be associated with women's erotic interests were not supported. The correlations between the EROS scales and object differentiation for the entire sample of women and for each of the sexual orientation groups assessed independently show no statistically significant relationships.

Hypotheses UI

Erotic Orientation and Femininity/Masculinity

10) Gynoeroticism is associated with masculine personality attributes.

11) Androeroticism is positively related to feminine personality attributes.

The hypotheses which predicted relationships between the PAQ and EROS scales were investigated with correlation

coefficients. These hypotheses predicted that gynoeroticism would be positively associated with masculinity, while androeroticism would be positively associated with femininity. For the sample as a whole, the correlations between the three PAQ scales and the two EROS scales reveal only one significant relationship, between gynoeroticism and the M-F scale in the predicted direction. These intercorrelations are presented in Table 6.

Table 6 Correlations between the PAQ and EROS Scales

EROS	PAQ Scales		
	F	M	M-F
Gynoeroticism	-.14@	.16	.23*
Androeroticism	-.06	-.06	.01

* $p < .05$ (@ r is partial correlation controlling for education.)

The significant but modest correlation between gynoeroticism and the M-F scale supports the hypothesis that women's sexual interest in women is positively associated with masculine personality characteristics.

The correlations between the PAQ scales and the EROS scales for lesbian and heterosexual groups when computed separately reveal three significant relationships between gender attributes and erotic interests for heterosexual women. Heterosexual women's sexual interest in women is inversely associated with their femininity as measured by the F scale ($r = -.29$, $p < .05$). As such more feminine heterosexual women report less sexual interest in women. Significant

positive correlations between androeroticism and both the M ($r=.37$) and M-F ($r=.47$) scales indicate that heterosexual women who score more masculine on these scales report a greater range of sexual interests in men. (All correlations reported here are partial correlations which control for education, age and family SES.)

When the correlations between the PAQ and EROS subscales are computed independently for the lesbian group, there are no statistically significant relationships.

Hypotheses VII

Identification with Mother

12) High identification with mother is be associated with high early childhood maternal involvement.

Identification with mother is associated with early childhood maternal involvement in the predicted direction, however the correlation does not reach statistical significance. Both variables are significantly associated with family SES. When partial correlation coefficients are computed to control for family SES only Matinv3 (adolescence) and Matinv4 (adulthood) are significantly associated with identification with mother. Table 7 reveals the partial correlation coefficients for identification with mother and Matinv1-4. (When these correlations are computed for lesbian and heterosexual groups separately, there are no differences in significance levels.)

Table 7 Partial correlations between identification with mother and levels of Maternal involvement 1 through 4.

Identification with Mother		
	<u>Partial r</u>	<u>P</u>
Matinv1	.16	.09
Matinv2	.14	.13
Matinv3	.32	.003*
Matinv4	.40	.001*

13) High identification with mother is associated with low levels of differentiation of object relations representations.

The hypothesized relationship between identification with mother and differentiation of object relations representations was not supported.

14) Identification with mother is positively correlated with femininity.

The predicted relationship between identification with mother and femininity was supported. Identification with mother is correlated with the bipolar M-F scale, $r = .21$, $p < .05$. Women who perceive themselves and their mothers as alike score in the feminine direction on this scale, while those who perceive themselves and their mothers as dissimilar score in the masculine direction. The correlations between identification with mother and both the M and F scales are in the predicted direction, but do not achieve statistical significance.

Using a three way group classification based on women's identification with mother scores, and the median split method of group classification on each of the PAQ scales, Kendall's Tau-C rank order correlation reveals significant associations between identification with mother and all three femininity/masculinity measures. The group of women who are most highly identified with their mothers are less masculine on both the M and M-F scales, and are more feminine on both the M-F and F scales. Table 8 shows the joint classification of women's levels of identification with mother, and their PAQ classifications.

Table 8 Women's joint classifications of their three-way identification with mother by their two way categorization on the PAQ Scales

Identification with Mother				
	High	Moderate	Low	
PAQ F				
Low	8	11	14	
High	17	12	10	Tau C=-.24, p<.05
PAQ M				
Low	17	11	10	
High	8	11	15	Tau C=.25, p<.05
PAQ M-F				
Low	17	13	8	
High	8	10	16	Tau C=.31, p<.01

When the relationship between women's identification with mother grouping and their combined classifications on the PAQ scales are examined the most dramatic differences are found for the combined M and M-F scales. As the data in Table 9 illustrates, the majority of those who are most

highly identified with their mothers achieve combined low scores on both measures of masculinity. In contrast, those who are most disidentified with their mothers tend to achieve high scores in the masculine direction on both scales.

Table 9 Frequencies of women's 3-way classification of identification with mother, by their combined M-F and M classification.

	Identification with Mother		
	High	Moderate	Low
LO M-F/LO M	15	8	7
HI M-F/LO M	2	3	3
LO M-F/HI M	2	5	1
HI M-F/HI M	6	6	13

15) Identification with mother is positively associated with androeroticism.

The hypothesis which predicted that identification with mother would be associated with androeroticism was not supported. Women's perceived similarity between themselves and their mothers was not significantly associated with either the androeroticism or the gynoeroticism scales. Furthermore there is no relationship between identification with mother and self-labeled sexual orientation.

Identification with Father

16) Disidentification with father is positively correlated with femininity and androeroticism. High identification with father is associated with low early childhood maternal involvement and levels of object relations representation characterized by high differentiation.

Identification with father was not significantly related to any of the variables in the directions predicted by the hypotheses.

Sexual Orientation and Gender Attributes:

Exploratory Findings

Exploratory analyses of the relationships between women's self classification of their sexual orientation, their erotic interests as measured by the EROS scales, and their gender characteristics were carried out. These findings are presented here.

Self Labeled Sexual Orientation and Gender Attributes

Correlations between women's self classification of their sexual orientation and their scores on the PAQ scales are presented in Table 10. As the table reveals, when women's sexual orientation moves from heterosexual (1), to bisexual (2), to lesbian (3), their scores on all of the PAQ scales increase in a positive direction. Only the M-F scale is significantly correlated with sexual orientation at a $p < .05$.

Table 10 Group means and correlations between self labeled sexual orientation and the PAQ Scales

PAQ Scale	Heterosexual	Bisexual	Lesbian	r	P
F	23.3	23.8	24.6	.14	.11
M	20	20.6	21.6	.16	.08
M-F	12.9	13.7	14.8	.22	.03

A one-way analysis of variance was computed to determine if there are significant group differences for lesbian and heterosexual women on each of the PAQ scales. The results show no significant group differences, only the M-F scale shows a trend of significance with an F value of 3.28, (1,65,df) and $p=.07$.

Using the median split method of classifying subjects' conjoint scores on the three pairings of PAQ scales, the most striking difference shows that a higher percentage of heterosexual women are classified as undifferentiated (i.e., achieving low scores on both F and M scales). Table 11 reveals the number of women who are classified into each of the four quadrants using the F and M scales. A Chi-square analysis of this data is significant at the $p<.01$ in a one tailed test (Chi-square = 15.49, df=6).

As the table reveals, lesbian and bisexual women are much less likely to achieve combined low scores on the M and F scales, though only the lesbian group shows a greater frequency of androgynous women. Heterosexual women are least likely to be androgynous, while both lesbian and heterosexual

groups show comparable frequencies of both feminine and masculine sex-typed women.

Table 11 Number and percentage of women in each of the sexual orientation groups falling into each of the four joint classifications of M and F.

	Heterosexual	Lesbian	Bisexual
Undifferentiated (LO F/ LO M)	14 (38%)	2 (7%)	0
Feminine Sex-typed (HI F/ LO M)	8 (22%)	8 (30%)	6 (66%)
Masculine Sex-typed (LO F/ HI M)	8 (22%)	8 (30%)	2 (22%)
Androgynous (HI F/ HI M)	7 (18%)	9 (33%)	1 (12%)

Self-Designated Sexual Orientation and the EROS Scales

Self labeled sexual orientation was as expected, highly associated with women's scores on both gynoeroticism and androeroticism scales. The correlation between gynoeroticism and self-labeled sexual orientation is .78, androeroticism is correlated -.55. Three trends are noteworthy. First, while androeroticism is normally distributed, gynoeroticism has a bimodal distribution. As this and the correlations suggest, self designated sexual orientation is more strongly predictive of womens scores on the gynoeroticism scale, while sexual interest in men shows greater variance which is not associated with women's classification of themselves as heterosexual, bisexual or lesbian. Secondly, the androeroticism and gynoeroticism scales are inversely

correlated with each other with an r of $-.31$, $p=.004$. Yet when a partial correlation coefficient is computed controlling for sexual orientation, the gynoeroticism and androeroticism scales are positively correlated ($r=.26$, $p=.02$). Thus within sexual orientation women's sexual interests in both men and women are positively associated. The scales measure not only the direction of erotic interest, but also the extent of erotic interest which covaries within sexual orientation groups. And finally, lesbian women report greater cross-sexual-preference sexual interests than heterosexual women do. The lesbian group's mean score on the androeroticism scale is significantly higher than the heterosexual group's mean score on the gynoeroticism scale.

Erotic Orientation and Gender Attributes

A final investigation of the relationship between gender characteristics and erotic orientation utilized a median split classification of women on the gynoeroticism and androeroticism scales. In this classification scheme women are categorized as 'androerotic', 'gynoerotic', 'low-erotic' and 'high-erotic', based on their conjoint classification on the two scales which measure their sexual interests in women and in men. A four way classification of women on the EROS scales is shown in Figure 1.

		Gynoeroticism	
		Low	High
High Andro- eroticism	25	Heterosexual	2 Heterosexual
	1	Bisexual	5 Bisexual
	0	Lesbian	5 Lesbian
Low Andro- eroticism	9	Heterosexual	0 Heterosexual
	1	Bisexual	3 Bisexual
	2	Lesbian	20 Lesbian

Figure 1 Number of women in each of the gynoeroticism and androeroticism categories

As would be expected, there is substantial congruence between women's self labeled sexual orientation and their classification on the combined gynoeroticism and androeroticism scales. The majority of heterosexual women are in the category reflecting high sexual interest in men and low sexual interest in women; while the majority of lesbian women report high gynoeroticism and low androeroticism. Five of the ten self-labeled bisexual women report high sexual interest in both women and men. A comparison of women's scores on the PAQ scales based on this classification scheme shows no differences between the heterosexual and lesbian categories, but strong differences characterize the 'low-erotic' group (who report low sexual interest in women and in men), and mild differences characterize 'high-erotic' group. The feature which most distinguishes 'low-erotic' women from the other groups is their high femininity, reflected by their low mean score on the M-F scale, as shown in Table 12.

Table 12 Means and standard deviations on the PAQ scales and age for the 'low-erotic' and 'high-erotic' groups, and all subjects

	Asexual		Bisexual		All Subjects	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
PAQ M-F	9.2	2.8	15.7	6.4	13.8	4.5
PAQ M	18	3.8	22	4.5	20.6	4.3
PAQ F	24	3.9	22.2	4.0	23.9	4.2
Age	35	11	30	5	32	8

While the small number of women who are categorized here as 'low-erotic' or as 'high-erotic' precludes any generalizations from these findings, the data do suggest that masculine personality characteristics are related to low vs. high sexual interests in general. Further investigation of the differences which distinguish the 'low-erotic' women from the other groups shows that a slightly greater proportion of these women are in relationships of longer duration. Eight of the twelve low-erotic women are in a relationship, with a mean length of 11 years. The mean length of current relationship for the 55 coupled women in the sample is 7.5 years. Thus the low-erotic women, who report low sexual interests, are slightly but not significantly older, and on the average they have been in intimate relationships slightly longer.

Semantic Differential Item Analysis

Further investigation of the semantic differential explored the correlations between the items on each of the three semantic differentials and the distributions of women's scores reflecting their identification with their mothers, identification with their fathers, and also their scores on the maternal involvement scale. While these data are provided in appendix M, the highest item correlations between women's ratings of themselves and their overall identification with mother scores are presented here. Table 13 reveals the semantic differential items which were significantly correlated with women's identification with mother scores. The adjective listed first represents the direction associated with high identification with mother.

Table 13 Correlations between SD items on which women rated themselves and their identification with mother scores. (Characteristics of self associated with identification with mother)

Item	Correlation
Conforming--Individualistic	.30
Restrained--Expressive	.28
Delicate--Rugged	.25
Controlled--Spontaneous	.23
Passive--Active	.23
Providing--Needy	.23
Submissive--Dominant	.21
Cooperative--Competitive	.21

Women's ratings of their own characteristics which correlated most highly with their identification with their mothers suggest a dimension characterized by passive

conformity at one end and active individualism at the other. The direction of association is consistent with the findings of many previous studies which have noted that women who have highly involved relationships with their mothers, and identify strongly with them show a pattern of feminine characteristics which reflect the absence of agentic traits.

DISCUSSION

This study sought to empirically assess hypotheses which propose that femininity, masculinity, and sexual orientation in women develop in the early childhood process of attachment to and differentiation from mother, and are mediated by intrapsychic object relations representations. The hypotheses were derived from two theories of gender development, proposed by Nancy Chodorow and Dorothy Dinnerstein. These theories posit that aspects of the early mother-child relationship lead to differences in gender characteristics across the sexes. Extrapolating from the theories, this investigation assessed whether the constructs proposed by Chodorow and Dinnerstein are relevant to the development of gender attributes and sexual orientation among women alone. The hypotheses predicted relationships between five primary variables; early childhood maternal involvement, identification with mother, projected object relations representations, femininity/masculinity, and sexual orientation and erotic interests. The results of statistical analyses show that few of the variables are significantly related as predicted, and of these, even fewer of the relationships are of strong magnitude. Thus overall there is modest evidence for some tenets of the theories, while others

are not supported. Of the significant findings, the strongest support for both theories derives from the significant relationship found between daughters' identification with their mothers and their gender characteristics. Here, as both theories propose, high identification with mother (perceived similarity between self and mother) is significantly associated with feminine personality characteristics and inversely associated with masculine personality characteristics.

Identification with Mother and Femininity/Masculinity

Women who perceive themselves and their mothers as alike are more feminine and less masculine on all three scales of femininity/masculinity. Chodorow and Dinnerstein both assert that identity and personality organization that are based on identification, similarity, mirroring, mutuality, and emulation of mother are the central organizers of feminine personality. They assert that where children disidentify with their mothers, masculine attributes which are based on separation and differentiation of self from others develop. The findings of this study strongly support the relationship between identification with mother and women's psychological femininity and masculinity. Identification with mother is significantly associated with all of the two-way classifications of the three Femininity and Masculinity scales. Women who are most highly identified with mother are high in feminine characteristics and low in masculine

characteristics, while women who are least identified with their mothers are high in masculine characteristics and low in feminine characteristics. When the combinations of feminine and masculine characteristics are examined together, the most dramatic differences emerge for the pairing of independent masculine attributes and bipolar feminine/masculine attributes (the M and M-F scales). Here the majority of women who perceive themselves and their mothers as most similar endorse combined low scores on both scales, demonstrating low masculine characteristics. In contrast, the majority of women who were disidentified with their mothers obtain high scores on both scales in the masculine direction, reflecting high masculinity.

In the theoretical paradigm under investigation 'identification with mother' is viewed as a process which begins, importantly in earliest childhood. Chodorow and Dinnerstein focus on early childhood development, proposing that during this formative period of initial personality organization, the extent of the child's identification with mother produces gender related differences in personality organization. In this study, it is women's adulthood identification with mother that is assessed. Most psychological theories view adulthood identification with parents as the product of a longstanding, continuous and stable developmental process. While in all likelihood considerable stability in identification with a parent over the child's lifespan is probably the rule, change and inconsistency also occur. While the degree of adulthood

identification with mother probably does result from an ongoing childhood identification with her, this is an untested assumption.

So comparatively, highly feminine women perceive themselves and their mothers as alike, and highly masculine women perceive themselves and their mothers as different. Two alternative interpretations can be raised. First, it could be argued that the participant's femininity and masculinity lead to differences in their perceptions of similarity between self and others, and this is in fact not inconsistent with the tenets of the theories examined. However women's femininity and masculinity are more strongly associated with the extent to which they identify with their mothers, and are less associated with the extent to which they report being like their fathers. This difference supports the claim that it is identification with mother, and not father which is related to psychological femininity and masculinity. Secondly, it may be that more feminine women are similar to their mothers because mothers, in general, are more feminine than daughters due to socio-cultural changes.

The positive relationship between maternal involvement and identification with mother demonstrates that the levels of closeness vs. differentiation daughters feel with their mothers, and the extent to which they perceive their mothers as involved, warm, and nurturing is associated with their perceptions of similarity between self and mother. In a similar manner the item analysis of the semantic differential (Appendix M), reveals that overall identification mother is

most significantly related to a constellation of perceptions of mother as nurturing vs. depriving, open vs. closed, warm vs. cold, etc... As expected, qualities such as mother's involvement, warmth, and nurturance throughout life are associated with daughter's identification with their mothers. These findings are consistent with the well established role of warmth vs. hostility in fostering childrens' identification with, and emulation of, models and parents.

Identification with Mother and Agentic Characteristics

The semantic differential item analysis of women's ratings of themselves suggests that the degree of women's identification with their mother is associated with a cohesive constellation of personality characteristics comprising agentic vs. nonagentic traits. While the item correlations between women's ratings of themselves and their overall identification with mother scores are modest--of all the items on this scale--those with the strongest correlations are consistently reflective of a highly cohesive dimension characterized by passive-conformity vs. active assertiveness. This finding is consistent with those of numerous studies in the areas of child development, achievement motivation and gender development; high identification and involvement with mother, especially mothers who are themselves highly feminine sex-typed, non-demanding and less differentiating is associated with a range of personality characteristics in daughters reflecting

a lack of agentic characteristics. As many researchers have concluded, daughters who do not individuate from their mothers lack a range of desirable agentic personality attributes.

Of the two variables which assessed aspects of the mother-daughter relationship, the hypotheses of this study focused primarily on maternal involvement in early childhood, predicting that this variable would be associated with gender characteristics (as well as other variables). The results show that adulthood identification with mother--and not early childhood maternal involvement--is more strongly related to women's femininity/masculinity. Thus it is similarity between self and mother, and not how close or differentiated daughter's felt in early childhood, that is related to a broader range of gender attributes.

Maternal Involvement

Women's ratings of their early childhood relationship with mother were significantly associated with gender characteristics for heterosexual, but not for lesbian women. Closeness vs. distance in the early childhood mother-daughter relationship is associated with bipolar gender attributes which reflect emotional expressiveness and need for others. When the relationship between bipolar gender characteristics and maternal involvement is assessed for other life stages, heterosexual women show the strongest correlations for all time periods except adolescence. Thus heterosexual women's

early and late childhood relationships with their mothers are significantly related to these gender-role characteristics, while only adolescent maternal involvement is associated with bipolar gender characteristics for lesbian women. Chodorow's assertion that differentiation in the early childhood relationship with mother produces differences in gender characteristics is supported for heterosexual, but not for lesbian women. Among lesbian women, psychological femininity and masculinity are independent of their maternal involvement in early and late childhood.

A note on causality in the relationship between maternal involvement and adulthood personality functioning is in order here. The parameters of women's early childhood experiences are not empirically examined, but only postdictively assessed by self report. As such all significant findings are associations, which only suggest support for causal interpretations.

There is no relationship between early childhood maternal involvement and the other two measures of gender attributes, nor women's erotic interest in either women or men.

The Bipolar M-F Scale

Throughout all forms of data analysis, the scale which measures bipolar feminine and masculine attributes shows the strongest significant relationships with the other variables examined in this study. Bipolar femininity/masculinity is

associated with sexual orientation, gynoeroticism, identification with mother, and, for heterosexual women, early childhood maternal involvement. It appears that the gender characteristics which this scale measures, and not those measured by the other scales, are most strongly related to the mother-daughter and sexual orientation variables explored. As discussed earlier, Chodorow and Dinnerstein do construe psychological femininity/masculinity in bipolar terms. The results of this study indicate that of the range of gender characteristics, those which are bipolar are indeed more likely to be related to the mother-child relationship and related development for women.

The Proposed Mediating Variable, Differentiation of Object Relations Representation

This variable--differentiation of object relations representations was hypothesized to mediate between the early childhood mother-daughter relationship and both gender characteristics and erotic orientation. The pattern of statistical findings does not support a model of gender differentiation mediated by structural differences in the object relations representations women project into family context. Thus as operationalized here, there is no evidence for Chodorow's assertion that differences in mental representations of self and other underly feminine vs. masculine personality attributes.

Maternal involvement in early childhood (and in fact at all time periods) is strongly associated with differentiation in object representations for lesbian, but not for heterosexual women. A possible explanation for this sexual orientation group difference implicates the greater strain in family relationships which the lesbian woman experiences as a result of her differing sexual orientation. For the lesbian, maternal involvement, and degrees of closeness and warmth, throughout life are likely to be more important to her real and projected interrelatedness and differentiation in self and family members.

Sexual Orientation and Gender Characteristics

The pattern of relationships between women's sexual orientation, and their gender characteristics are consistent with the findings of previous studies. Prior studies have also found lesbian women to be more masculine but not less feminine. The lesbian women in this sample were more likely to achieve combined high scores on the masculine and feminine scales. Heterosexual women show a greater frequency of combined low scores on feminine and masculine measures. Thus the lesbian group show a higher frequency of androgynous women, while a higher percentage of undifferentiated women characterize the heterosexual group.

The strongest group differences emerge when examining the combinations of feminine and masculine characteristics. No group differences were found for each of the scales

independently, thus there are no strong differences between lesbian and heterosexual women's gender characteristics when these are investigated as single dimensions. Many recent investigations of gender characteristics have noted similar patterns, indicating that it is the combined influence of feminine and masculine attributes which are most meaningfully related to many areas of personality functioning, and group differences.

Women's Erotic Interests, Sexual Orientation and Femininity/Masculinity

A number of interesting findings emerged from the data provided by the EROS. These include further support for the independence of gynoeroticism and androeroticism as separate dimensions; differences in cross sexual-preference sexual interests displayed by heterosexual vs. lesbian women; the suggestive findings on gender attribute differences between the low-erotic group and other groups; and the suggestion by the data that the EROS scales may share a common dimension, reflecting a general sexual appetite which may be related to masculine personality characteristics in women.

The findings provide further evidence for the independence of gynoerotic and androerotic orientations. Though the gynoeroticism and androeroticism scales are mildly inversely correlated across sexual orientation, they are positively correlated within sexual orientation groups, and often enter into different patterns of relationships with

other variables. A number of variables studied here are related to both measures in the same direction, indicating that the degree of sexual interest in both women and men may share some common dimensions.

Within each of the major sexual orientation groups, women's sexual interests in men and in women are modestly positively correlated. The scales measure both the sex of ones object of desire, and an additional factor, the frequency and variety of sexual interests women have in both women and men--which covaries. Group differences between women who achieve high vs. low scores on both scales combined suggest that women who report low sexual interests in both women and men show significantly lower scores on the bipolar measure of feminine/masculine personality characteristics (less masculine), and somewhat lower scores on the independent measure of masculine characteristics. Furthermore, among heterosexual women, both measures of masculinity are positively and significantly related to the degree of their sexual interest in men. Thus in women, especially heterosexual women, masculine gender traits are associated with increased sexual interests, appetite, and arousal per se. While feminine characteristics reflecting emotional vulnerability and interdependency are associated with low sexual interests, masculine characteristics, especially those reflecting the absence of emotional dependency and greater aggressiveness are related to higher levels of sexual interests.

As Storms and others have reported, lesbian women show greater sexual interests in men than heterosexual women show in women. Most authors interpret this as a result of the lesbian woman's exposure to heterosexual socialization and this undoubtedly is a major factor. Society is largely heterosexual, and in short, heterosexuality is widely advertised. However the relationship between masculinity and sexual interests suggests that another variable may also contribute to this relationship. The slightly greater tendency of lesbian women to be more masculine than heterosexual women may increase their sexual interests in general. Further support for this speculation derives from the claim that lesbian women are more sexual than heterosexual women. In studies of women's sexual lives, lesbian women have been found to have more active and more varied sexual interests and behaviors. In this study differences between the respective means on the gynoeroticism and androeroticism scales shows that lesbian women report more frequent and more varied feelings of sexual attraction, desire, and fantasy. (Lesbian women report more frequent and varied sexual interests in women than heterosexual women report in men.)

Women's masculinity was also significantly correlated with their first awareness of sexual feelings, and with the number of intimate relationships they have had. These further suggest that masculine characteristics may lead to earlier sexual awareness, and a larger number of intimate relationships. (This latter variable refers not to number of

sexual partners, but to number of intimate relationships.)

Bisexuality

The ten bisexual women in this study obtained mean scores which fall between the heterosexual and lesbian women on the three femininity/masculinity measures. As Storms had found in a previous study, bisexual women's sexual interests in women and in men are additive, i.e., bisexual women report as much sexual interest in men as heterosexual women do; and as much sexual interest in women as lesbian women do.

Patterns of Differences for Heterosexual and Lesbian Women

Many of the hypothesized relationships between variables were significant for only one of the sexual orientation groups. In general the patterns of relationships between variables often differ markedly, for lesbian and heterosexual women. This unexpected trend highlights the importance of women's sexual orientation and may imply that many differences in personality organization accompany differences in sexual orientation for women.

In this study, differences in the directions of interactions between gender attributes, erotic interests, mother daughter relationships, and demographic factors including especially education were found for lesbian vs heterosexual groups.

Education was highly associated with many of the

research variables, and shows differing patterns of relationships for heterosexual vs lesbian women. Among heterosexual women, higher education is related to increases in the differentiation of object representations, higher gynoeroticism, and higher M-F scale scores (more masculine). In contrast higher education is associated with decreases in each of these variables for lesbian women. When the groups are compared, lesbian and heterosexual women at higher levels of education are more similar. If education is a causal variable in these relationships, then it has a homogenizing effect on differences which characterize lesbian and heterosexual groups at lower levels of education. In all probability, the better interpretation holds that women who are more similar along these dimensions are more achievement oriented, and achieve higher levels of education. Some evidence for this explanation can be found in previous research with women's scores on the M-F scale. Spence and Helmreich found that for women, significant positive correlations exist for the M-F scale and two achievement motivation scales, and all three were related to career aspirations of High School students. Other studies also supported the role of the M-F scale in educational and professional achievement realms, especially for women (Spence & Helmreich, 1978). Thus the similarities between lesbian and heterosexual women at high levels of education may not be the result of high education, but rather factors which contributed to these women's attainment of higher education.

Methodological Considerations

Of the various research instruments two are insufficient measures of the constructs they assess. Both the Maternal Involvement Scale and the scale used to measure differentiation of object relations representations are simple measures of complex phenomena. Greater objectification and accuracy in assessing these variables would necessitate more elaborate measures. And, methods which would yield more precise discriminations of the constructs are necessary for a clearer understanding of these variables and the relationships they enter into. For example, further illumination of the role of early childhood maternal involvement in women's gender and psychosexual development would require a more elaborate assessment of the many factors and complex patterning of mother-daughter relationships.

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

THE MATERNAL INVOLVEMENT SCALE

Mother's Relationship with You

Highly Maternal, Emotionally Close

1) Extremely Involved

Mother is very highly nurturing and maternal. She is highly involved with her daughter and highly invested in her role as mother. Mother encourages daughter to be "Mommy's Girl" either by imitating maternal traits or by being close, and sharing a great deal with mother. There is a strong feeling of emotional closeness between mother and daughter.

2) Highly Involved

This mother is also highly nurturing and maternal, though not to an extreme degree. She is involved in a very motherly way, and encourages warmth and closeness. Daughter feels quite close to mother, though not in an all-encompassing way.

Moderately Maternal, Medium Closeness

3) Moderately Involved

Mother is moderately nurturing and involved. She empathizes with daughter, and responds to daughter's needs though she is also a person independent of her role as mother. This mother encourages daughter's independence and separateness and to an equal degree she responds to closeness and dependency.

4) Mildly Involved

This mother is nurturing and maternal at times, but not frequently. She is not rejecting, but is not always maternal and close and she encourages her daughter's independence. There is some sense of closeness but also a sense of separateness.

Low Maternal, Emotionally Distant

5) Moderately Distant

Mother is not very nurturing or maternal. In either active or passive ways she is distant. There is very little feeling of closeness, and daughter feels distant and separate. Daughter develops a strong sense of independence quite early.

6) Extremely Distant

This mother is non-maternal and non-nurturing. She is not warm or close, and there is a strong sense of distance and of separateness. Mother is not responsive to daughter's needs, she is either actively or passively indifferent, neglectful or even rejecting. Daughter is very independent.

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B

PHOTOCOPIES OF TAI CARDS AND INSTRUCTIONS

Please allow for a minimum of 20 minutes to complete this task. On the following pages you will find two pictures. You are to write a story for each of the pictures separately. Your story should have a beginning, a middle, and an end. In other words, what is happening, what led up to the events you describe, and what is the outcome? Also include the thoughts and feelings of the characters. Please write as you create your story, without formulating it beforehand. Your stories may be as long as you like, but spend at least 10 minutes, and not much more than 15 minutes on each story. You will need only a pencil or pen, paper is provided here.

Begin by looking at the first picture for about one minute. Place it in front of you and begin a story. Spontaneity and the natural unfolding of your story as you create it are very important. Please write everything that occurs to you down. If you wish to change your story, or delete something, do not erase but draw a single line through the words or portions you wish to delete. When you finish be sure that you have included everything and add anything you might have neglected--for example the outcome of the story.





APPENDIX C

Instructions This task is similar to the previous one. On the next three pages you will find a series of words that can be used to describe people. The words are arranged as scales of opposites. Thus each word has an opposite at the other end of a scale. You are asked to rate yourself, your Mother, and your Father on these scales. For example:

POLITICIANS

Fair___:___:___:___:___:___:___Unfair
Honest___:___:___:___:___:___:___Dishonest

Think carefully about the person you are describing. If you feel that the word or trait at one end of the scale fully and strongly describes this person, place a check mark in the space right next to that word, like this:

Fair X :___:___ :___:___:___:___Unfair
or

Fair___:___:___ :___:___:___: X Unfair

If you feel that the word closely describes this person, but not completely, you should place your check mark as follows:

Fair___: X :___:___:___:___:___Unfair
or

Fair___:___:___:___:___: X :___Unfair

If one of the words is mildly or slightly characteristic of this person place your check mark like this:

Fair___:___: X :___:___:___:___Unfair
or

Fair___:___:___:___: X :___:___Unfair

And finally, if you think that both words are neutral or irrelevant in describing this person, place your check mark in the middle space:

Fair___:___:___: X :___:___:___Unfair

Be sure to check every scale, do not omit any, and never put more than one check mark on a single scale. As you proceed, do not look back and forth through the scales, and do not try to remember how you checked previous scales. Work at a fairly high speed, and do not worry or puzzle over scales. Your first impression and immediate feelings are usually best, but please do not be careless, we want your true impressions. You may find it helpful to think of the scales like this:

Fair strongly , moderately , mildly , neutral , mildly , moderately , strongly Unfair

Mother

rigid : : : : : : **flexible**

APPENDIX D

APPENDIX D

INSTRUCTIONS FOR SCORING LEVEL OF DIFFERENTIATION

This dimension measures two components of the differentiation of characters in the story. The first component is the interrelatedness and refers to the extent to which characters are merged, interrelated or isolated from one another. The second component is called individuation and refers to the complexity of the character's personality. The levels here are merged, superficially individuated and fully individuated. The levels of these two components are:

Interrelatedness	Individuation
Merged	Merged
Interrelated	Superficial
Isolated	Full

These are combined on the scoring dimension as follows:

Level of Differentiation

- 1) Merged
- 2) Superficial Individuation and Interrelated
- 3) Superficial Individuation and Isolated
- 4) Full Individuation and Interrelated
- 5) Full Individuation and Isolated

At level 1 the characters in the story are not acknowledged or described individually in any way. There is no mention of any independent thoughts or feelings of the characters. They are depicted as a single unit, all experiencing the same thing, as though they were one person. For example: "This family just had dinner and they are relaxing together".

Each of the next four levels have two separate but related components. These are the level of interrelatedness and level of individuation. In the first category, just described, characters are not at all individuated or separated and are therefore interrelated at the extreme--merged. All stories not coded level 1 will at least address and describe the characters as individuals to some degree.

Interrelatedness

This factor refers to interpersonal relatedness, the nature and degree to which characters respond to one another. People respond to others in a variety of ways. They may

respond with sympathy, empathy and understanding, or an emotional reaction such as anger. Is there a sense of recognition, understanding, communication, reacting? Does the character perceive and react to others, or is there a sense of isolation and insulation from others. The quality of the emotional tone is an important consideration. Shallowness, defensiveness, and emotional distance may belie isolation. Anger and conflict do not necessarily entail isolation. The key consideration is: Is the character responding or reacting to others? If so code interrelated. Where the character does not respond to others, code isolated.

Individuation

The individuation factor refers to the degree to which the numerous possible traits and aspects of an individual's personality are developed, expressed or implied. This is similar to the notion of 'character development' as we think of this in describing literature. Personalities are complex, people have thoughts, feelings, motives, intentions, attitudes, values, beliefs, etc.. A fully developed character is one that strikes us as having complexity, depth, integration, and reality. A superficially individuated character is one that seems shallow, narrow, and sketchy. The amount of description of a character does not necessarily constitute full individuation. Rely on your intuitive sense of the character, just a few descriptors may give an impression of a solid and unique individual.

An expanded description of the scoring categories is presented below.

- 1) Merged: Family members are merged, a single unit. Are different characters acknowledged? Are their experiences separate and different, or could they be essentially one person?
- 2) Superficial Individuation and Interrelated: There is superficial individuation, individuals are acknowledged but are two dimensional and are interrelated to one another. Here the characters are lacking depth or complexity. Their experiences are relatively shallow or simple. They are all either sharing the same experience or interacting with each other without a sense of an individual responding because of her/his unique personality.
- 3) Superficial Individuation and Isolated: The character is isolated from others, acknowledged but superficially individuated. Again characters lack depth or complexity. There may be some reaction to each other, but it is without interaction. They may be aware of the experiences of others but are focused on their own experiences.

4) Full Individuation and Interrelated: Thoughts and feelings are acknowledged in a full manner. One has the impression that this is a real person responding to others in a manner which indicates genuine relatedness.

5) Full Individuation and Isolated: There is a sense of a fully individuated character, but characters are isolated from others. In some manner there is an inability or unwillingness to communicate, know and understand the experiences of other characters.

APPENDIX E

APPENDIX E

The Personal Attribute Questionnaire

The items below inquire about what kind of person you think you are. Each item consists of a pair of characteristics with the letters A-E in between. For example:

Not at all artistic A..B..C..D..E Very Artistic

Each pair describes contradictory characteristics--that is you cannot be both at the same time. The letters form a scale between two extremes. You are to circle a letter which you think describes where you fall on the scale. For example, if you think you have no artistic ability you would choose A. If you think you are pretty good, you might choose D. If you are only medium you might choose C, and so forth.

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| 1) Not at all aggressive | A..B..C..D..E | Very aggressive |
| 2) Not at all independent | A..B..C..D..E | Very independent |
| 3) Not at all emotional | A..B..C..D..E | Very emotional |
| 4) Very submissive | A..B..C..D..E | Very dominant |
| 5) Not at all excitable | | Very excitable in a |
| in a major crisis | A..B..C..D..E | major crisis |
| 6) Very passive | A..B..C..D..E | Very active |
| 7) Not at all able to devote | | Able to devote self |
| self completely to others | A..B..C..D..E | completely to others |
| 8) Very rough | A..B..C..D..E | Very gentle |
| 9) Not at all helpful | | Very helpful |
| to others | A..B..C..D..E | to others |
| 10) Not at all competitive | A..B..C..D..E | Very competitive |
| 11) Very home oriented | A..B..C..D..E | Very worldly |
| 12) Not at all kind | A..B..C..D..E | Very kind |
| 13) Indifferent to | | Highly needful of |
| other's approval | A..B..C..D..E | other's approval |
| 14) Feelings not easily hurt | A..B..C..D..E | Feelings easily hurt |
| 15) Not at all aware of | | Very aware of |
| feelings of others | A..B..C..D..E | feelings of others |
| 16) Can make decisions | | Has difficulty making |
| easily | A..B..C..D..E | decisions |
| 17) Gives up easily | A..B..C..D..E | Never gives up easily |
| 18) Never cries | A..B..C..D..E | Cries very easily |
| 19) Not at all self-confident | A..B..C..D..E | Very self-confident |
| 20) Feels very inferior | A..B..C..D..E | Feels very superior |
| 21) Not at all understanding | | Very understanding |
| of others | A..B..C..D..E | of others |
| 22) Very cold in relations | | Very warm in relation |
| with others | A..B..C..D..E | with others |
| 23) Very little need for | | Very strong need for |
| security | A..B..C..D..E | security |
| 24) Goes to pieces under | | Stands up well under |
| pressure | A..B..C..D..E | pressure |

Scoring for the PAQ

The following items are scored on each of the three scales:

The Femininity scale; Item numbers 3, 7, 8, 9, 12, 15, 21, 22.

The Masculinity Scale; Item numbers 2, 6, 10, 16, 17, 19, 20, 24.

The Masculinity-Femininity Scale; Item numbers 1, 4, 5, 11, 13, 14, 18, 23.

APPENDIX F

The Erotic Orientation Scale
Sexual Experience Questionnaire

The following questions ask about your sexual experiences and feelings during the past 12 months. Please read each question carefully and indicate whether you have had the experiences or feeling being asked about--never (0), only once or twice (1-2), three to six times (3-6), seven to twelve times (7-12), an average of once or twice a month (monthly), or an average of once or twice a week (weekly), or almost daily or more (daily), during the past 12 months. Please circle your answers.

1) How often have you noticed that a man you've seen or met for the first time is physically attractive to you?

Number of Times During the Past 12 Months
0 1-2 3-6 7-12 monthly weekly daily

2) How often have you noticed that a woman you've seen or met for the first time is physically attractive to you?

Number of Times During the Past 12 Months
0 1-2 3-6 7-12 monthly weekly daily

3) How often have you had any sexual feelings (even the slightest) while looking at a man?

Number of Times During the Past 12 Months
0 1-2 3-6 7-12 monthly weekly daily

4) How often have you had any sexual feelings (even the slightest) while looking at a woman?

Number of Times During the Past 12 Months
0 1-2 3-6 7-12 monthly weekly daily

5) How often have you felt some sexual arousal from touching or being touched by a man?

Number of Times During the Past 12 Months
0 1-2 3-6 7-12 monthly weekly daily

6) How often have you felt some sexual arousal from touching or being touched by a woman?

Number of Times During the Past 12 Months

0 1-2 3-6 7-12 monthly weekly daily

7) How often have you thought about what it would be like to have a sexual experience with a man?

Number of Times During the Past 12 Months

0 1-2 3-6 7-12 monthly weekly daily

8) How often have you thought about what it would be like to have a sexual experience with a woman?

Number of Times During the Past 12 Months

0 1-2 3-6 7-12 monthly weekly daily

9) How often have you felt a desire to have a sexual experience with a particular man you know?

Number of Times During the Past 12 Months

0 1-2 3-6 7-12 monthly weekly daily

10) How often have you felt a desire to have a sexual experience with a particular woman you know?

Number of Times During the Past 12 Months

0 1-2 3-6 7-12 monthly weekly daily

11) How often have you daydreamed about having a sexual experience with a man?

Number of Times During the Past 12 Months

0 1-2 3-6 7-12 monthly weekly daily

12) How often have you daydreamed about having a sexual experience with a woman?

Number of Times During the Past 12 Months

0 1-2 3-6 7-12 monthly weekly daily

13) How often have you dreamed at night about having a sexual experience with a man?

Number of Times During the Past 12 Months

0 1-2 3-6 7-12 monthly weekly daily

14) How often have you dreamed at night about having a sexual experience with a woman?

Number of Times During the Past 12 Months

0 1-2 3-6 7-12 monthly weekly daily

15) How often have you masturbated while fantasizing a sexual experience with a man?

Number of Times During the Past 12 Months
 0 1-2 3-6 7-12 monthly weekly daily

16) How often have you masturbated while fantasizing a sexual experience with a woman?

Number of Times During the Past 12 Months
 0 1-2 3-6 7-12 monthly weekly daily

APPENDIX G

APPENDIX G

Questionnaire

- 1) What is your age?
- 2) What is your race or ethnicity?
- 3) Please indicate the highest level of education that you have completed:
 - Less than seven years of school
 - Junior High School
 - Partial High School
 - High School Graduate
 - 1 year of College
 - 4 years of College
 - Graduate or Professional Training
- 4) Please indicate your current employment status:
 - Unemployed Employed Student
- 5) Briefly describe the nature of your occupation:
- 6) What is your present socio-economic class?
 - Lower Class
 - Working Class
 - Middle Class
 - Upper-Middle Class
 - Upper Class
- 7) Please indicate your present relationship status:
 - Single
 - Coupled
 - Married
- 8) How would you describe your views of women?
 - Traditional
 - Liberal
 - Femininist
- 10) How would you describe your sexual orientation?
 - Heterosexual
 - Bisexual
 - Lesbian

- 11) If you are currently in an intimate relationship please answer the following:
 a) How long have you been in this relationship?
 b) Do you live with your partner? yes no
 c) Is your partner a man woman
- 12) Please estimate the total number of significant intimate relationships that you have had (for example relationships that lasted a year or more, or in which you lived together):
- 0 1-2 3-4 5-7 8 or more
- 13) How long did your longest significant relationship last?
- 14) How old were you when you first became aware of having sexual sensations or feelings?
- 15) How old were you when you first became aware of your sexual orientation?

Family Background Information

- 16) Please respond to any of the following that describe your family background:
- a) I was raised with both parents throughout childhood
 b) My parents separated or divorced when I was years old, and I continued to live with my
 c) I was raised by one parent, my
 d) I was raised by someone other than parent (explain)
- 17) As a little girl were you "Daddy's Princess"? Yes No
 As a little girl were you "Mother's Girl"? Yes No
 As a young girl were you a "tomboy"? Yes No
- 18) Please check any of the following words that you feel describe your father's behavior toward you during your childhood before you were age 10: (If you knew your father)
- Warm Supportive Close Flirtatious Demanding
 Distant Unemotional Rejecting Hostile Seductive
- 19) Was your biological mother your primary caretaker (the person who took care of you) from birth to age 5?
 If not, who was your primary caretaker during those years?

- 20) Was there any period of separation in your relationship with your mother or primary caretaker before you were 5 years of age? Yes No
If so, how old were you at the time?
How long were you separated?
- 21) On the following page you will find six categories that describe mother-daughter relationships. Please check the one, and only one that best describes your relationship with your mother when you were age 5 and under. If your primary caretaker was someone other than your mother, consider that this was your 'mothering figure' and check the category that describes your relationship with that person. These categories focus on differences in how nurturing and 'maternal' your mothering figure was, and on how close you felt to that person during your preschool years.
- 22) Referring back to the categories on the previous page, please fill in the number of the category that best describes your relationship with your mother or mothering figure when you were:
- Age 6 to 11
Age 12 to 18
Your present relationship

You do not have to answer this question if you choose not to.

- 23) In recent years it has become clear that sexual abuse, rape and incest occur more frequently than was previously thought. Were you ever a victim of sexual abuse, rape or incest? Yes No

If so, who was the abuser?

Father	Brother	an acquaintance
Stepfather	Sister	a stranger
Grandfather	Mother	Other
Uncle	Aunt	

How old were you at the time?

I want to thank you for your participation in this study. Please keep the letter that includes my name and address, if you would like a summary of the findings, send me a post card with your address and a summary will be sent to you this summer. Please be sure to return the remainder of this packet in the envelope here.

Sincerely,

APPENDIX H

APPENDIX H

WOMEN NEEDED FOR PARTICIPATION IN A RESEARCH STUDY ON WOMEN'S
PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT

I am conducting a research study of women's personality development and I need women to participate. The study involves completing 5 paper and pencil measures in the privacy of your own home. About 1 to 1 and 1/2 hours of your time will be needed. No identifying information is requested, so your responses are completely anonymous.

The study is designed to increase our understanding of similarities and differences in women's experiences of themselves and others. The measures to be completed are interesting and varied. One invites you to use your imagination, while others ask you to think about yourself or others.

Your participation is completely voluntary, you may withdraw at any time. If you are interested in participating, you can obtain the packet of research measures from

When you complete the measures, you can return them to me in the stamped, addressed envelope that is included. Again, no identifying information is requested so your responses are anonymous.

If you are interested in more information about the study, or have any questions, please feel free to contact me. I hope you will consider participating, in an effort to increase our knowledge of women's personality development.

APPENDIX I

APPENDIX I

Letter to participants

Dear participant,

I want to thank you for your willingness to contribute to this research study. The study focuses on a number of aspects of women's development and experience. These include the differences women may have experienced in their childhood relationships with their mothers and fathers, their current experiences of themselves, of intimate relationships and of sexuality. During the past two decades issues regarding women's development, personality similarities and differences and sexuality have increasingly begun to be met with openness, honesty, humanness, and acceptance. The differences among women in their life experiences and forms of self-expression in all realms are increasingly acknowledged and respected. In this atmosphere we are better able to seek an honest understanding of ourselves and of others.

Your participation in this study is completely anonymous and voluntary. If at any point in time you choose not to participate, please return the unused research measures in the envelope provided. In order to assure anonymity, no identifying information is requested.

The contents of this packet should take one to one and a half hours to complete. Instructions are provided for each of the five tasks. None of the measures require great concentration, in fact spontaneity is recommended for the first four. Each of the five tasks will take about 10 to 15 minutes to complete. Please complete each individual measure at one sitting, though you may complete the different measures at different times. It is very important that you complete each measure in the given order, and that you not look ahead to other measures.

This study looks at aspects of personality and of women's relationships. The measures are not designed to assess or look for 'mental disturbance' of any kind. Two of the measures inquire about sexuality and sexual orientation. Because of biases in some past research, some participants may be justifiably concerned about the perspective of the study. The research perspective has been explained to a number of community professionals and women's groups including the Michigan State University Lesbian/Gay Council, Terry S. Stein, M.D., and Marty Aldenbrandt, Ph.D. These persons and organizations have endorsed the study with their approval.

Again, no identifying information is requested of you. Please be careful that you do not add any identifying information on the research forms. Your completion and returning of the research measures will indicate your

voluntary consent and participation in the study. The returned measures will be treated with the strictest confidence. No persons except the researcher and her committee members will have any claim to direct access to the measures completed by participants.

I would like to request your aid in this study, in order to enhance our knowledge of women, our past and current relationships, our experiences of ourselves and our sexuality. Please respond to the enclosed measures in an open, honest fashion. Your honesty is crucial if we are to obtain a realistic understanding of these aspects of our life experiences as women.

I hope to collect all of the study responses before . Your effort in returning them to me as soon as possible will be greatly appreciated.

Thank you for your time and cooperation,
Sincerely,

If you would like a summary of the findings of this research study, please write to:

APPENDIX J

APPENDIX J

The IAI Measure

Development of the IAI Measure

The IAI Measure was developed in a prior study (Berry, 1985) and was designed for this research project. The pilot study developed this IAI Measure to assess the nature and level of maternal involvement in early childhood, and concomitant degrees of differentiation from mother. This measure consists of an interpretive scoring system for stories told to two IAI cards. The IAI measure classifies respondents into one of four groups based on differences in the structural and thematic content of their IAI stories. The four groups are: 1) High, nurturing maternal involvement and low differentiation from mother; 2) Moderate level of maternal involvement and nurturance and moderate differentiation from mother; 3) Low levels of maternal involvement and nurturance and high differentiation from mother; 4) Unclassified.

The IAI measure was developed in the following manner. A scoring system based on the concepts of Chodorow's theory was constructed for stories told to two IAI cards. Subjects who were clients in psychotherapy provided IAI stories while their therapists classified them into one of three groups

which were consistent with the first three groups (groups 1, 2 and 3) just described. Thirteen of the 23 items of the scoring system were found to be significantly associated, in the predicted direction, with the therapists' group classification of subjects. Only these 13 items which significantly differentiated between groups were retained for the measure. Based on the findings, three scoring scales were constructed using three different methods of scoring the 13 items. Each of these three scales measures the presence of thematic and structural differences in the subject's IAT stories which were predictably associated with one of the three early childhood differentiation groups. For example, Scale 3 awards points for the themes which are associated with the psychodynamics of women from Group 3, those who were highly differentiated from their mothers in early childhood. Thus each scale consists of 13 items, scored differently, in order to maximize group differences. Scale 1 maximizes the scores of women from Group 1, women who were close to and not differentiated from their mother's in early childhood. Scale 2 maximizes the scores of women from the moderate differentiation group, Group 2. And high scores on Scale 3 are associated with high differentiation in the early mother-child relationship, representing Group 3. Using these three scales, the majority of subjects in the pilot study were found to achieve high scores on only one of the scales. Subjects who fail to achieve criterion (high) scores on any scale are not classified. The interpretive scoring system is

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for use with two IAT cards, the Family Scene Card, and the Mother-Daughter Card.

The data from the IAT measure consists of women's scores on three scales, and, based on these scores, their classification into one of three mother-daughter differentiation groups.

Comparison of the Two Measures of Differentiation from Mother in Early Childhood

Two independent measures were originally intended to be used to assess mother-daughter closeness vs. differentiation in early childhood. The first measure consists of a six level rating scale on which women classified their early childhood relationship with mother (Maternal Involvement-1, or Matinv1). This scale is designed as a continuum, varying from low differentiation at level one, to high differentiation at level six. The second method of assessing early mother-child differentiation consists of the IAT Measure just described.

Comparing women's self-classification of their early childhood relationship with mother on the Matinv1 scale, with their group classifications derived from the interpretive IAT Scales it is evident that the two measures are related though not very strongly. Table 14 shows the relationship between women's six level maternal involvement-1 ratings and their IAT Group classification. Kendall's Tau C, a rank order

correlation coefficient yields a correlation of .16, $p < .05$.

Table 14 Joint frequency of women's self classification on Matinv1 by their IAT Group classification.

IAT Group	Maternal Involvement-1 Scale						N
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Group 1	2	1	6	0	0	0	9
Group 2	2	9	2	5	4	0	22
Group 3	3	3	4	4	3	2	19

If the Matinv1 scale is collapsed into three categories the match between the two methods of classifying subjects is poor, i.e., more subjects are mismatched than are matched on the two classifications.

Further comparison of these two measures examined the correlations between the Matinv1 scale and IAT Scales 1 and 3, all of which were designed as linear measures. Pearsons r correlation coefficients yield a small but significant correlation between Scale 1 and Matinv1 ($r = -.22$, $p < .05$) in the predicted direction; while the correlation between Scale 3 and Matinv1 is in the predicted direction but does not achieve significance ($r = .19$, $p = .07$). Thus the two measures of early mother-child differentiation are related, though the magnitude of their association is small. While both methods are measuring similar or related variables, they are clearly also measuring different and distinct variables.

Given the modest association between the measures, it became necessary to choose one of the methods for the data

analysis. As described earlier, only 58 of the 77 respondents in this study returned IAT Stories. And furthermore, 8 of the women who provided IAT Stories were unclassifiable on the IAT Measure. As such the use of the IAT Measure involved substantial reduction in the sample size available for data analysis. The Maternal Involvement scale was thus used to assess mother-daughter closeness in early childhood for the hypotheses of this study. A presentation and discussion of further analysis of the IAT measure is contained here.

The IAT Measure

The hypotheses of this study had predicted that the construct, early mother-child differentiation, would be related to women's identification with each parent, their gender characteristics, erotic interests, and object relations representations. Table 15 reveals the correlation coefficients between each of these variables and the IAT measure.

Table 15 Correlations between IAT Group, Scale 1, Scale 3,
and each of the primary research variables

	Scale 1	Scale 3
<u>Variable</u>		
Matinv1	-.22*	.19
Matinv2	-.15	.16
Matinv3	-.08	.18
Matinv4	.06	.00
PAQ F	.09	-.15
PAQ M	.06	-.14
PAQ M-F	-.09	.04
Sexual-Orien	.02	.00
Gynoeroticism	-.14	.11
Androeroticism	.02	-.25*
ID Mother	-.05	.27*
ID Father	.03	-.10

Overall, few of the correlations are significant, and those which are show only modest relationships. The statistically significant relationships are as follows: Scale 3, is significantly correlated with androeroticism. Women who are more highly differentiated from mother on the IAT scale 3, show, as predicted, lower sexual interest in men. The significant correlation between scale 3 and identification with mother indicated that women who are highly differentiated from mother on Scale 3 are less identified with her, as predicted.

APPENDIX K

APPENDIX K

The Secondary Variables

Hypotheses for the Secondary Variables

A number of variables were assessed on the questionnaire respondents completed. Hypotheses were offered for four of these variables and the primary research variables as follows:

- 17) Feminist ideology is positively associated with androgyny.
- 18) Tomboyism is positively associated with gynoeroticism.
- 19) Having been "Daddy's Princess" and "Mother's Girl" in childhood is positively associated with feminine personality attributes and androeroticism.
- 20) Age of realization of lesbian sexual orientation is positively associated with femininity and inversely associated with masculinity.

Significance tests for these hypotheses utilized the Chi Square for hypotheses 16, 17, and 18, and correlational analysis for hypothesis 19.

No hypotheses were offered for the remaining secondary variables, however the relationships between these and other variables were explored.

Results of Data Analysis: The Secondary Variables

Feminist Ideology

The participants rated their views of women as 1-Traditional, 2-Liberal, or 3-Feminist. The hypothesis that feminist ideology would be positively associated with androgyny was not supported. Women's views of women are not significantly related to any of the three scales which measure gender characteristics. An examination of the associations between this variable and the other research variables yields the following pattern of relationships: Feminist ideology is significantly associated with sexual orientation, lesbian women are more apt to classify themselves as feminist, while the majority of heterosexual women classify themselves as liberal. Twenty of the 28 lesbian women are feminist, while only 8 of 38 heterosexual women view themselves as feminist. Feminist ideology is not related to age or to the participants' self ratings of their socio-economic status. It is, however, related to higher education, high family SES, single marital status, and the Hollingshead and Redlich index of subjects SES (higher SES). There is no relationship between women's views of women and their relationships with their mothers at any of the four time periods. Feminism is significantly associated with women's perceptions of their fathers' behavior toward them as demanding (Chi Square $p=.03$). Feminist women saw their

fathers as having been demanding more often than did liberal or traditional women.

Tomboyism

The hypothesis that women who had been tomboys would report higher levels of sexual interest in women as measured by the gynoeroticism scale was not supported. A nonsignificant trend ($p < .07$) does suggest that heterosexual women who were tomboys have higher scores on the gynoeroticism scale. Tomboyism is significantly related to sexual orientation, however, the majority of women in this sample from both lesbian and heterosexual groups indicate that they had been tomboys during their childhoods. Twenty-four of the 28 lesbian women, 25 of the 39 heterosexual women and three of the ten bisexual women reported having been tomboys. Women who stated that they had been tomboys reported an earlier awareness of sexual feelings, and for lesbian women tomboyism was positively associated with an earlier awareness of their sexual orientation. None of the femininity/masculinity scales are significantly associated with tomboyism, although a nonsignificant trend ($p < .06$) suggests that heterosexual women who were tomboys are less feminine on the F scale. And finally, tomboyism is significantly associated with higher levels of education. (All significant p 's $< .05$.)

Hypothesis 19

This hypothesis predicted that women who had been "Daddy's Princess" and "Mother's Girl" during their childhoods would be more feminine, and more androerotic. Among heterosexual women these were both significantly associated with lower scores on the F and the M-F scales, while lower scores on the M scale characterize only women who had been "Daddy's Princess". Heterosexual women who had been mother's girl or daddy's princess have lower, not higher scores on androeroticism. Thus for heterosexual women, having been daddy's princess in childhood is associated with lower levels of sexual interests in men, and lower scores on all three scales of gender attributes. Lesbian women show fewer significant relationships with these variables, but like their heterosexual peers lower scores on the M scale characterize Daddy's Princesses's, and lower androeroticism is associated with having been Mother's Girl. Having been 'Mother's Girl' is significantly associated with low levels of early childhood maternal involvement, and high family SES for all subjects. (All p's <.05)

Hypothesis 20

Age of realization of sexual orientation was not related to gender characteristics for lesbian women, as had been hypothesized. Only one of the femininity/masculinity scales,

the M-F scale was associated with this variable for heterosexual women. Here, earlier awareness of sexual orientation is related to higher scores, and thus greater masculinity. Significant group differences characterize women's age of first realization of sexual orientation with lesbian women reporting later awareness of their sexual orientation. For the sample as a whole, the range of age of realization of sexual orientation spans from 3 to 41 with a mean age of 15 and a standard deviation of 6.7 years. The skew of the distribution shows that 20% of the women fall before age 11, 70% before age 17 and a gradually decreasing frequency of women realize their sexual orientation after age 17. The group differences for heterosexual and lesbian women are as follows; the mean age of realization of sexual orientation for heterosexual women is 12 with a standard deviation of 3 years; the mean age for lesbian women is 18 with a standard deviation of 7 years.

Lesbian and heterosexual women report no differences in the age at which they first became aware of having sexual feelings per se. Both groups report a mean age of 11, the standard deviation for heterosexual women is 3 years, while it is 5 years for lesbian women. The distribution spans from age 3 to age 18.

For lesbian women, significant correlations between age of first awareness of sexual feelings and both the androeroticism and gynoeroticism scales show that earlier awareness of sexual feelings is related to higher sexual interests in both women and men ($p's < .01$). A similar

pattern of nonsignificant trends indicates that earlier first awareness of sexual orientation is perhaps associated with both higher gynoeroticism and androeroticism (p 's $< .10$). In both instances, lesbian women who report earlier awareness of sexual feelings, and of their sexual orientation have higher sexual interests in both women and men. There are no significant relationships between these variables for heterosexual women.

Relationship Variables

A variety of differences in relationship patterns are evident for lesbian and heterosexual women. Not surprisingly, lesbian women report that their longest relationships are much shorter than those of heterosexual women. Among the heterosexual women in this sample the mean length of their longest intimate relationship is 11 years, with a standard deviation of 16 years. For lesbian respondents, the mean length of their longest relationship is 5 years, with a standard deviation of 5 years. (There are no age differences in the two groups--means for age are 31 and 32, with standard deviations of 8 years for both groups.) There are no sexual orientation group differences in current relationship status, or the number of previous significant intimate relationships women have had. The majority of women in the sample have had either one or two significant relationships (31 women), or three or four significant relationships (35 women).

Women who report having had fewer significant relationships tend to be in a relationship at present, and are more likely to be traditional or liberal as opposed to feminist in their views of women. These women also report a later awareness of sexual feelings.

The relationship between women's femininity/masculinity and their relationship patterns shows that high scores on the bipolar M-F scale (in the masculine direction) are associated with having had more intimate relationships. Among heterosexual women those who are currently in relationships have higher scores on the F scale, as such femininity is significantly related to current involvement in an intimate relationship for heterosexual participants.

The number of previous significant relationships women report is positively associated with both androeroticism and gynoeroticism. Greater sexual interests in both women and men characterize women who have had more previous relationships.

Sexual Abuse

All of the women who participated in this study answered the questionnaire item which asked if they had ever been the victim of sexual abuse. Of the 77 women respondents, 22 indicated that they have been victims of sexual abuse. In this sample, 30% or almost one third of women have been sexually abused. Official statistics on incest, rape, and sexual assaults often cite percentages of 15% to 25%, and

emphasize that these are probably gross underestimates.

The questionnaire item asked women how old they were at the time of the incident and who the abuser was. A number of the women who reported having been sexually abused wrote in additional information about their victimization. Their stories were often poignant and compelling.

From the information provided by respondents, eight women reported having been sexually abused by more than one person. Fourteen women had been victims of male family members, and many of these women indicated that the incestuous relationships lasted for many years. Three women reported father-daughter incest, these women stated that the incestuous relationships began when they were 4, 7, and 12 years of age. Three women had been sexually abused by a step-father, with the first incidents occurring when they were 4, 14 and 14 years old. Four women reported incestuous abuse by a brother, and four women had been sexually victimized by an uncle; all eight of these women were between four and ten years of age at the time of the first incident of abuse. Fourteen women were victims of sexual assault perpetrated by non-family members. Eleven women had been sexually abused by an acquaintance, three women had been victimized by a stranger. The women's ages at the time these incidents occurred range from four to 26.

Statistical analysis of these data showed that having been the victim of sexual abuse, whether incestuous or non-incestuous, was not related to any of the demographic variables including family SES, age, education, or marital

status or relationship status. There was no relationship between sexual orientation and having been sexually abused. The relationship between sexual victimization and all of the research variables investigated in this study showed only two significant associations. Sexual abuse victimization was significantly associated with maternal involvement for all four time periods, and with identification with mother. The association between sexual abuse and the Mother-Daughter Differentiation Scale for early childhood yields a Chi Square of 14.3 and a $p=.014$. Women who had been sexually abused are proportionately more apt to report more differentiated and distant relationships with their mothers. Table 16 shows the frequencies of women in each of the Mother-Daughter involvement categories by their sexual abuse victim status.

Table 16 Frequencies and Percentages of women who had, and had not been victims of sexual abuse by their early childhood maternal involvement classifications.

	Levels of Maternal Involvement					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Victim	0	4	7	6	3	2
Nonvictim	11	19	11	6	7	0

Examining womens ratings of their mother-daughter relationships across the other age periods assessed reveals the same significant linear pattern of association between mother-daughter distance and sexual victimization. As the table reveals, the relationship between victimization and

maternal involvement suggests that women who characterize their relationships with their mothers as having been moderately close (3 and 4) or distant and highly differentiated (5 and 6) are more apt to have been the victims of sexual abuse. As the table demonstrates, as mother-daughter closeness diminishes, the percentages of women who have been sexually abused increases. The most obvious explanation for this association would hold that mothers who are less involved may supervise their daughters less, thus as young girls these daughters are more apt to be in unsupervised situations which put them at risk. Due to the large number of women who cited incidents of sexual abuse during childhood, this explanation may certainly be an important contributor to this association. However, a comparison of the mean scores on the maternal involvement scale for women who had been abused before and after age 12 indicates that it does not explain the relationship. Non-significant differences in the means suggest that women who had been abused in childhood--when maternal supervision may be an important factor--have slightly more involved and closer relationships with their mothers than the women who were victimized after age 12. (The means are 3.33 for the 10 women victimized before age 12, and 3.8 for the 12 women victimized after age 12.)

Sexual abuse was also related to identification with mother. Women who were disidentified with mother were twice as likely to have been victims of sexual abuse. Table 17 presents the frequencies of women in each of the

identification with mother groups, by their victimization status.

Table 17 Frequency of women who were victims and nonvictims of sexual abuse classified by their levels of identification with mother.

	Identification with Mother		
	High	Moderate	Low
Victims	5	5	10
Nonvictims	20	19	15

These findings suggest that women who are highly identified with their mothers, and who are less differentiated from them are less likely to be victims of sexual abuse.

APPENDIX L

APPENDIX L

Education and Sexual Orientation

The demographic variable--education, shows differing patterns of relationships with the research variables for heterosexual and lesbian women. Among heterosexual women, education is significantly and positively correlated with object differentiation ($r=.50$) and with gynoeroticism ($r=.50$) indicating that higher education is associated with increases in both gynoeroticism and levels of object differentiation. In contrast, education is inversely associated with both object differentiation ($-.43$) and gynoeroticism ($-.19$) for lesbian women. The distributions of scores reveal that the two groups have more similar scores at high levels of education, while their scores on both measures are highly discrepant at lower levels of education. When correlations are computed for all women in the sample, education is positively associated with both object relations differentiation ($r=.20$), and gynoeroticism ($r=.43$).

APPENDIX M

APPENDIX M

Semantic Differential Item Analysis

Exploratory analyses of the data provided by the semantic differential are presented here.

The SD items on which women rated their mothers which correlated most highly with the maternal involvement scale are consistent with the adjectives used in the scale. The most highly correlated items are presented in Table 18.

Table 18 Correlations between Matinv1 and the semantic differential items for Mother (Women's ratings of their mother's characteristics which are associated with maternal involvement)

Item	Correlation
Close--Distant	.53
Accessible--Aloof	.47
Emotional--Unemotional	.43
Nurturing--Depriving	.42
Loyal--Disloyal	.40
Compassionate--Hard Hearted	.36
Open--Closed	.34
Expressive--Restrained	.32

Table 19 reveals the items on which women rated their mothers which correlate most highly with their Identification with mother scores.

Table 19 Correlations between SD items on which women rated their mothers and their identification with mother scores. (Characteristics of mother which are associated with identification with mother.)

Item	Correlation
Natural--Pretentious	.55
Open--Closed	.53
Flexible--Rigid	.49
Understanding--Intolerant	.44
Generous--Stingy	.44
Compassionate--Hard Hearted	.41
Nurturing--Depriving	.40
Close--Distant	.40
Accessible--Aloof	.38
Warm--Cold	.37

Table 20 presents the items on which women rated themselves, which were most highly associated with their identification with father scores. Adjectives on the left were associated with high identification with father. As table 21 reveals, perceived similarity between self and father is related to communal characteristics in fathers.

Table 20 Item Correlations between identification with father and womens ratings of their own characteristics

Item	Correlation
Conforming--Individualistic	.32
Playful--Serious	.27
Delicate--Rugged	.27
Submissive--Dominant	.25
Nonpossessive--Possessive	.24
Ugly--Beautiful	.23
Understanding--Intolerant	.22
Warm--Cold	.22

Table 21 Highest correlations for SD item on which women rated their fathers and their identification with father scores

Item	Correlation
Flexible--Rigid	.49
Open--Closed	.45
Understanding--Intolerant	.42
Close--Distant	.40
Peacable--Hostile	.39
Accessible--Aloof	.37
Nurturing--Depriving	.35
Accepting--Rejecting	.35
Generous--Stingy	.32

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