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dissertation entitled

THE INTENTION TO REMAIN CHILDLESS:
SEPARATION RESPONSE, SEX ROLE IDENTITY
AND FAMILY BACKGROUND

presented by

Linda Sue Cohen

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

___Ph.D.___ degree in _Psychology_

_____
Major professor

Date _March 15, 1984_

0-12771

THE INTENTION TO REMAIN CHILDLESS:
SEPARATION RESPONSE, SEX ROLE IDENTITY
AND FAMILY BACKGROUND

By

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A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Psychology

1984

ABSTRACT

THE INTENTION TO REMAIN CHILDLESS:
SEPARATION RESPONSE, SEX ROLE IDENTITY
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By

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The purpose of the present study was to gain a better understanding of why women decide not to parent. More specifically the intent was to identify some of the developmental, personality and family background variables that distinguish women who state an intention not to parent from those who intend to mother. The variables studied were attachment and individuation need, sex role identity, identification with mother and perceived warmth, control and cognitive involvement of parents.

All subjects were drawn from Introductory Psychology courses at Michigan State University. The sample was composed of 34 women who were very certain they intend to parent and 26 women who were moderately or very certain they intend not to parent. Attachment and individuation needs were measured by the Separation Anxiety Test (Hansburg, 1972, 1980). The Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1981) was used to evaluate sex role identity and identification with mother. Perceptions of parents were measured using the Parent Behavior Form (Kelly and Worrell, 1976).

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The hypothesis that women who intend not to parent would show a lower attachment and higher individuation need than women who intend to mother was not supported by the data. Contrary to prediction there were no differences between groups in attachment and a trend suggested that future childfree women are actually lower in individuation than future parents. As predicted, childfree women were more likely to have a masculine sex role identity, were lower in feminity, were less identified with their mothers, and saw their mothers as less warm and more rejecting than women who intend to parent. Also, as predicted there were no differences between groups in perceived control exerted by parents. However, contrary to expectations, no differences between groups were found in warmth of father and cognitive involvement of parents.

The results were discussed in the context of an object relations theory of female development. Methodological issues including instrument reliability and validity, sampling bias and research design were also examined.

In memory of

my Mother

who would have delighted
in sharing the joy
of this achievement

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

REFERENCES 105

APPENDICES

LIST OF TABLES

Table

vi

INTRODUCTION

There has been a dramatic decrease in fertility in the United States since the early 1960's. The fertility rate changed from 3.6 children per woman in 1961 to less than 1.8 children per woman in 1975. A major factor among others, that has contributed to this change is an increase in intentional childlessness[1] (Silka and Kiesler, 1977).

The incidence of voluntary childlessness in the United States has fluctuated with the social, economic and political climate of the country. It reached a peak during the Depression of the 1930's and early 40's and rapidly declined following World War II as men returned home from the service, the feminine mystique took hold, and the post war baby boom ensued. This trend continued until the 1970's when an upsurge in intentional childlessness began (Renne, 1976; Veevers, 1974). Statistics show that by the mid-1970's fifteen percent of a sample of college students (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1976), sixteen percent of high school students (Silka and Kiesler, 1977) and 4.6% of all wives under thirty (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1976) stated an intention to remain childless throughout the childbearing years.

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[1]The author recognizes that the terms childless and childfree carry with them different connotations, with childless suggesting a void and childfree implying freedom from a burden. For lack of a more neutral term, childless and childfree are used interchangeably in this document.

1

Traditionally mothering was considered to be an innate instinct and motherhood a biological inevitability (Shields, 1975). However, the growth of the women's liberation movement, rising concerns about overpopulation and the development of more sophisticated and effective birth control technology have resulted in increased flexibility in prescribed roles for men and women, a critical look at parenting and increased consideration of a childfree lifestyle.

Despite these recent changes, our society is still dominated by a pronatalist ideology (Bardwick, 1971; Maxwell and Montgomery, 1969; Russo, 1976, 1979; Veevers, 1974). Women continue to be expected to mother and those who choose not to are stereotyped as selfish, immature and emotionally disturbed (Calhoun and Selby, 1980; Jamison, Franzini and Kaplan, 1979) and are subjected to considerable pressures and sanctions by society, family and friends (Houseknecht, 1977; Levine, 1978).

Veevers (1973) has suggested that it is this pronatalist attitude that has impeded the growth of psychological research of intentional nonparenthood. Only one study to date and that unpublished has attempted to explore the psychodynamic factors underlying the intention not to parent. Drawing on psychoanalytic theories of psychogenic infertility, Levine (1978) hypothesized that childless women would demonstrate more intense sibling rivalry, greater unresolved oedipal concerns and a weaker identification with their mothers than women who mother. The data provided at least partial support for all three hypotheses.

The results of Levine's study suggest that the psychodynamic history of women with differing reproductive intentions is a significant yet virtually unexplored area of study. The present investigation attempted to contribute to this body of research by proposing and testing an object relations theory of intentional childlessness in college age women. It also attempted to demonstrate that the intention not to parent[2] is related to sex role identity and a particular constellation of family background variables.

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[2]The author recognizes that "the intent to parent" is not necessarily synonymous with "the intent to have a child." The terms are, however, used interchangeably in this document.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Traditional Analytic Theories of the Wish to Parent

Traditional psychoanalytic theories of the wish to parent essentially propose that this wish is rooted in early biologically based needs and fantasies. While the particular needs that this wish symbolically represents varies from theorist to theorist, all adhere to a biophysiological explanation of reproduction.

Freud's theory is perhaps the most widely known and criticized of all psychoanalytic theories. Freud believed that the woman's reproductive need emerges from the female castration complex. At about the age of three the little girl realizes that she does not have a penis as male children do. The little girl believes that she has been castrated, views this as a narcissistic wound and comes to see herself as inferior. Discovering that the mother is also deficient in this respect, the little girl turns away from her mother in anger for depriving her of the penis. The child turns to the father and hopes to receive a penis from him. She gradually comes to realize that she cannot have a penis but can have a child by the father. The wish for the penis is then replaced by a wish for a child by the father who then becomes the little girl's new love object (Freud, 1925, 1931, 1933).

4

Other analytic theorists propose that the wish for a child predates the female castration complex. Deutsch (1924) and Kestenberg (1956) contend that this wish is related to the need to master vaginal sensations that occur in early childhood. Erikson (1968) alternatively proposes that the wish for a child is rooted in the little girl's knowledge of inner space, the knowledge that she is capable of carrying a developing child within her. This everpresent awareness is not only a source of her wish to mother, but is a major determinant of her entire personality character.

The intention to parent may include both a wish to give birth as well as a desire to nurture a child. To fully comprehend why women decide to have children, both factors must be considered. However considerable insight into the intention to have a child can be gained from the literature describing why women wish to mother.

A Psychoanalytic Reformulation of Mothering

Feminists, disenchanted and enraged by biologically based psychoanalytic formulations regarding the psychology of women, have recently turned to sociocultural explanations to account for women's mothering. Theorists and feminists have proposed that women's continued sense of responsibility to parent is largely a cultural phenomenon promoted by the patriarchal society to maintain women in a repressed position inferior in power and status to men (Bernard, 1974; Friedan, 1965; Strouse, 1974). They see parenting as a confining trap which has kept women from achieving their

full potential as individuals and view voluntary childless-
ness as the "Ultimate liberation" (Movius, 1980; Peck, 1971;
Peck and Senderowitz, 1974).

To embrace this explanation of mothering is to turn
women into passive victims of social forces (Flax, 1978).
It suggests that the responsibility for mothering is sup-
ported and perpetuated primarily by men. It denies the
influential role women have in reproducing mothering from
generation to generation and ignores psychodynamic sources
of motivations and behavior. Mothering not only fulfills a
social responsibility, but meets a deeply rooted psychologi-
cal need. To the extent that this need is met in our soci-
ety through parenting, women will continue to mother and, in
so doing will be instrumental in perpetuating the existing
social structure. Thus there is a continual interplay be-
tween cultural and intrapsychic forces. Both these aspects
must be considered to fully understand the continued process
of womens' mothering (Chodorow, 1978).

In an attempt to integrate these two perspectives,
Chodorow (1978) posits that a woman's attitude toward par-
enting is rooted in her early object relations. She does
not dismiss the impact of culture. Rather she suggests that
through interaction with one's family, a microcosmic re-
flection of our society's structure, a woman learns that
women mother and men are engaged in extrafamilial pursuits.
These expectations are internalized and integrated into her
psychic structure, becoming a part of her concept of self,
her definition of self in relation to others and her

expectations of others. She will, in turn, produce daughters who will need to mother thus reproducing mothering from generation to generation. The psychological process by which this occurs is delineated below.

Personality theorists concur that girls remain dependent on their mothers longer than boys (Bardwick, 1971; Deutsch, 1944; Douvan and Adelson, 1966; Maccoby, 1966; Rossi, 1966). The male child being of a different gender from the mother, is treated as a psychological other from birth. This results in an early resolution of separation-individuation issues and rapid entry into the oedipal phase, where issues of competition, jealousy and castration anxiety predominate (Chodorow, 1978). Quite in contrast the relationship between a mother and her infant daughter is likely to be characterized by overidentification. The mother thus tends to see her daughter as a narcissistic extension of herself (Chodorow, 1978). This is more likely to stimulate memories of her own early parenting and reawaken conflicts in relation to her own mother. To the extent that this occurs she may project her own needs onto the child and be unable to accurately respond to the needs of her daughter who is in reality a separate human being with motivations, intentions and feelings of her own (Benedek, 1970).

It is during the rapprochement subphase of development that the child first becomes fully aware of her own separateness. The child's needs oscillate between the requirement for separateness and developing sense of self, and the continued need for reliance on the mother (Mahler, Pine and

Bergman, 1975). Fear of separation or losing the mother's love increases and the need to have the mother accessible and responsive to the child's needs is of optimal significance (Flax, 1978). When the mother has resolved her own dependency conflicts from childhood she will promote her daughter's independence. However, if the mother is ambivalent about giving up the symbiotic relationship or is reliving her own infancy through her daughter, she will be less likely to provide her daughter with the needed encouragement to become more independent. Autonomy, rather than being experienced by the child as a way of pleasing the mother, is then experienced as a rejection for which the daughter is likely to be rejected. Thus the individuation process in girls is usually curtailed at this point (Flax, 1978).

During the oedipal situation a new move toward individuation is made. Chodorow (1978) suggests that the turn to the father during the oedipal period is not for a penis or a baby as traditional Freudian theory suggests, but rather is a way for the little girl to establish her autonomy. Because the father is relatively inaccessible and because his relationship with his daughter develops at a later age, the relationship never achieves the same intensity as the original attachment to the mother. Thus turn to the father is never complete, as traditional theory suggests. While the little girl may resolve the oedipal conflict to the extent that she establishes her father as her heterosexual object choice and identifies with the mother, the mother remains

internally and externally a significant love object
(Chodorow, 1978).

The major task of adolescence, termed by Blos (1962) as
the "second individuation process" is to relinquish internal
love objects in order to free one up to establish signifi-
cant extrafamilial attachments (Blos, 1962). Because both
mother and father have been retained as internal objects the
process of relinquishment is particularly conflictual for
the adolescent girl. The conflict is further complicated by
the mother's own conflict over the daughter's separation.
Because mother and daughter are ambivalent, both remain
convinced that independence will bring about rejection
(Chodorow, 1978).

Chodorow further theorizes that because women's preoed-
ipal attachments to mother are never fully relinguished,
women tend to be more attuned to the needs and feelings of
other people, define themselves in terms of their relation-
ship with others, and retain the wish to reexperience pri-
mary identification. In adulthood women seek satisfaction
of their relational needs with men. However, because men in
our society have repressed their relational needs in order
to achieve a masculine identification, the satisfaction of a
woman's attachment needs can never be adequately met in a
male-female relationship. It is therefore sought for in
symbiotic union with a child. Thus the wish for a baby
represents an attempt to reestablish a sense of merger with
the mother.

Voluntary Childlessness: Deviation from the Norm

Not all girls follow this normative path. Research consistently demonstrates that voluntarily childfree women are more autonomous than their parenting peers. Childless women tend to assume "personal rather than other directed guidelines" (Veevers, 1974), are more able to formulate and carry out plans on their own (Mikus, 1980) and possess independent sources of self-esteem (Lewis, 1972; Rossi, 1965). Perhaps one of the most notable findings is that these women are able to maintain self-esteem in the face of significant criticism, sanctions and pressures exerted on them by family, friends and society because of their choice not to parent (Veevers, 1973).

This pattern of self sufficiency appears to have been established early in development. In interviews these women report having been seen by their families as more rebellious, with rebelliousness being manifested in verbal disagreements and value differences (Levine, 1978). Other findings have reported that intentionally childless women have achieved greater psychological distance from their families during adolescence than other women (Houseknecht, 1977, 1979; Lott, 1973), tend to challenge conventional values (Levine, 1978) and in adulthood are more likely to have changed religious affiliation or profess no religious affiliation (Gustavus and Henley, 1971; Levine, 1978; Veevers, 1973).

The independence of childless women has been clearly established by the data. However, other empirical research

raises questions about the nature of this autonomy. The existence of a firm sense of autonomy, developed out of a secure attachment to the mother facilitates and enhances attachment. Truly autonomous individuals are able to move freely between states of autonomy and relatedness. They are not only able to form mature love relationships but are able to depend on others and be depended upon without undue anxiety (Bowlby, 1973).

Research on childless women suggest that their autonomy is a more fragile nature. A thread that consistently runs through the literature is the tenacity with which these women safeguard their autonomy. They tend to have fewer social supports (Houseknecht, 1977), show less interest in interacting with people, prefer to be alone, avoid group membership, tend to live further from their families of origin and choose professions which require them to work alone (Silka and Kiesler, 1977). In their adolescent years they tend to date little, are more likely to marry later than other women (Renne, 1976; Veevers, 1973) and identify their husbands and their "first love." Even in their marriages they are highly protective of their independence. For many, the decision not to have children is made because of a fear of disrupting the egalitarian nature of their relationships (Levine, 1978), leaving them dependent on their husbands and burdened by the dependency of their children (Veevers, 1975).

Bowlby (1973) theorizes that for some girls early developmental conflict with the mother results in a premature

or defensive autonomy. Repeated separations of sufficient duration may result in the child detaching herself from reliance on the mother and becoming narcissistically dependent on herself. This pattern results in a heightened drive towards individuation. However, because it involves a repression of attachment need, the development of relationships is restricted (Hansburg, 1972). It is the contention of this study that the above described object relational pattern underlies the intention not to parent in adolescent women.

Pregnancy and mothering involves a psychological regression to the infantile stage of primary identification (Benedek, 1960). It is this regression that provides the mother with the basis for empathic understanding of her child's needs and is the source of her capacities for giving love and nurturance so essential for her child's growth and development (Balint, 1939; Benedek, 1970; Winnicott, 1965). Most women, because they define themselves in relation to others and retain the need for merger are not excessively threatened by regression involved in the parenting process (Chodorow, 1978). However, for the excessively self sufficient woman, parenting and its accompanying regression not only evokes conflict, but threatens her fundamental self definition which is based on a sense of separateness, a capacity to function autonomously and a denial of relation and connection to others.

The theory presented above to explain the intention not to parent suggests that these women have a heightened need

for individuation and an attenuated attachment need. Hansburg (1972) proposes that the strength of one's attachment and individuation needs will be reflected in how one deals with separation. He describes a continuum along which the balance between attachment and individuation need varies. On one end are those individuals he labels "anxiously attached". These people will meet both mild and strong separation experiences by seeking support from others. They are likely to avoid separation experiences by staying in close proximity to their attachment figures. On the other end of the continuum are "excessively self sufficient" people. These individuals find it difficult to utilize support from others even at times of permanent separation. They are likely to meet both temporary and permanent separations with individuation behavior. Hansburg (1972) contends that most individuals will fall between these two extremes. They will meet temporary separations with minimal anxiety and will respond with individuation behavior. However, when confronted by a permanent separation they will tend to seek support.

The women who intend not to parent appear to fit in the group that Hansburg identifies as excessively self sufficient. It was therefore predicted that women who intend not to parent would show a higher individuation and lower attachment response following a separation than women who intend to mother. It was further predicted that they would react to strong separation situations with a greater individuation than attachment response.

The theory proposed here to account for the intention not to parent is largely an extension of Chodorow's theory of mothering. However, Chodorow not only provides an object relational basis for understanding reproductive intentions, but also proposes that the balance between attachment and individuation need is a critical factor in the development of sex role identity.

Sex Role Identity

Unidimensionality of Sex Role Identity

Historically sex role identity was considered to be a unidimensional concept with masculinity and femininity representing its polar extremes. According to this conceptualization, individuals were labeled either masculine or feminine, not both, and sex role was inextricably linked to biological gender (Monroe-Cook, 1979).

The goal of sex role identity was to develop in children of each gender "sex-appropriate characteristics so that they may be capable of executing successfully the sex roles society has assigned to them" (Spence and Helmreich, 1978, p. 3). Boys were expected to develop independence and other instrumental traits to prepare them for their extrafamilial occupational roles. Girls, on the other hand were expected to develop expressive characteristics which would ensure adequate fulfillment of their roles as wives and mothers. For both boys and girls deviation from this normative pattern, i.e., masculinity in girls or femininity in boys, was considered pathological (Spence and Helmreich, 1978).

Empirical instruments based on this theoretical model forced individuals into one of these categories by operationally defining one in terms of the absence of the other (Constantinople, 1973). Constantinople posited that the use of these instruments hampered the development of a dualistic conceptualization of sex role identity.

Duality of Sex Role Identity

The dualistic model of sex role identity proposes that masculinity and femininity operate independently and therefore may co-exist within the same individual. The theoretical basis for a dualistic formulation can be found in the writings of Bakan (1966) and Jung (Campbell, 1971). Bakan writes:

> For the male and in the female we have instances of differentiation of function, especially with respect to their roles in reproduction. If we think of agency and communion as two major functions associated with all living substance, then although agency is greater in the male and communion greater in the female, agency and communion nonetheless characterize both. (Bakan, 1966, p. 122).

In a similar formulation, Jung introduces the concepts of anima (femininity) and animus (masculinity). He posits that in women the anima is conscious and therefore dominant while the animus is unconscious. For men the opposite is true; the animus dominates while the anima is latent. Both Jung and Bakan emphasize the importance of achieving a balance between these two dimensions.

It was not until the early 1970's that the empirical use of unidimensional instruments was seriously questioned

(Spence and Helmreich, 1978). Following Constantinople's critique in 1973, a large body of research has developed which provides empirical support for the duality of sex role identity (Bem, 1974; Berzins, Welling and Wetter, 1978; Spence and Helmreich, 1978; Spence, Helmreich and Stapp, 1976; Heilbrun, 1976). Using instruments which enable individuals to rate themselves separately on the domains of masculinity and femininity, subjects attribute to themselves varying degrees of socially valued feminine and masculine characteristics, that appear to operate independently of each other.

This dualistic conception of masculinity and femininity has led to the broadening of our understanding of sex roles and to the identification of four distinct sex role categories to replace the traditional two groups. These four categories have been labeled "masculine" to refer to those high in masculinity and low in femininity; "feminine" for those high in femininity and low in masculinity; "androgynous" indicating those high in both and "undifferentiated" to designate those low in both masculinity and femininity.

It has been demonstrated that both males and females can be characterized as either masculine, feminine, androgynous or undifferentiated and that psychological adjustment is related more to category than to the establishment of "gender-appropriate" characteristics. Research indicates that androgynous individuals show highest self-esteem (Bem, 1975; Spence et al., 1975) and are better able to adapt their behavior to the specific requirements of a situation

than are others who tend to respond in sex stereotyped ways (Bem, 1974, 1975; Bem and Lenney, 1976). Data further show that masculine individuals have higher self-esteem than do feminine subjects, regardless of biological gender (Bem, 1975; Spence et al., 1978). This has been attributed to the fact that masculine characteristics are more valued in American society than are feminine traits (Deaux, 1976; Rosenkrantz, Vogel, Bee, Broverman and Broverman, 1968; Spence and Helmreich, 1972) and that feminine individuals are psychologically less separate and therefore more dependent on others for maintenance of self esteem.

Traditional psychoanalytic theory posits that the development of sex role identity arises from the resolution of the oedipal conflict resulting in identification with the same sex parent. While this may have been adequate to explain the development of unidimensional sex typed behavior, it fails to account for androgyny or cross-sex identity (Monroe-Cook, 1979).

In an alternative formulation, Chodorow (1978) theorizes that sex role identity is primarily a manifestation of the attachment-individuation balance. She proposes that femininity is associated with continued attachment need while masculinity reflects the extent of individuation. According to her formulation, traditional feminine identity indicates a high attachment and low individuation need. In contrast, masculine identity involves a repression of attachment need and a heightened drive towards individuation. Chodorow does not specifically address the androgynous or

undifferentiated categories. However, her theory can logically be extended to include these groups. Androgynous women are those who are high in both attachment and individuation, while those with an undifferentiated sex role identity are low in both these areas.

Voluntary Childlessness and Sex Role Identity

Only one study to date has explored the relationship between childlessness and sex role identity. In a study comparing married childless women with mothers, Levine (1978) postulated that childless women probably define themselves in less traditional terms than do other women and consequently hypothesized that they would be more androgynous than mothers. The prediction was not supported by the data. Levine found no differences between groups on sex role identity. However, she suggested that differences may have been attenuated by use of the long form of the Bem Sex Role Inventory, which was at that time in its developmental stages.

The present study concurs with Levine that childless women are likely to demonstrate a nontraditional sex role identity. However, on the basis of the previously stated hypothesis that women who intend not to parent are high in individuation need and low in attachment need (a pattern associated with a masculine sex role identity) it was predicted that women who intend not to parent would be more likely to identify themselves as having a masculine sex role identity than women who intend to mother.

Family Background

A relatively neglected are in the exploration of non-parenthood has been in the domain of family background variables. Existing studies can be divided into two groups: 1) demographic research and 2) women's perceptions of their early family life.

Demographic investigations compose most of the early research on the intentionally childless woman. In one of the earliest studies Lewis (1972) found that childless women tended to be raised in nontraditional homes where 1) mother was dominant over father, 2) religion was unimportant, 3) mothers were likely to have some higher education and come from a higher socioeconomic level that their husbands and 4) parents were more likely to be previously divorced.

Subsequent research has failed to corroborate these findings. Studies have repeatedly reported that women who remain childless by choice come from families which are quite conventional. Childfree women tend to be raised in intact families (Levine, 1978; Veevers, 1973) where there is no more prevalence of divorce or separation than in families of those who wish to, or have become mothers (Bram, 1974; Lott, 1973). Furthermore, mothers of the intentionally childless tended to be full time housewives during the subjects' childhoods (Levine, 1978; Veevers, 1973) with those who worked being forced to do so for financial reasons (Levine, 1978). This discrepancy may be due to differences in sampling.

In one respect mothers of childless women were even
more conventional than mothers of women who mothered. Con-
trary to expectations, Bram (1974) found that mothers of
women who mothered were slightly more likely to work full
time during the woman's childhood. Mothers of nonparents
tended to work only when the children were older. This
occurred even though childless women came from families of
lower socioeconomic status (Lewis, 1972; Strong, 1967;
Veevers, 1973). When employed, mothers of childless women
were no more likely to be employed in male identified pro-
fessions than mothers of women who mothered (Bram, 1974).

Empirical data regarding family size have reported
conflicting results. Some investigations have found that
nonparents tend to come from small families (Lewis, 1972;
Veevers, 1975) and are oldest (Veevers, 1973) or only chil-
dren (Bram, 1974; Veevers, 1973). Other researchers have
found no differences in family size or ordinal position
(Houseknecht, 1979; Levine, 1978; Silka et al., 1977).

In a review of demographics, Bram (1974) concluded that
there was a weak association between family history and
fertility behavior. Consequently more recent research has
focused on the childfree woman's retrospective perceptions
of her family.

Bram (1974) found no difference in perceived role con-
flicts for mothers or fathers, nor was there a difference in
the "value of children" attributed to parents of childless
women and mothers. However, important differences have been
found between childfree women and parents on the perceived

quality of early family relationships. Women who were intentionally childless were more likely to see parents as less nurturant (Lott, 1973), the emotional climate of their homes as lacking in warmth (Bram, 1974; Houseknecht, 1979; Levine, 1978) and to have seen children as a major source of friction between parents (Bram, 1974; Levine, 1978).

In interviews, Levine (1978) found that both mothers and childless women experienced significant conflicts with families in the process of growing up. However, the intensity of these conflicts were stronger for the childfree group than for the mothers. Some childless women reported that their mothers had confided in them about their marital conflicts. This had left them feeling angry and resentful toward both parents. Other nonparents felt pressured to be successful where their parents had failed and experienced guilt for the sacrifices parents had made for them.

Both Lott (1973) and Levine (1978) report that childless women were even more ambivalent toward their fathers than their mothers. However, neither elaborated on the nature of these conflicts.

The preceding review represents the sum total of literature available regarding the family background variables associated with a childfree life style. The recent focus on perceptions rather than factual data has provided promising results. However, the conclusions tend to be based on single questions about family closeness (Bram, 1974; Lott, 1973) or on global perceptions gleaned from interviews (Levine, 1978). Therefore, one of the goals of this study

will be to identify parental background variables which differentiate intended childless women from women who intend to parent using instruments with established reliability and validity.

Identification with Mother

The first variable that will be considered will be identification with mother with respect to sex role characteristics. There has been some controversy among theorists on the significance of identification in the development of sex role (Orlofsky, 1979). Research has failed to resolve the conflict. Some researchers have concluded that identification plays a major role in the determination of sex role (Heilbrun, 1973, 1976), while others have relegated it to a secondary position (Lynn, 1976; Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974). In an investigation that provided partial support for both these viewpoints, Orlofsky (1979) found that the influence of identification differed according to sex role category (Androgynous, masculine feminine or undifferentiated). Thus, although there is disagreement about the importance of its contribution, most agree that to a greater or lesser extent, identification does play a role in the development of sex role identity.

Benedek (1970) proposes that a woman's attitude toward parenting is rooted in the little girl's early identifications with mother. Research has further demonstrated the importance of a woman's identification with her mother in achieving a satisfactory adjustment to pregnancy and

mothering (Ballou, 1978; Benedek, 1970; Colman and Colman, 1971).

Consequently, it is surprising that only one study to date has explored the relationship between identification with mother and intentional childlessness. Comparing child-free women and mothers Levine (1978) found that women who have chosen not to parent show a weaker identification with mother than women who are mothers. Levine, however, did not explore the similarity of these women to their mothers in regard to masculine and feminine characteristics.

It is expected that similar results would be found in this area of sex role identity. Some support for this expectation is provided by previous demographic research which has reported that mothers of childless women lead highly conventional lives, while their daughters have chosen a life style that deviates from the traditional female role. It is furthermore consistent with Orlofsky's (1979) results that masculine women are less similar to their mothers than androgynous, feminine and undifferentiated women. The prediction in this investigation was therefore made that women who intend not to parent would be less similar to their mothers in respect to sex role identity than women who intend to mother.

Parent Behavior

Three additional variables were explored: 1) Mother and Father warmth vs. rejection, 2) Mother and father control and 3) mother and father cognitive involvement, which

are the three orthogonal factors identified by Kelly and Worrell (1976) to describe parent behaviors.

As previously indicated, the findings of other investigations that childless women have parents who are less warm and nurturing was based on questionable methodology. Furthermore there was no direct theoretical or empirical basis on which to formulate hypotheses on the remaining two variables. Consequently research in the area of sex role identity was utilized. Because it is being hypothesized that women who intend not to parent are masculine in sex role identity, the family background of masculine women is particularly relevant to the present research.

Only two studies to date have explored the developmental background of women with different sex role identities. The first study done by Kelly and Worrell (1976) found that masculine women described their parents in highly positive terms. Their descriptions were most similar to the androgynous women, with both groups seeing their parents as more encouraging of their cognitive pursuits and less controlling than parents of feminine and undifferentiated women. Compared with the masculine group, androgynous women were slightly more positive in describing their mothers, characterizing them as more actively involved and encouraging of their academic curiosity.

The results of the second investigation were strikingly different. Orlofsky (1979), also studying college students, reported that masculine women described both parents more negatively than any of the other three groups. They saw

their parents as less accepting, involved, egalitarian, more rejecting, and less encouraging of their cognitive development.

Orlofsky cites the discrepancy between the two studies, but makes no attempt to account for the differences. One might certainly speculate that the masculine sex role category encompasses two distinct groups which have reached a masculine identity through alternative developmental paths. Accepting this premise, a comparison reveals that women who intend not to parent appear more similar to Orlofsky's masculine women. In the first section of this document, it is proposed that a disruption in the early childhood relationship between the future childless woman and her parents results in the development of defensive autonomy. In describing his group of masculine women Orlofsky similarly concludes:

> . . . if a source of strength is to be found in masculine women from these data, it appears that their strength and independence may be self-protective, an autonomy and toughness reached by self-protective withdrawal from cold excessively rejecting parents (Orlofsky, 1979, p. 509).

It was consequently assumed that women who intend not to parent would describe their own parents in much the same way as the masculine women in Orlofsky's study. It was therefore hypothesized that future childless women would describe both father and mother as more rejecting than future mothers, which was consistent with the results of previous investigations of childless women. In accordance with Orlofsky's results it was further predicted that women

who intend to parent would see their parents as less cogni-
tively involved than women who intend to mother. Finally
it was expected that there would be no difference between
groups on perceived parental control.

HYPOTHESES

Response to Separation

Hypothesis I: Women who intend to remain childless will be more self sufficient and will seek fewer attachments following a separation than women who intend to parent.

Hypothesis II: Women who intend to remain childless will be more likely to remain self sufficient than to seek attachments in situations of strong separation than women who intend to parent.

Sex Role Identity

Hypothesis III: Women who intend to remain childless will be more likely to have a masculine sex role identity than will women who intend to parent.

Family Background Variables

Hypothesis IV: Women who intend to remain childless will show less similarity to their mothers with regard to sex role characteristics than will women who intend to parent.

Hypothesis V: Women who intend to remain childless will
                  see their parents as less warm and more
                  rejecting than will women who intend to
                  parent.

Hypothesis VI: Women who intend to remain childless will
                  see their parents as no different in exert-
                  ing control than will women who intend to
                  parent.

Hypothesis VII: Women who intend to remain childless will
                  see their parents as less involved in their
                  cognitive development than will women who
                  intend to parent.

METHOD

Subjects

The subjects for this study were selected from a pool of women enrolled in Introductory Psychology Courses at Michigan State University during Winter and Spring Terms, 1983. In both courses, subjects are given extra credit for participating in ongoing research.

Subjects were obtained through two alternative procedures. With the professor's approval the Biographical Information Questionnaire was administered to entire sections at the beginning or end of classes. The subjects were told that there were two parts to the study and that only a small number of them would be selected to participate in part II. They were given no further information on what basis the discrimination would be made.

In those classes where the professor would not allow the questionnaires to be administered during class time, sign up sheets were placed in the classrooms. On these sheets, subjects were informed of the name of the experiment "Future Role Expectations," the number of credits to be awarded for participation and the place and time to meet with the experimenter if interested. At the designated time subjects were administered the Biographical Information

Questionnaire and were given the same information provided to students tested in the classroom.

In all, 762 women answered and returned the screening questionnaire. Table 1 gives a summary of the demographic characteristics of the college population of women from which the study sample was subsequently drawn. The study sample was composed of two groups of women. The first group included 34 women who were very certain they intend to parent. The second group was composed of 26 women who were moderately or very certain that they intend not to parent. This determination was made on the basis of answers to the following questions included on the Background Information Questionnaire:

Do you intend to parent:

_____ Yes _____ No _____ Undecided

How certain are you about this intention?

_____ Very certain _____ Moderately Certain

_____ Moderately Uncertain _____ Very Uncertain

All subjects also met the following criteria:

1. Never married

2. Never having given birth to a child

3. Not currently pregnant

4. Physically able to give birth to a child

Three hundred thirty-eight women met the criteria for inclusion in the parenting group, while 27 women met the inclusion criteria for the childfree group. All 27 women

Table 1. Comparison of Demographic Variables for the Student Population, the Intent to Parent Group and the Intent not to Parent Group.

| | | GROUP | |
VARIABLE	Population	Intend to Parent	Intend Not to Parent
N	702	34	26
Age			
Mean	19.18	18.96	19.16
S.D.	1.59	1.31	2.49
Marital Status			
Single	95.20%	100.00%	100.00%
Married	1.70%	0	0
Separated	.30%	0	0
Divorced	.90%	0	0
Student Status			
Freshman	63.20%	58.80%	57.70%
Sophomore	20.70%	20.60%	19.20%
Junior	10.00%	17.60%	7.70%
Senior	5.80%	2.90%	11.50%
GPA			
Mean	3.17	2.65	3.26
S.D.	.62	.41	.39
Major			
No Preference	20.80%	11.80%	7.70%
Agriculture	2.60%	2.90%	3.80%
Humanities	2.40%	0	3.80%
Business	23.90%	38.20%	19.20%
Communications	10.30%	17.60%	7.70%
Education	1.30%	2.90%	0
English	5.10%	0	3.80%
Human Ecology	4.80%	8.80%	0
Natural Science	9.80%	2.90%	19.20%
Nursing	2.80%	2.90%	0
Social Science	13.10%	11.80%	23.10%
Veterinary Med.	1.60%	0	11.50%
	.60%	0	0
Race			
Caucasian	90.60%	94.10%	88.50%
Black	6.30%	2.90%	0
Other	3.00%	0	11.50%

Table 1. (Cont.)

| | | GROUP | |
VARIABLE	Population	Intend to Parent	Intend Not to Parent
Religion			
None	5.60%	0	33.60%
Protestant	31.60%	44.10%	15.40%
Catholic	40.50%	38.20%	42.30%
Jewish	4.80%	8.80%	0
Lutheran	3.00%	2.90%	0
Christian	1.40%	0	3.80%
Other	9.80%	2.90%	0
Parents' Marital Status			
Married	76.40%	85.30%	65.40%
Separated	3.00%	2.90%	3.80%
Divorced	15.80%	5.90%	26.90%
Widowed	4.10%	5.90%	3.80%
Age SDW[1]			
0 - 5		2.90%	0
6 - 10		2.90%	15.20%
11 - 18		8.70%	15.20%
Father's Education			
Post Graduate	24.60%	23.50%	38.50%
College Graduate	33.80%	35.30%	11.50%
High School Graduate	34.30%	32.40%	34.60%
Not High School Grad	6.70%	5.90%	15.40%
Mother's Education			
Post Graduate	11.00%	11.80%	11.50%
College Graduate	34.20%	41.20%	15.40%
High School Graduate	49.70%	38.20%	65.40%
Not H.S. Graduate	4.40%	5.90%	7.70%
Father's Occupation[2]			
1	26.80%	20.60%	30.80%
2	20.50%	32.40%	15.40%
3	17.40%	8.80%	7.70%
4	7.80%	14.70%	7.70%
5	10.00%	5.90%	3.80%
6	3.70%	0	19.20%
7	2.10%	8.80%	3.80%
Unemployed	4.70%	0	0

Table 1. (Cont.)

VARIABLE	Population	Intend to Parent	Intend Not to Parent
Mother's Occupation[2]			
1	1.90%	0	0
2	21.40%	26.50%	23.10%
3	10.30%	8.80%	3.80%
4	22.80%	11.80%	19.20%
5	3.40%	0	0
6	5.60%	0	15.40%
7	1.40%	2.90%	11.50%
Housewife	22.40%	26.50%	15.40%
Unemployed	4.30%	14.70%	7.70%
SES[3]			
Class I	25.20%	17.60%	30.80%
II	18.90%	35.30%	11.50%
III	23.60%	23.50%	11.50%
IV	17.70%	8.80%	19.20%
V	4.10%	8.80%	15.40%
Children in Family			
Mean	3.50	3.29	3.65
S.D.	1.62	1.64	1.38
Sibling Position			
Only	5.10%	2.90%	7.70%
Oldest	26.90%	38.20%	38.50%
Middle	32.60%	23.50%	30.80%
Youngest	35.20%	35.30%	23.10%
Marital Intentions			
Yes	87.01%	100.00%	34.60%
No	1.00%	0	19.20%
Undecided	11.30%	0	46.20%
Childbearing Intentions			
Yes	78.50%	100.00%	0
No	1.70%	0	100.00%
Undecided	19.50%	0	0
Births			
No	97.70%	100.00%	100.00%
Yes	1.40%	0	0
Previous Pregnancies			
No	98.70%	100.00%	100.00%
Yes	0	0	0

Table 1. (Cont.)

| VARIABLE | Population | GROUP | |
		Intend to Parent	Intend Not to Parent
Physical Problems[4]			
No	95.40%	97.10%	100.00%
Yes	4.00%	0	0
Work Intentions			
Yes	95.70%	97.10%	100.00%
No	.40%	0	0
Undecided	3.60%	2.90%	0

[1]Age SDW = Subject's age at the time of separation, divorce or widowhood of parents.

[2]Occupation
    1 = Higher executives, proprietors of large concerns and major professionals.
    2 = Business managers, proprietors of medium sized businesses, lesser professionals.
    3 = Administrative personnel, small independent businesses and minor professionals.
    4 = Clerical and sales workers, technicians and owner of little businesses.
    5 = Skilled manual employees.
    6 = Machine operators and semi-skilled workers.
    7 = Unskilled employees.

[3]SES determined by Hollingshead Two Factor Index (1957).

[4] = Physical problems that would prevent pregnancy.

who stated an intention not to parent agreed to participate. One subject left school before she could be tested. For each intentionally childless woman identified, a woman intending to parent was randomly selected from the same class or group. This was done to minimize sampling bias. Eight additional women who stated an intention to parent were randomly selected to participate in the study to achieve the previously agreed upon 60 subjects. This was done to reduce

statistical error. Four of the women originally selected for inclusion in the intend to parent group, chose not to participate. Four other women were contacted and all agreed to be tested. Table 1 shows a comparison of the demographic characteristics between the two research groups and the population from which they were drawn.

Instruments

Background Information Questionnaire

The Background Information Questionnaire (see Appendix A) was developed specifically for this study. It consists of 19 questions designed to gather demographic data about the subjects and their families. Four additional questions regarding subjects' marital, parenting and work intentions, and pregnancy history were also included. The questionnaire was administered to all potential subjects and was used to identify those women who met inclusion criteria for the study.

Separation Anxiety Test (SAT)

Semi-projective Administration

The Separation Anxiety Test (see Appendix B) is a semi-projective instrument which is designed to assess reaction patterns to separation in adolescents (Hansburg, 1972; 1980). There are two forms, one for males and one for females. The test consists of 12 pictures, each of which depicts a different situation in which a child, either a boy or a girl, is separating from a significant other. Six of

the pictures represent mild or temporary separations and six depict strong or permanent separations.

Each of the pictures is accompanied by a title describing the type of separation situations and 17 statements describing how the child in the picture might react or feel. Each of the 17 items were judged by four highly experienced clinical psychologists to represent a different psychological mechanism one might use to deal with separation. These mechanisms can then be grouped according to eight response patterns representing different ego and superego functions. These include: 1) attachment need; 2) individuation need; 3) hostility; 4) painful tension; 5) reality avoidance; 6) self-esteem preoccupation; 7) self-love loss; and 8) identity stress.

Only the first two patterns, attachment and individuation need, were used for this study. Each of these response patterns consists of three components. Attachment includes feelings of rejection, loneliness and empathy. Individuation consists of a feeling of well being, adaptation and sublimation.

All subjects were administered the female form of the SAT. Subjects were instructed to look at each picture, read the title underneath, and then indicate those statements which represent how the girl in the picture feels. They were then instructed to identify as many statements as seemed appropriate.

Each subject's protocol was then scored individually and recorded on the Chart for Controlled Associations (see

Appendix C). Next, the total number of attachment responses were calculated by adding the number of rejection, loneliness and empathy responses. The individuation score was similarly calculated by adding the adaptation, well-being and sublimation scores. These were then placed in the Pattern Summary Chart (see Appendix D). The overall attachment and individuation percentages for mild and strong pictures were calculated.

Validity

Validity studies were done on 250 children between the ages of 11 and 15 between 1967 and 1970 (Hansburg, 1972; 1980). The subjects were drawn from a number of different settings in the New York City Long Island area including the Pleasantville Cottage School, two group residences for the Jewish Child Care Association (JCCA), two Catholic Charities care facilities, the psychiatric clinic of the JCCA, several public schools and a private Jewish day school.

The results indicated that girls showed a slight but nonsignificantly higher attachment need than did boys. Institutionalized children showed a lower attachment need than other children. Jewish children were higher in attachment need than Catholics. There were no differences across age groups in attachment need.

In regard to individuation, the highest individuation responses were found in children living in nuclear family settings, while the lowest scores were obtained by children

with weak attachments to their families and those living in institutional settings.

The children who were best adjusted showed a slightly higher overall attachment than individuation score. On pictures representing strong separations attachment exceeded individuation while the reverse was true for mild separations. A positive correlation was also found between the extent to which individuation exceeded attachment and difficulties in object relations.

Hansburg (1972) discovered that an adequate balance between attachment and individuation is represented by an attachment need of 20-25% and an individuation need of 16-28%. Those individuals independently judged to be symbiotic had attachment responses exceeding 25% and individuation responses lower than 16%. Self-sufficient subjects had attachment responses less than 20% and individuation responses greater than 28%

Sherry (1981) validated the SAT with a graduate and undergraduate college population. Based on pretest and interview data he judged the test to be applicable to these groups.

Reliability

Internal consistency, computed by the split-half method, revealed an overall reliability of .885. No individual scale reliabilities were reported (Hansburg, 1972). Coefficient alpha calculated for this research sample was .747 for attachment and .732 for individuation.

Projective Administration

The Separation Anxiety Test was also administered projectively. For this administration only the pictures with descriptive titles were shown to the subject. They were given the following directions which are virtually identical to those given when administering the TAT (Murray, 1938).

> I am going to show you a series of twelve pictures and ask you to make up a story about each one. When I hand you the picture, first read the title underneath and then make up the story. Please include in your story the following four things: 1) what is happening in the picture; 2) what led up to the situation; 3) what are the people thinking and feeling; and 4) what is going to happen. When you are finished with your story, place the picture face down on the table in front of you.

All stories were tape recorded and later transcribed. The protocols were then rated for attachment and individuation needs according to the scoring system developed specifically for this study. The attachment score was composed of four components: loneliness, rejection, relatedness, and affiliation. The individuation score included three components: object constancy, adaptation and exploration/initiative.

Each of the twelve stories per protocol was rated on these seven components by assigning a score of one if present or zero if absent. The attachment score was then calculated by adding the loneliness, rejection relatedness and affiliation scores across the twelve cards. The individuation score was similarly calculated by adding the object constancy, adaptation and exploration/initiative scores. Comparisons were made and hypotheses tested.

Development of Scoring Criteria

The scoring criteria for attachment were developed from the theoretical and empirical literature of separation anxiety and attachment. There is some disagreement in the literature as to whether separation anxiety is a primary anxiety associated with object loss or a derivative of the more basic anxiety associated with unsatisfied bodily needs. There is, however, a growing consensus that separation from an attachment figure is accompanied by anxiety and some predictable patterns of response throughout the life cycle (Antonucci, 1976; Bowlby, 1973).

Loneliness is a common response to the disruption of the attachment bond at all ages, though the character of attachment may differ depending on the developmental stage at which the disruption occurs (Blos, 1962; Bowlby, 1973b, 1980; Hansburg, 1972, 1980; Sullivan 1953; Weiss, 1982). Sullivan views loneliness as a response to lack of contact in infancy, lack of an adult to share activities with in childhood and an absence of intimate exchange with another human being in preadolescence and thereafter. Furthermore, loneliness reaches its full significance in adolescence (Sullivan, 1953) as teenagers struggle to relinquish their ties to their internal parental objects (Blos, 1967).

Rejection is also a frequent reaction to separation or loss (Benedek, 1956; Bowlby, 1973; Klein, 1935; Rochlin, 1961). Klein proposes that the feeling of rejection has its developmental roots in the depressive and persecutory anxiety that first occurs in infancy. It is experienced as a

loss of love from the attachment figure (Kris, 1950; Mahler, Pine and Bergman, 1975) and is associated with a narcissistic injury, a loss of self-esteem (Rochlin, 1961) and a feeling of being unwanted and unwantable (Bowlby, 1973).

The third and fourth components, relatedness and affiliation, are indications of positive attachment that may occur in the absence of the attachment object. They are drawn from the literature that has attempted to apply attachment concepts to adults. The relatedness component is a composite of the affective components identified by Knudtson (1976), Steindel (1981) and Troll and Smith (1976). The affiliation dimension includes most forms of proximity seeking which range from simple physical contact to emotional intimacy. This affiliation response has also been identified as an important component of attachment (Knudtson, 1976; Maccoby and Masters, 1970; Murray, 1938; Steindel, 1981; Weiss, 1982) and may be viewed as the developmentally more advanced manifestation of the clinging, crying, following attachment behaviors of infancy (Weiss, 1982).

The establishment of object constancy is a primary objective of the fourth and final phase of the separation-individuation process (Mahler et al., 1975). It represents the most mature form of object relationships (Hoffer, 1955) and is achieved through the gradual internalization of the object-mother, the differentiation of object from self, and fusion of good and bad object and self-images into integrated and stable internal object and self-representations (Mahler, et al., 1975). This capacity to maintain an

internal representation of the absent love object increases the individual's ability to accept separations and make adaptations necessitated by the separation despite even moderate degrees of discomfort. As individuation occurs, separations, especially those that are predictable and of mild intensity, are viewed not so much as a threat, but as an opportunity to explore the world, engage in new experiences and interact with new people (Arendt, Gove and Sroufe, 1970; Blos, 1962, 1967; Hansburg, 1972; Mahler, et al., 1975; Matas, Arendt and Sroufe, 1979; Murphy, Silber, Coelho, Hamburg and Greenberg, 1963).

On the basis of this literature the attachment scale included components of loneliness, rejection, relatedness and affiliation. The individuation scale was originally composed of five components: object constancy, sense of self, adaptation, sublimation and exploration/initiative.

A highly skilled clinical psychologist recommended the object constancy and sense of self categories be fused into one since they represented the same conceptual construct. He also recommended that adaptation and sublimation categories be combined because they were not sufficiently discrete to warrant separate categorization. Consequently the final individuation scale was composed of the three components object constancy, adaptation and exploration/initiative. For a description of the criteria used to score each category, see Appendix E.

Validity

The attachment and individuation components and their scoring criteria were submitted to three advanced doctoral students in counseling psychology. All agreed that these categories represented the constructs being addressed.

Training of Raters

The projective stories were rated for attachment and individuation by two female senior psychology students who received 490 course credit for their participation.

Raters participated in ten three-hour training sessions over the course of five weeks. These were conducted by the author.

In the initial session, subjects were told that the research was directed at learning more about women with different childbearing intentions, but were not informed of the hypotheses. They were given a brief overview of the concepts of attachment and individuation and were then given the scoring criteria to study and a protocol of twelve stories to rate.

The raters and the author scored the protocol independently then reconvened to discuss rationales for the scoring of each category for each of the twelve stories. When discrepancies occurred, these were discussed until consensus was reached. This process was repeated five times until adequate interrater reliability of .80 was achieved (Crano and Brewer, 1973).

44

When the training process was completed each rater was given 28 protocols to rate. This included 15 protocols from the Intend to Parent group and ten from the Intend Not to Parent group and six protocols randomly selected to be rated by both to verify interrater reliability. Approximately halfway through the rating process, interrater reliability was found to have fallen below the acceptable level. An additional training session was scheduled in which scoring criteria were discussed and discrepancies reconciled. Following this session, subjects were asked to rerate all protocols. Reliability was again checked after all protocols had been scored.

Interrater Reliability

Interrater reliability at the end of training was .80 for attachment and .83 for individuation. The final interrater reliability calculated on the basis of six protocols was .78 for attachment and .80 for individuation. As Table 2 indicates, the interrater reliability for the components ranged from .70 for loneliness to .86 for rejection.

Internal Consistency

Internal consistency was calculated for the attachment and individuation scales. Coefficient alpha was .371 for attachment and .657 for individuation. These are considerably below acceptable levels for reliability.

Table 2.   Interrater Reliability for Projective Ratings of
            Attachment and Individuation on the Separation
            Anxiety Test

Components	Interrater Reliability
Attachment Total	.78
Rejection	.86
Loneliness	.70
Relatedness	.80
Affiliation	.76
Individuation Total	.80
Object Constancy	.81
Adaptation	.77
Exploration/Initiative	.85

Bem Sex Role Inventory

The Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI), Short Form (Bem
1981), is a 30 item instrument used to measure sex role
identity (see Appendix F). It represents a refinement of
the original 60-item, BSRI (Bem, 1974). The original BSRI
was developed in the early 1970's. Fifty male and 50 female
Stanford undergraduates were asked to rate the desirability
of 200 personality characteristics on a scale of one (not at
all desirable) to seven (extremely desirable) for either men
or women. No subjects were asked to rate characteristics
for both. They were instructed to make the ratings based on

what they thought would be culturally desirable, not their own personal ideas of desirability.

Based on these ratings, a list of masculine and feminine characteristics were compiled. A personality characteristic was defined as masculine or feminine if it was determined to be significantly more desirable in the American culture for one sex than for the other. Seventy-six of the original 200 personality characteristics met this criterion. Of these, 20 were selected for the masculinity scale and 20 for the femininity scale. Twenty additional items, judged to be equally desirable for males and females were included as an indicator of social desirability. The score for each scale ranged from 2.00 to 5.00. After a masculinity and femininity score was computed, each subject was placed in one of four sex role categories,: androgynous, masculine, feminine or undifferentiated by the median split technique. Subjects scoring above the medians on both masculinity and femininity scales were assigned to the androgynous group. Those above the median of masculinity and below the median on femininity were identified as masculine. The feminine group was composed of those subjects scoring above the median on femininity and below the median on masculinity. Finally the undifferentiated group included those women who scored below the medians of both scales. The medians of 3.70 for masculinity and 4.01 for femininity, computed from BEM Scores of 1180 Michigan State University undergraduates were used in categorizing subjects (Jackson, 1983).

The short form of the BSRI was developed by Bem in order to improve internal consistency of the masculinity and femininity scales and the orthogonality between them. A factor analysis was conducted separately for males and females on the 40 masculine and feminine items. A varimax orthogonal rotation was then performed on the extracted factors. Twenty-five items, 11 feminine and 14 masculine had factor loadings higher than .35. From these, 10 feminine and 10 masculine items were selected for inclusion in the short form based on the item-total correlations between the individual items and the 40 original items. Ten filler items were also included in the short form.

On the short BSRI, the items are arranged in a list of 30 bipolar adjectives with the letters A-E forming a scale between two extremes. Subjects are asked to choose the letter that best describes the person being rated. In this study subjects were asked to rate themselves, their mothers and their fathers, in that order. To score the BSRI the numbers 1-5 were assigned to the letters A-E (A=1, B=2, C=3, D=4, E=5). The scores on the 10 items belonging to each scale were then summed and divided by ten. This results in a single score for masculinity and one for femininity.

Test-Retest Reliability

The following reliability and validity statistics were computed on the basis of a rescoring of the original BSRI. To evaluate test-retest reliability, 28 male and 28 female Stanford University undergraduates were administered the

BSRI twice with a four week interval between testings. Product moment correlations indicated good reliability for both masculine and feminine scales with correlations ranging from .76 for males on masculine items to .91 for males on feminine items and females on masculine items (Bem, 1981).

Social Desirability

The Marlowe-Crowne Social desirability Scale was also administered to these 56 students. Product-moment correlations between the Marlowe-Crowne scale and the femininity and masculinity scales ranged from -.08 for males on the masculinity scale to .24 for females on the femininity scale. These low correlations indicate that the BSRI is not measuring a general tendency to describe oneself in a socially desirable manner (Bem, 1981).

Internal Consistency and Scale Independence

Internal consistency of the BSRI short form and tests of scale independence were determined based on analysis of data collected from 619 female and 920 male Stanford University undergraduates in 1973 and 1978. Coefficient alpha computed separately for males and females ranged from .84 for females on both the masculinity and femininity scales to .87 for males on the femininity scale indicating high internal consistency for both scales. Tests of correlation between masculinity and femininity indicate that these scales are empirically independent. The correlations wee .10 and .33 for females and males respectively in 1973 and .19 and .12 for females and males in 1978 (Bem, 1981).

Coefficient alpha computed for the present research sample was .874 and .879 for the masculinity and femininity scales for subjects, .879 and .919 for their mothers and .854 and .932 for their fathers. This indicates high internal consistency on both scales for all three groups. To test independence of masculinity and femininity, product moment correlations were computed. These were .07 for subjects, -.07 for mothers and .08 for fathers, indicating empirical independence of masculinity and femininity.

Parent Behavior Form (PBF)

The Parent Behavior Form (Kelly and Worrell, 1976, see Appendix G) is a 135 item instrument designed to measure an individual's perceptions of his/her parents' behavior. Each subject was asked to rate each descriptive statement as being like, somewhat like or not like each of her parents. Those statements judged to be like the parent are given a score of three, those somewhat like are assigned a two and those not like are give a score of one. For each parent, scores on the 15 scales and 3 factors were calculated.

The Warmth vs. Rejection factor score was obtained by adding scores on the warmth, active involvement, egalitarianism and cognitive independence scales and subtracting the score on the hostile control and rejection scales. The control factor score was calculated by adding the strict control, punitive control and conformity scales and subtracting the lax control scale. Finally, the cognitive involvement factor score was determined by adding scores on

the cognitive curiosity, cognitive competence, cognitive independence and achievement control scales. For a description of each of the scales, see Appendix H. Scores on each of the 15 scales can range from 9 to 27. Possible range for Warmth vs. Rejection factor is -16 to 90, 0 to 81 for the Control factor and 36 to 108 for the Cognitive Involvement factor.

Validity

Kelly and Worrell (1976) report that PBF scales have been shown to differentiate inpatient alcoholics and college cheaters from experimental controls. The scales have also been differentially related to internal/external locus of control, children exhibiting different academic behaviors and potentials, and individuals in different sex-role categories (Kelly and Worrell, 1976; Monroe-Cook, 1978; Orlofsky, 1979).

Test-Retest Reliability

Test-retest correlations for the 15 PBF scales were previously calculated on the basis of tests administered to 102 males and 110 females.

For men, correlations ranged between .64 for ratings of their fathers on the strict control scale to .90 for ratings of their fathers on the active involvement scale. For women correlations ranged form .54 for ratings of mothers on rejection to .92 for ratings of fathers on active involvement (Worrell, 1983).

Coefficient alpha for the 15 scales ranged from .57 for the achievement control scale to .90 for the warmth scale (Monroe-Cook, 1978).

Interview

The interview was conducted in order to verify subject's parenting intentions reported on the Biographical Information Questionnaire and to give them an opportunity to discuss their motivations for making these choices. The interview also was used to supplement information provided on other instruments regarding self-perceptions, personal and family history. The interview were unstructured and varied in length from 15 to 90 minutes. The average interview lasted for approximately 30 minutes. Only one woman refused to be interviewed. This woman belonged to the group of women intending not to parent. Brief summary notes were made during and following each interview.

Procedure

Sixty women, 34 intending to parent and 26 intending not to parent were selected to participate in the study. All met the inclusion criteria described in the "subjects" section of this document.

The experimenter contacted each subject by telephone to request her participation in the study. At that time the subject was briefly told what she would be requested to do, reassured about confidentiality and informed of the number of extra credits she would receive for participation. For

those who agreed to be tested, an individual testing session was arranged.

All testing took place at the MSU Psychological Clinic. Sessions ranged in length from one and one half to five hours with the average taking approximately two and one half hours. At the beginning of the session, each subject was again told what the study would entail and was asked to sign the standard Department of Psychology consent form and the consent to audiotape (see Appendix I). After signing the consent forms, each subject was administered the test instruments in the following order:

1) Separation Anxiety Test—Projective

2) Separation Anxiety Test—Semiprojective

3) Bem Sex Role Inventory—Self, Mother, Father

4) Parent Behavior Form—Mother and Father

5) Interview

At the end of the interview each subject was thanked for her cooperation and given an opportunity to ask questions. Subjects were told that the experimenter was interested in learning about women's reproductive intentions but specific hypotheses being tested were not revealed. Subjects were then asked not to discuss the research with classmates.

Hypotheses Operationally Defined

Response to Separation

Hypothesis I: Women who intend to remain childless will be more self sufficient and will seek fewer attachments following a separation than women who intend to parent.

Operational Definition:

    Ia. Women who intend to remain childless will have a higher percentage of individuation responses on the Separation Anxiety Test (SAT) than women who intend to parent.

    Ib. Women who intend to remain childless will have a lower percentage of attachment responses on the SAT than women who intend to parent.

Hypothesis II: Women who intend to remain childless will be more likely to remain self sufficient than to seek attachments in situations of strong separation than women who intend to parent.

Operational Definition:

    II. In situations of strong separation, women who intend not to parent will be more likely to have a higher individuation than attachment percentage on the SAT than will women who intend to parent.

Sex Role Identity

Hypothesis III: Women who intend to remain childless will be more likely to have a masculine sex role identity than will women who intend to parent.

Operational Definition:

III. Women who intend to remain childless will be more likely to score above the median on masculinity and below the median on femininity on the Bem Sex Role Inventory than women who intend to parent.

Family Background Variables

Hypothesis IV: Women who intend to remain childless will show less similarity to their mothers in regard to sex role characteristics than will women who intend to parent.

Operational Definition:

IV. Women who intend not to parent will show a higher discrepancy between their own combined scores on masculinity and femininity and their mothers' combined scores on these variables than women who intend to parent.

Hypothesis V: Women who intend to remain childless will see their parents as less warm and more rejecting than will women who intend to parent.

Operational Definition:

Va. Women who intend to remain childless will rate their mothers as lower on the warmth vs. rejection factor on the Parent Behavior Form (PBF) than women who intend to mother.

Vb. Women who intend to remain childless will rate their fathers as lower on the warmth vs. rejection factor on the PBF than women who intend to mother.

Hypothesis VI: Women who intend to remain childless will see their parents as no different in exerting control than will women who intend to parent.

Operational Definition:

VIa. Scores on the maternal control factor will not differ for women who intend to remain childless and women who intend to parent.

VIb. Scores on the paternal control factor of the PBF will not differ for women who intend to remain childless and women who intend to parent.

Hypothesis VII: Women who intend to remain childless will see their parents as less involved in their cognitive development than will women who intend to parent.

Operational Definition:

VIIa. Women who intend not to parent will rate
       their mothers as lower on the cognitive
       involvement factor of the PBF than women
       who intend to mother.

VIIb. Women who intend not to parent will rate
       their fathers as lower on the cognitive
       involvement factor of the PBF than women
       who intend to mother.

Statistical Analysis

A one way analysis of variance was used to test Hypotheses I, IV, V, VI, and VII. Hypothesis II and III were tested using a Chi Square Test of Association.

Distribution of Parenting Intention

The distribution of parenting intentions obtained from the Background Information Questionnaire is shown in Table 3. More than seventy six percent of the 762 women sampled stated an intention to parent, 4.98 percent stated an intention not to parent and 17.98 percent were undecided.

Table 3. Distribution of Parenting Intentions in the Total Student Sample

Category	N	Percent of Sample
Intend Not to Parent	38	4.98
Intend to Parent	585	76.78
Undecided	137	17.78
No Response	2	.26
Totals	762	100.00

Hypotheses

Response to Separation Anxiety

Hypothesis Ia

Hypothesis Ia predicted that women who intended to remain childless would have a lower attachment score on the Separation Anxiety Test than women who intend to parent.

This hypothesis was tested using data collected by the projective and semiprojective administrations of the SAT. A one way analysis of variance performed separately on each set of data indicated this hypothesis was not supported. The results are shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Analysis of Variance Comparing Women Who Intend to Parent and Women Who Intend Not to Parent on Attachment Need Measured by the Separation Anxiety Test

| | Groups | | | |
Variable	Intend to Parent	Intend Not to Parent	F	P
Projective[1]	n=30	n=22	df=1,50	
Attachment				
Total	17.17	16.36	.685	ns
Mild	8.03	7.50	.834	ns
Strong	9.13	8.86	.188	ns
Semiprojective[2]	n=36	n=24	df=1,58	
Attachment				
Total	22.95	22.69	.040	ns
Mild	14.95	13.52	.107	ns
Strong	27.61	28.11	.101	ns

[1] = Frequency scores
[2] = Percentage scores

As predicted the childless group showed a lower attachment score except in the semiprojective strong separation situation but the differences were not significant.

Hypothesis Ib

It was predicted that women who intend not to parent would have a higher individuation score on the SAT than women who intend to parent. Table 5 indicates that contrary to prediction, women who intend to remain childfree showed a lower individuation response in both mild and strong separation situations than women who intend to mother. However, the differences between groups were not significant.

Table 5. Analysis of Variance Comparing Women Who Intend to Parent and Women Who Intend Not to Parent on Individuation Need As Measured by the Separation Anxiety Test

| Variable | Groups | | F | P |
	Intend to Parent	Intend Not to Parent		
Projective[1]	n=30	n=22	df=1,50	
Individuation				
Total	12.47	12.18	.067	ns
Mild	8.10	7.91	.066	ns
Strong	4.37	4.27	.033	ns
Semiprojective[2]	n=36	n=24	df=1,58	
Individuation				
Total	19.94	16.86	1.072	ns
Mild	36.72	30.46	1.340	ns
Strong	10.02	9.30	.130	ns

[1] = Frequency scores
[2] = Percentage scores

Hypothesis II

Hypothesis II predicted that women who intend not to parent were more likely than women who intend to have children to have a higher individuation than attachment response to strong separation situations. The projective data did not lend itself to such an analysis because of the different numbers of categories composing the projective attachment and individuation scores. Consequently only the semiprojective data was utilized to evaluate this hypothesis. The prediction was not supported by the data. Only three women in the future parenting group and two women in the future childfree group showed a stronger individuation than attachment percentage in strong separation situations.

Sex role Identity

Hypothesis III

The prediction was made that women who intend to remain childless would be more likely to have a masculine sex role identity than women who intend to have children. As Table 6 indicates, a chi square test of association comparing women with different reproductive intentions on masculine sex role identity produced a chi square value of 7.46, which was significant at a $p < .002$ level of significance. Thus the hypothesis was strongly supported by the data.

Table 6. Chi Square Comparing Number of Women Who Intend to
Parent and Number of Women Who Intend to Be Child-
free with a Masculine Sex Role Identity on the Bem
Sex Role Inventory

Variable	Intend to Parent	Intend Not to Parent	Total
Masculine	3	11	14
Not Masculine	31	15	46
Total	34	26	60

x^2 = 7.46, p < .002, df = 1

Identification with Mother

Hypothesis IV

It was predicted that women who intend not to parent
would see themselves as less similar to their mothers in
masculine and feminine characteristics than women who intend
to parent. More specifically the prediction was made that
SRSM, the discrepancy between the mother and daughter's
femininity score (FSM) added to the discrepancy between the
mother and daughter's masculinity score (MSM), would be
greater for the future childfree women than those who intend
to parent. Table 7 shows that this hypothesis was supported
by the data (F=8.864, df=1,58, p<.004). The table also
reveals that while the future childfree women indicated a
greater discrepancy on both masculinity and femininity
scales, the difference was significant only for the mascu-
linity scale (F=7.951, df=1,58, p<.006).

Table 7.   Analysis of Variance Comparing Women Who Intend to
           Parent with Women Who Intend Not to Parent on
           Perceived Similarity to Mother on Sex Role Charac-
           teristics as Measured by the Bem Sex Role
           Inventory

| Variable | Groups | | | |
	Intend to Parent	Intend Not to Parent	F	P
Sex Role (self-mother	1.03	1.51	8.864	.004
Masc. (self-mother)	.55	.97	7.951	.006
Fem. (self-mother)	.48	.54	.347	ns

Family Background Variables

Hypothesis V

It was predicted that women who intend not to parent
would rate their parents as lower in warmth/higher in rejec-
tion on the parent behavior from (PBF) than would those who
intend to become parents. The predictions were confirmed by
the data. Table 8 demonstrates that the results were in the
predicted directions reaching a significance level of $p < .002$
for mothers and $p < .001$ for fathers.

Hypothesis VI

The hypothesis was made that women who intend not to
have children would see their parents as no different from
the parenting group in exerting control. The null hypothe-
sis was supported by the data. There was no difference
between groups in perceived control exerted by either mother
or fathers (see Table 8).

Table 8. Analysis of Variance Comparing Women Who Intend to
          Parent and Women Who Intend Not to Parent on
          Perceptions of Parent Behaviors on the Parent
          Behavior Form

Variable	Groups		F	P
	Intend to Parent	Intend Not to Parent		
Mother	n=34	n=26	df=1,58	
Warmth	66.05	49.38	10.068	.002
Control	36.62	33.12	1.204	ns
Cognitive Involvement	74.88	70.12	3.444	.064
Father	n=33	n=25	df=1,56	
Warmth	60.21	40.96	11.317	.001
Control	35.39	32.04	1.218	ns
Cognitive Involvement	74.15	68.52	2.093	ns

Hypothesis VII

Hypothesis VII predicted that women who intend to re-
main childfree would see their parents as less cognitively
involved in their lives than women who intend to parent.
Table 8 indicates that the differences between means were in
the directions predicted. However, the F ratio was nonsig-
nificant for the fathers and only approached significance
for the mothers (F=3.555, df=1,58, p<.064).

Additional findings

During the course of this investigation some additional analyses were performed to clarify the meaning of the results already reported.

Demographics

Analyses were performed on all demographic data in Table 1 to determine if there were significant differences between women who intend to parent and women who intend to remain childfree. Significant differences were found on three variables, GPA (t=5.45, df=52, p<.01), religion (X^2=20.83, df=6, p<.002) and marital intention (X^2=31.02, df=2, p<.00001). Trends toward significance were revealed on the variables parent's marital status (X^2=3.31, df=1, p<.08), father's education (X^2=3.47, df=1, p<.07), mother's education (X^2=3.45, df=1, p<.07) and college major (X^2=18.55, df=11, p<.069).

Women who intend to remain childfree had a mean GPA of 3.26 which was significantly higher than the 2.65 reported by the group of future mothers. Approximately one third of the women who intend to have children reported no religions affiliation. Women who intend to parent were more likely to identify themselves as Protestant or Jewish than the future childfree women. There were no significant differences between groups in those who reported an affiliation with Catholicism.

On the variable marital intentions all the women intending to have children also reported an intention to

marry. For the group of women intending not to have children 34.6 percent reported an intention to marry, 19.2 percent intend not to marry and close to half, 46.2 percent, remain undecided.

A trend indicated that future childfree women were more likely to have parents who were divorced than women who intend to parent. However, when experiences of parental separation, divorce and death were combined, women who intend not to parent were no less likely to come from intact homes than their peers.

In regard to father's education, fathers of both groups of women were equally likely to have received a college education. However, a trend suggested that fathers of future childless women were less likely to have a terminal bachelor's degree with most of the college graduates having some postgraduate training. In contrast, a trend indicated that mothers of future childfree women were less likely to have graduated from college than mothers of women who intend to mother.

Response to Separation Anxiety

Further analyses were performed only on the semiprojective data because the projective instrument had such poor internal consistency.

A series of one way analyses of variance were conducted to assess differences between groups on the individual components of attachment and individuation. As Table 9 indicates, there are trends demonstrating that women who intend

Table 9. Analysis of Variance Comparing Women Who Intend to Parent and Women Who Intend Not to Parent on Components of Attachment and Individuation on the Separation Anxiety Test

| | Groups | | | |
Variable	Intend to Parent	Intend Not to Parent	F	P
Attachment				
Rejection				
Total	4.72	5.61	1.089	ns
Mild	3.04	3.93	.635	ns
Strong	5.59	6.64	1.188	ns
Loneliness				
Total	11.41	10.07	1.618	ns
Mild	8.72	8.38	.032	ns
Strong	12.78	10.81	3.247	.077
Empathy				
Total	6.82	7.01	.068	ns
Mild	2.53	1.21	1.735	ns
Strong	9.23	10.66	1.907	ns
Individuation				
Adaptation				
Total	11.58	10.29	.565	ns
Mild	18.19	13.36	3.162	.081
Strong	8.19	8.41	.018	ns
Well Being				
Total	2.42	2.59	.002	ns
Mild	6.52	6.87	.041	ns
Strong	1.07	.89	.157	ns

Table 9. (Cont.)

	Groups			
Variable	Intend to Parent	Intend Not to Parent	F	P
Sublimation				
Total	4.72	3.68	1.346	ns
Mild	12.01	10.09	.778	ns
Strong	.92	.09	3.236	.077

not to parent are less likely to respond to strong separations with feelings of loneliness ($F=3.247$, $df=1,58$, $p<.077$) and sublimation ($F=3.236$, $df=1,58$, $p<.077$). There is also a trend indicating women who intend to remain childless are less likely to show adaptation responses to mild separation situations ($F=3.162$, $df=1,58$, $p<.081$). All other differences were nonsignificant.

Up to this point analyses on the SAT have been based on comparing percentage scores calculated by dividing raw scores on each component by the total number of responses to the test. Hansburg (1972) introduced this scoring method to control for differences in responsiveness (i.e. the number of responses given). However, this method of scoring assumes that each component has a perfect correlation with responsiveness, i.e. that it increases proportionally as the number of test responses increase. A pearson product moment correlation was used to test the relationship between the attachment and individuation scale scores and the total

number of test responses. The correlations were found to be r=.86 for attachment and r=-.02 for individuation. Thus the assumption for employing the percentage scoring method was clearly violated in the case of individuation scores. It was consequently decided to reanalyze the data using raw scores with total responses as a covariate.

The results shown in Table 10 indicate that when the SAT is rescored to control for responsiveness, future child-less women continue to show no differences in attachment, but show a trend in the opposite direction than predicted indicating they are less individuated than future mothers, with the difference reaching significance in the mild separation situation (F=8.563, df=1,58, p<.005).

Sex Role Identity

A chi square test of association was performed to assess the relationship between sex role identity and the intention to parent. As Table 11 indicates, a chi square value of 23.29 with 3 degrees of freedom was significant at the p<.00001 level of significance. The results indicate that women who intend to be childfree are more likely to have a masculine or undifferentiated sex role identity than are women who intend to parent. The latter group is more likely to see themselves as androgynous or feminine than are the childless group.

The preceding results suggested that the critical variable might be femininity. Consequently comparisons were made between groups on masculinity and femininity. The

Table 10. Analysis of Variance Comparing Women Who Intend to Parent and Women Who Intend Not to Parent on Mean Attachment and Individuation Scores on the Separation Anxiety Test with the Number of Test Responses as a Covariate

Variable	Groups Intend to Parent	Intend Not to Parent	F	P
	n=34	n=26	df=1,58	
Attachment				
Total	13.17	14.28	.999	ns
Mild	3.00	3.26	.402	ns
Strong	9.00	8.96	.006	ns
Individuation				
Total	10.13	7.80	2.971	.090
Mild	6.67	4.59	8.563	.005
Strong	3.29	2.67	1.265	ns

Table 11. Chi Square Comparing Women who Intend to Parent and Women who Intend Not to Parent on Sex Role Identity Measured by the Bem Sex Role Inventory

Group	Androgynous	Masculine	Feminine	Undiffer-entiated	Total
Intend to Parent	12	3	13	6	34
Intend Not to Parent	1	11	2	12	26
Total	13	14	15	18	60

x^2 = 23.29, df = 3, p < .0001.

results shown in Table 12 reveal that women who intend not to parent see themselves as significantly less feminine than women who intend to parent (F=40.706 df=1,58 p<.00001). The mean score on masculinity was lower for the future childfree women than the parenting group but the difference was not significant.

Table 12. Analysis of Variance Comparing Women Who Intend to Parent and Women Who Intend Not to Parent on Masculinity and Femininity on the Bem Sex Role Inventory

| Variable | Groups | | F | P |
	Intend to Parent	Intend Not to Parent		
	n=34	n=26	df=1,58	
Masculinity	3.63	3.56	.179	ns
Femininity	4.29	3.49	40.706	.00001

Similar comparisons were made between groups on perceived masculinity and femininity of parents. The women who intend to be childfree viewed both their mothers and fathers as being significantly less feminine than women who intend to have children. As Table 13 indicates, the F value reached a significance level of p<.00001 for mothers and p<.017 for fathers.

Table 13. Analysis of Variance Comparing Women Who Intend to Parent and Women Who Intend Not to Parent on Perceived Masculinity and Femininity of Parents on the Bem Sex Role Inventory

| | Groups | | | |
| | Intend to | Intend Not | | |
Variable	Parent	to Parent	F	P
Mother	n=34	n=26	df=1,58	
Masculinity	3.42	3.25	.693	ns
Femininity	4.32	3.48	25.977	.00001
Father	n=33	n=25	df=1,56	
Masculinity	4.11	3.92	1.108	ns
Femininity	3.51	2.96	6.008	.017

Identification with Father

One final analysis was done on sex role identity variables to assess differences between groups on identification with father. As Table 14 demonstrates there were no differences between groups in overall similarity to fathers (SRSF). While the future childfree women saw themselves as less similar to their fathers in both masculinity (MSF) and femininity (FSF), the differences did not reach a significant level for either variable.

Parent Behavior

Comparisons were made on each of the fifteen scales of the Parent Behavior Form for mothers and fathers. The

Table 14. Analysis of Variance Comparing Women Who Intend
to Parent and Women Who Intend Not to Parent on
Perceived Similarity to Father on Sex Role Char-
acteristics on the Bem Sex Role Inventory

| | Groups | | | |
Variable	Intend to Parent	Intend Not to Parent	F	P
	n=33	n=24	df=1,56	
Sex Role (self-father)	1.58	1.95	2.437	ns
Masc. (self-father)	.76	.93	.929	ns
Fem. (self-father	.86	1.02	.933	ns

results shown in Table 15 indicate that women who intend to
remain childless rated both mothers and fathers as signifi-
cantly lower in acceptance, active involvement, egalitarian-
ism, cognitive independence and conformity. The future
childfree women rated only their mothers lower in encourag-
ing cognitive curiosity. While they viewed their fathers
as significantly more rejecting than the women who intend to
parent, only a trend towards seeing mothers of future child-
free women as more rejecting was demonstrated by the data.

A finding of particular note was that future mothers
scored significantly higher on social desirability for rat-
ings of both fathers and mothers. Consequently the differ-
ences between groups on the factors warmth/rejection, con-
trol and cognitive involvement were reanalyzed using analy-
sis of covariance with social desirability as the covariate.
This was done to determine whether differences reported

Table 15. Analysis of Variance Comparing Women Who Intend
to Parent and Women Who Intend Not to Parent on
Mean Scores on Parent Behavior Scales of the
Parent Behavior Form

| | Groups | | | |
Variable	Intend to Parent	Intend Not to Parent	F	P
Mother	n=34	n=26	df=1,58	
Acceptance	23.29	19.08	14.916	.0003
Act. Involvement	22.91	18.62	16.348	.0002
Egalitarian	22.56	20.12	6.583	.0100
Cog. Independence	21.97	20.03	4.111	.0470
Cog. Curiosity	19.24	16.46	7.220	.0090
Cog. Competence	19.62	18.73	.935	ns
Lax Control	14.79	14.92	.020	ns
Conformity	20.29	17.54	9.330	.0030
Achievement Control	14.18	14.88	.747	ns
Strict Control	14.85	14.35	.236	ns
Punitive Control	16.26	16.15	.008	ns
Hostile Control	13.35	15.03	1.935	ns
Rejection	11.29	12.80	3.645	.0600
Infreq. Endorsed	9.58	9.53	.033	ns
Social Desirability	24.74	22.53	6.838	.0100
Father	n=33	n=25	df=1,56	
Acceptance	21.58	15.72	20.306	.00001
Act. Involvement	20.06	15.76	12.896	.0007
Egalitarian	21.15	18.00	7.724	.0070
Cog. Independence	21.94	19.12	5.248	.0300

Table 15. (Cont.)

Variable	Groups Intend to Parent	Intend Not to Parent	F	P
Father (Cont.)				
Cog. Curiosity	19.15	17.56	1.230	ns
Cog. Competence	18.00	17.12	.727	ns
Lax Control	14.55	15.36	.676	ns
Conformity	19.12	17.28	4.496	.0400
Achievement Control	14.94	16.20	1.657	ns
Strict Control	14.33	13.88	.210	ns
Punitive Control	16.48	16.24	.042	ns
Hostile Control	12.91	14.24	1.432	ns
Rejection	11.61	13.40	6.285	.0200
Infrequently Endorsed	9.55	9.76	.478	ns
Social Desirability	24.97	21.20	16.148	.0002

between groups could be accounted for by social desirability alone.

Inspections of Table 16 reveals that when social desirability is controlled, women who intend to remain childfree still see their mothers as lower in warmth/higher in rejection than women who intend to parent ($F=3.740$, $df=1,58$ $p<.05$). However, the previously reported differences between groups on cognitive involvement of mother and warmth of father no longer reach significance indicating these

Table 16. Analysis of Variance Comparing Women Who Intend
          to Parent and Women Who Intend Not to Parent on
          Mean Scores of Parent Behavior Factors of the
          Parent Behavior Form with Social Desirability as
          the Covariate

Variable	Groups Intend to Parent	Intend Not to Parent	F	P
Mother	n=34	n=26		
Warmth	62.72	53.74	3.740	.05
Control	37.40	32.09	2.552	ns
Cognitive Involvement	74.29	70.90	1.654	ns
Father	n=33	n=25		
Warmth	54.60	48.37	1.330	ns
Control	35.74	31.59	1.423	ns
Cognitive Involvement	71.92	71.46	.012	ns

differences were attributable to social desirability and not
to actual differences between groups.

An analysis of covariance with social desirability as
the covariate was also performed on each of the Parent
Behavior Form scales for mothers and fathers. As indicated
in Table 17, women who intend not to have children still see
their mothers as significantly lower in acceptance (F=7.753
df=1,58, p<.007), active involvement (F=8.936, df=1,58,
p<.004), encouragement of cognitive curiosity (F=3.980,
df=1,58 p<.05) and conformity (F=8.243, df=1,58 p<.006) when

Table 17. Analysis of Covariance Comparing Women Who Intend to Parent and Women Who Intend Not to Parent on Mean Scores on Parent Behavior Scales of the Parent Behavior Form with Social Desirability as Covariate

	Groups			
Variable	Intend to Parent	Intend Not to Parent	F	P
Mother	n=34	n=26	df=1,58	
Acceptance	22.70	19.86	7.753	.007
Act. Involvement	22.35	19.36	8.936	.004
Egalitarian	22.06	20.97	2.063	ns
Cog. Independence	21.57	20.36	1.137	ns
Cog. Curiosity	18.95	16.82	3.980	.050
Cog. Competence	19.33	19.10	.058	ns
Lax Control	14.84	14.86	.001	ns
Conformity	20.30	17.53	8.243	.006
Achievement Control	14.55	14.39	.037	ns
Strict Control	15.27	13.76	2.039	ns
Punitive Control	16.67	15.63	.685	ns
Hostile Control	13.97	14.22	.047	ns
Rejection	11.85	12.08	.119	ns
Father	n=33	n=25	df=1,56	
Acceptance	20.52	17.11	6.722	.012
Act. Involvement	19.23	16.87	3.542	.065
Egalitarian	20.18	19.27	.645	ns
Cog. Independence	20.88	20.52	.087	ns
Cog. Curiosity	18.15	18.89	.245	ns
Cog. Competence	17.47	17.81	.089	ns

Table 17. (Cont.)

| Variable | Groups | | F | P |
	Intend to Parent	Intend Not to Parent		
Lax Control	14.38	15.36	1.140	ns
Conformity	18.52	18.08	.232	ns
Achievement Control	15.15	15.91	.460	ns
Strict Control	14.63	13.49	1.050	ns
Punitive Control	16.96	15.61	1.044	ns
Hostile Control	13.91	12.91	.845	ns
Rejection	12.30	12.49	.077	ns

social desirability is controlled. They furthermore, still rate their fathers as lower in acceptance ($F=6.722$, $df=1,56$, $p<.012$) and demonstrate a trend towards seeing their fathers as less actively involved ($F=3.542$, $df=1,56$, $p<.065$) when variance due to social desirability is partialled out.

DISCUSSION

The purpose of the present study was to gain a better understanding of why women decide not to parent. More specifically the intent was to identify some of the developmental, personality, and family background variables that distinguish women who state an intention not to parent from those who intend to mother. The specific variables studied were attachment and individuation need, sex role identity, identification with mother and perceived warmth, control and cognitive involvement of parents.

The hypotheses that women who intend not to parent would show a lower attachment need and a higher individuation need than women who intend to mother was not supported by the data. Contrary to prediction there were no differences between groups in attachment, and partial evidence suggested that future childfree women are actually lower in individuation than future parents. As predicted childless women were more likely to have a masculine sex role identity, were less identified with their mothers, and saw their mothers as less warm and more rejecting than women who intend to parent. Also as predicted there were no differences between groups in perceived control exerted by parents. However, contrary to expectations, no differences

between groups were found in warmth of father and cognitive involvement of parents.

The results and additional findings that emerged from this investigation, as well as directions for future research will be discussed.

The Sample

It is generally accepted that only a small portion of women intend not to parent and still fewer women follow through with these intentions. It was still somewhat surprising to find such a low incidence of women who intend to be childfree among the population sampled for this study. Only 3.51% of the sample stated an intention not to parent. This was considerably lower than the sixteen percent found in a previous study of college age women (U.S, Bureau of the Census, 1976).

One possible explanation for this striking discrepancy is related to the criteria used to identify future childless women in these studies. Unlike the Census Bureau study, the present investigation offered an option to be undecided about parenting and a certainty question. Thus the criteria for this study may have been more stringent and thus resulted in a considerably lower incidence. Another possibility involves the nature of the sample. The sample for this study was drawn from a group of psychology students in a conservative midwest university where the incidence of childfree women might be expected to be lower than in a more representative census sample. The third explanation

involves the timing of these two investigations. The census statistics were gathered in the mid-1970's at the height of the women's liberation movement. The lower incidence of childfree women found in this study may be due to the growing conservatism that characterizes our country today.

The discrepancy in incidence found between this study and previous investigations indicates that caution must be exercised in generalizing from these results to groups of women who live in geographical areas or historical times in which choices of nonparenthood are more accepted and even encouraged. It is with this in mind that the results of this study must be interpreted.

Demographics

No predictions were made in regard to demographic variables. However, investigation of these variables provides an opportunity to compare this population to those of other studies.

The group of women who intend not to parent did not differ significantly from their peers in age, race, marital status, student status, family size, ordinal position, or socioeconomic status. Significant differences were found on GPA, religion and marital intentions, and a trend toward significance was noted on college major, parent's marital status and parents' education.

Future childfree women and future mothers were single, primarily caucasian with mean ages of 19.16 and 18.96 respectively. All the women intending to have children also

reported an intention to marry. For the group of women intending not to parent; 34.6 percent reported an intention to marry, 19,2 percent intend not to marry and close to half (46.2%) remain undecided. Three quarters of both groups were either freshmen or sophomores. The childfree group reported a mean GPA of 3.26 which was significantly higher that the 2.65 reported by the group of future mothers. The majors most frequently mentioned by the future childfree women were social science (23.1%), natural science (19.2%), and business (19.2%), while over half of future mothers were either business (38.2%) or communications (17.6%) majors. It was initially surprising to see so many business majors in the group of future mothers. However, because this group contains a high number of androgynous women, one might speculate that business offers an opportunity to integrate their instrumental and expressive traits.

It is interesting to note that 11.5 percent of the women who intend not to parent were veterinary medicine majors as compared to none of the future mothers and only 1.5% of the total population screened. The interest in veterinary medicine seemed to reflect a more pervasive spe-cial attachment to animals throughout much of the childfree group. The interviews suggested that while for some the affinity for animals stemmed from having been raised on a farm, for others it seemed to be rooted in a belief that animals were more dependable and accepting than people and had been a source of comfort for them in their developmental

years. This hypothesis is of course highly speculative and bears further examination.

Consistent with previous research on childless women (Levine, 1978; Veevers, 1973), the women who intend not to parent were equally likely to come from intact families. They were, however, more likely to have experienced parental divorce than their peers. Furthermore, future childless women were no more likely to be oldest or only children as some studies have found (Bram, 1974; Lewis, 1972; Veevers, 1972; 1975). More than half of both groups of women were middle or youngest children. This is similar to the distribution found by Levine (1978) and is consistent with results reported by Houseknecht (1979) and Silka et al. (1977).

Women who intend to parent were more likely than future childfree women to identify themselves as either Protestant or Jewish. There were no significant differences between groups in those who reported an affiliation with Catholicism. Approximately one third of the future childless women compared to none of the future mothers reported no religious affiliation. The high proportion of women with no religious ties is again consistent with findings of other studies of childfree women (Gustavus and Henley, 1971; Levine, 1978; Veevers, 1973). While these differences have been repeatedly noted they have rarely been discussed. Lewis (1972) indicated that this reflects a lack of interest in religion in the family of origin. Alternatively, one may speculate that it indicates an attempt to establish a psychological separation from the parents, a developmental task which has

been particularly difficult for the childless women in this investigation.

In only one respect did the present group of women differ from those of previous studies. Other research has indicated that childfree women tend to come from lower socioeconomic classes than women who mother (Lewis 1972; Strong, 1967; Veevers, 1973). There were no significant differences between groups in this study. It is, however, worthy of note that twice as many future childfree women as mothers came from homes in the two lower socioeconomic classes and in the highest class. It will remain for future research to determine whether the small number of subjects and the use of a college sample in this study may have contributed to this apparent discrepancy or whether this is a characteristic unique to adult women who decide not to parent. Whatever future research may find, on almost all demographic variables adolescent women who intend not to parent are remarkably similar to their adult counterparts.

Response to Separation

It was predicted that women who intend to remain child-free would demonstrate a higher individuation need, a lower attachment need and a greater incidence of excessive self-sufficiency than women who intend to parent. None of these predictions were substantiated by the data. There were no differences between groups on attachment need. Furthermore, contrary to prediction, partial support indicating that women who intend to remain childless are lower in

individuation than women who intend to mother was found. The difference in individuation was revealed only when the Separation Anxiety Test (SAT) was rescored controlling for differences in responsiveness. Neither the projective method nor the percentage scoring of the semiprojective SAT revealed any significant discrepancies between groups in either attachment or individuation.

The failure of the projective test to produce significant findings may be due to a number of methodological deficiencies with the projective procedure. The scoring system used in this study was really of an exploratory nature, and had not been subjected to the rigors of pilot testing that is so critical for the development of a valid and reliable instrument. The two scales, though possessing face validity, had poor internal consistency. This may in part reflect the difficulty in establishing operational definitions for complex abstract constructs.

This problem was most evident in regard to the attachment scale. The definition of attachment was drawn from two bodies of literature, one focusing on responses to actual or threatened loss (loneliness, rejection) and the other focusing on positive manifestations of attachment (relatedness, affiliation). An inspection of these categories reveals that loneliness and rejection indicate acknowledgment that an attachment has been disrupted, while relatedness and affiliation reflect an attempt to intrapsychically or behaviorally restore the bond. These two groups of responses may represent sufficiently distinct aspects of attachment to

warrant separate classifications. It may also be that relatedness, which involves an ability to maintain a representation of the good object in its absence, is as much or perhaps more an indication of individuation than it is of attachment. Clearly further analysis and piloting will need to be done before this scoring system can be considered useful in measuring concepts of attachment and individuation.

One further problem was noted in the use of the projective test. In training the raters, it was found that they tended to project their own feelings and motivations into the stories, particularly when productions were vague and unelaborated. It was consequently decided that categories would be scored only when feelings were specifically stated. It is felt that much valuable information may have been lost in the attempt to limit rater distortion and may have consequently obscured differences between groups on these variables. However, the fact that such differences were not found on the percentage scored SAT indicates the lack of results cannot be totally attributed to problems in the projective technique and the scoring system.

The semiprojective Separation Anxiety test has been more widely used and consequently subjected to considerably greater methodological scrutiny and revision than the projective SAT. Both the attachment and individuation scales closely approach the recommended alpha level of .80 for internal consistency (Crano and Brewer, 1973). Furthermore since the semiprojective SAT is objectively scored, it is

not subject to the same rater distortion inherent in the projective method. Yet the semiprojective SAT also failed to produce significant differences between groups on either attachment or individuation.

One possible explanation is that the previous exposure to the pictures during the projective administration may have reduced their stimulus value, rendering them incapable of making the sensitive discriminations necessary to expose differences between groups.

Another possibility involves the nature of the study sample. While most studies of childfree women have looked at married women, the current investigation has focused on single adolescents. This developmental period is noted to be a turbulent time marked by frequent changes in behavior and attitudes. Perhaps reproductive intentions in adolescence are so unstable that they bear little relationship to intrapsychic structure or future behavior. While this remains an important consideration, the finding of significant differences between groups on several variables in this study suggests it would be premature to dismiss the significance of adolescent childbearing intentions at this time.

The absence of significant results may also be due to the scoring method used on the SAT. As previously mentioned the percentage scoring method assumes high correlation between raw scores and the number of test responses. Using this method obscures differences between groups on scales like individuation which have low correlations with productivity ($r = -.02$).

When the test is rescored controlling for responsiveness, women who intend to remain childless were no different in attachment and a trend indicating they are _lower_ in individuation than women who intend to mother was found, with the clearest differences appearing in response to the mild separation pictures. These findings are particularly noteworthy since they are highly discrepant from previous research which has shown childfree women to be _more_ autonomous and to seek fewer attachments than their peers. One possible explanation for this is that these adolescent women are not representative of the majority of women who decide not to parent. Only one third of the women who ultimately decide to be childfree are "early articulators" i.e. make the decision during adolescence and prior to marriage (Bram, 1974; Houseknecht, 1979; Veevers, 1973). Consequently these findings may be indicative of early articulators only. Furthermore this sample includes women who not only eschew motherhood but also marriage. Since previous investigations have almost exclusively studied married women, it may be argued that these women represent a distinctly different group than those usually studied. It will remain for future research to determine the relationship between adolescent parenting intentions and adult childbearing attitudes and behavior.

If we accept for the moment that these two groups are similar an alternative explanation must be considered. The hypothesis of higher individuation among future childless women was based on the belief that childless women develop

autonomy as a defense against unsatisfied dependency needs and is consequently of a very fragile nature. The finding of lower individuation in the future childfree group may not be as incompatible with a theory of defensive autonomy as it first appears. The Separation Anxiety Test (SAT) may have been more sensitive than was initially anticipated. The SAT, because of its projective qualities, may be more likely to tap unconscious levels of personality while other studies have focused on attitudes and behaviors that are closer to consciousness. Consequently internal responses and anxieties that subjects may have been unwilling or unable to acknowledge to themselves and others may have been revealed.

Furthermore, because the SAT focuses on the time of separation when defenses are highly taxed it may be that women who intend to remain childfree are not sufficiently well defended to maintain repression of attachment needs when in a dependent relationship. Taken in this context the results may indicate that underlying the apparently autonomous childfree woman is an individual who when in a dependent relationship, is highly sensitive to threats of abandonment and is likely to respond in ways that compromise her capacity to act in an individuated manner. Consequently, these women may tenaciously cling to their autonomy and avoid dependent relationships such as parenting which are likely to evoke regression and infantile conflicts regarding unsatisfied dependency needs.

Some support for this theory is provided by interview data. Consistent with reports by Levine (1978) and Bram

(1974) of adult childless women, the future childless women in this study described themselves as loners or private people who place a high premium on their independence. Some of these women totally denied needs for external support, representing themselves as being totally independent and secure. Others were more aware of their dependent needs but were extremely cautious about entering into relationships. They felt that the potential benefits were, more often than not, insufficient to risk the loss of control and rejection they tend to associate with close relationships.

Most of the childfree women had decided from an early age to invest their energies in academic achievement and all had clear ideas about pursuing a career. While many expressed some desire to someday have the companionship of a husband, these women seemed very pessimistic that they would be able to find a husband who would be trustworthy, capable of communicating well and would respect their need for a career.

Many of the women who wanted children seemed equally determined to have careers and knew that "doing it all" would be difficult. However, they seemed less threatened by children and husbands. Consistent with a theory of defensive autonomy, the childless women, who described themselves as most independent , seemed to feel that they would have less control over directing their futures if they allowed husbands and especially children to enter their lives. It appeared that the future childfree women could ensure control only by staying out of relationships. As with other

studies of childless women those in the investigation who wished to marry did not want to sacrifice time and closeness with husbands and the egalitarian quality of their relationships to care for the needs of a child.

On the basis of these results one might theorize that though the _quantity_ of attachment needs for future parents and nonparents may be the same the _quality_ of these needs might be quite different. The women who intend to remain childfree may on an unconscious level be more ambivalent about relinquishing the role of being cared for in return for the role of caring for others. In object relations terms, the attachment needs of future childfree women are more likely than those of future parents to be characterized by infantile rather than mature dependence.

Fairbairn (1941) theorizes that the quality of dependency changes with increasing psychological individuation. The child develops from a state of infantile dependence to a state of mature dependence. The aim of infantile dependence is primarily to receive from others while that of mature dependence is predominantly giving. Those who have reached mature dependence are completely aware of the separateness of the other and are capable of taking the needs of the other into consideration. Benedek (1970) suggests that it is the mother's capacity to empathically understand the needs of the child while maintaining awareness of separateness that is so critical for good parenting. One might speculate that the intention not to parent may in part be attributable to a failure to develop to a stage of mature

dependence which is associated with a capacity to empathically understand the needs of others and a desire to meet those needs.

Mature dependence can develop only when early dependency needs are satisfied and the child is able to internalize a sense of being loved and lovable.

> The greatest need for a child is to obtain conclusive assurance that he is genuinely loved as a person by his parents and his parents genuinely accept his love. It is only in so far as such assurance is forthcoming in a form sufficiently convincing to enable him to depend safely upon his real objects that he is gradually able to renounce infantile dependence without misgiving. In the absence of such assurance his relationship to his objects is faught with too much anxiety over separation to enable him to renounce the attitude of infantile dependence; for such a renunciation would be equivalent in his eyes to forfeiting all hope of ever obtaining satisfaction of his unsatisfied emotional needs (Fairbairn, 1941, p.40).

The fact that the most striking differences between parenting and nonparenting groups were found on the mild separation situations provides support for the theory that women who intend not to parent are more likely than future mothers to have unsatisfied dependency needs resulting from problems in the early parent-child relationship. Hansburg (1980) suggests then when individuation scores on the SAT are low in response to the mild separation pictures, this indicates an unusual sensitivity to separation. This occurs when an individual has experienced disruptions in the attachment bond in early childhood. These individuals consequently respond to new minor threats of abandonment as if they were major ones. We may therefore speculate that women who intend not to parent were more likely to have experienced

disruptions in the early attachment bond than their parenting counterparts.

Disruptions in the attachment bond may occur as a result of repeated or traumatic separations or losses; threatened abandonment; or insensitivity of the parent to the child's needs. As previously indicated, there is no evidence to suggest that future childfree women were more likely to have experienced a significant separation from caretaking figures than their peers. However, other findings suggest that future childfree women perceive their mothers to be lower in femininity and warmth and their fathers to be lower in femininity and acceptance than future parents. Thus the parents of future childfree women may have had difficulty responding to the child's needs for acceptance and love. Having experienced such rejection in their early attachment relationships, these future childfree women may have developed a greater sensitivity to separation, had difficulty in achieving a stable sense of autonomy and may possess a greater ambivalence about dependency than their peers who wish to parent.

It is important to point out that the conclusions drawn here regarding individuation remain highly speculative since they are largely based on a yet unvalidated scoring system of the Separation Anxiety Test. The group of women who intend to parent are not without conflict, regarding dependency as they work to negotiate the "second individuation" process of adolescence. Whether these differences in individuation are substantiated by future research remains to be

determined. However, what appears fairly clear is that these two groups have learned to deal with conflicts over dependency by developing different adaptive behavior patterns. These women who intend to parent appear most comfortable while in a dependent relationship while the group of women who intend to be childfree achieve security through dependence on themselves.

Sex Role Identity

The results of this study strongly confirmed the prediction that women who intend to remain childless are more likely to have a masculine sex role identity than women who intend to parent. This finding may lead one to the erroneous conclusion that childfree women are more masculine than future parents. In fact the results suggest that future mothers are higher in masculinity than their future childless counterparts, though the differences do not reach significance.

Further analyses indicated that future childfree women were more likely to see themselves as either masculine or undifferentiated while future parents more often rated themselves as androgynous or feminine. The fact that future childfree and parenting groups each contains a subgroup high and low in masculinity suggests that masculinity bears little relationship to reproductive intentions. Rather, the results strongly suggested that the critical difference might be in femininity. When this was tested dramatic differences were found, with future childfree women seeing

themselves as significantly less feminine than future mothers.

The differences in femininity found on the Bem Sex Role Inventory were reiterated in interviews. The future child-less women tended to describe themselves as less feminine, expressive, affectionate and nurturant than their peers. Furthermore their interpersonal styles seemed consistent with these perceived differences. The women who intend not to parent in general were more intellectualized. Though very thoughtful and articulate, they tended to analyze and report feelings rather than express them and generally seemed more controlled and less emotionally spontaneous than future mothers. While many of the future childfree women seemed to see themselves as different from other women, some expressed distain for typically feminine women who they described as flaky, excessively emotional, self sacrificing, catty, competitive and untrustworthy.

The finding of differences in femininity makes intuitive sense and will come as little surprise to most. However, the magnitude of this difference was somewhat surprising in light of Levine's (1978) findings of no differences in sex role identity between childless and married adult women. This may in part be attributable to the different instruments used in these investigations. Levine utilized the long form of the BSRI which has since been revised to maximize the internal consistency. The increased reliability of the short BSRI used in this study may have led to more conclusive findings.

Another explanation, not mutually exclusive of the first, is that adolescent women's intentions about childbearing may be more directly related to their self perceptions of sex role characteristics. Perhaps the decisions ultimately made by older women are made more complex by social pressures, husband's desires, career committments and awareness that the biological capacity for childbearing is time-limited.

The preceding results definitively demonstrate the strong relationship between femininity and reproductive intentions. However, the developmental root of this difference is considerable less clear. The hypothesis that childless women would be low in femininity was based on the assumption of a theoretical link between femininity and attachment need. Chodorow (1978) has proposed that those characteristics which we associate with femininity reflects continued attachment to the mother. The results of this study did not appear to support this theory. There were no differences between groups on attachment need nor was there a significant correlation between attachment and femininity (r=-.02). However, it would be premature to abandon the theory at this point.

The failure to find a link between femininity and attachment may be related to the instrument used to measure sex role identity. The BSRI measures only those feminine characteristics that are considered "socially desirable". It may be that attachment is related to femininity only when femininity is defined to include both desirable and

undesirable characteristics. A number of researchers have recently been experimenting with developing instruments that use this expanded definition (Kelly, Caudill, Hathorn and O'Brien, 1977; Spence, Helmreich, and Holahan, 1979). It would be interesting for future research to further investigate this theorized association using these newly developed measures.

Alternatively, one might speculate that attachment and femininity are related in a curvilinear rather than a linear fashion. This would suggest that future childfree women would exhibit a wider range of attachment responses with scores being concentrated in the very high or very low ranges of attachment need, while women who intend to parent would score within the moderate range on this variable. This formulation would not only provide a framework for understanding the relationship between attachment and femininity, but is consistent with the finding of no differences between groups on the attachment need variable.

The possibility must also be considered that femininity is not a developmental outgrowth of attachment need and instead is learned through the process of identification.

Identification with Parents

Traditional psychoanalytic and cognitive learning theories propose that sex role identity is learned through identification. Chodorow (1978) acknowledges identification at the oedipal stage as a significant mechanism for the development of femininity, but relegates it to a lesser role

than continued attachment to the internal love objects. Whether identifications play a primary or secondary role will need to be explored by future investigations. This study however, provides evidence that there is a relationship between sex role characteristics of parents and their adolescent daughters. Femininity of adolescent women was significantly correlated with femininity of both mother (r=.56 p<.001) and father (r=.34 p<.003). In contrast, only mother serves as a model for her daughter's masculinity (r=.23 p<.038).

While both parents act as important identification models for daughter's development of sex role characteristics, only identification with mother appears to have a role in determining the intention to parent. Future childfree women saw themselves as significantly less similar to their mothers in combined scores of masculinity and femininity (see Table 4). There were however no differences between groups in similarity to father. These findings support results found by Levine (1978) and are consistent with theories which suggest that identification with mother is an important factor in resolving ambivalence toward pregnancy and parenting (Ballou, 1978; Colman and Colman, 1971).

A closer look at the results indicates that the relationship between future childlessness and identification with mother may be more complex than it first appears. When data are analyzed separately for masculine and feminine components, there were significant differences between groups in masculinity but not in regard to femininity. Thus

childfree women are less similar to their mothers in regard to masculine characteristics than are future mothers, but are equally similar to their mothers in respect to femininity.

One possible explanation for these findings is that because femininity for both mothers and daughters in the childfree group is very low there may be a floor effect. More specifically, difference between mother and daughter may not be sufficiently large to demonstrate significant differences with the relatively small sample. Some support for this hypothesis is provided by the finding that femininity is negatively correlated with discrepancy scores between self and mother (r=-.35 p .003). This would suggest that those lowest in femininity (i.e. the future childfree group) would tend to show a higher discrepancy or lower identification with mother on feminine characteristics.

An alternative but equally plausible explanation is that women who intend to remain childless are acutely aware that like their mothers they are lacking in those feminine characteristics that are associated with good parenting. It may be this awareness that convinces them of their inadequacy to parent. This formulation would suggest that the future childless woman's similarity to mother in low femininity and the low identification with mother in other respects are both important factors in the intention not to parent in women.

Family Background Variables

As predicted there were no differences between women who intend to remain childless and those who intend to mother on perceived control exerted by parents. There were also no differences between groups on cognitive involvement of mothers or fathers, though differences had been predicted. The expectation that future childfree women would see their parents as less involved in their cognitive development than future mothers was based on the belief that women who intend not to parent would have a masculine sex role identity, which Orlofsky (1979) has found to be associated with lower cognitive involvement of parents.

As previously indicated the childfree group was most likely to describe themselves as either undifferentiated or masculine. Unlike masculine women, undifferentiated women did not see their parents as less encouraging of their cognitive pursuits than either androgynous or feminine women (Orlofsky, 1979). Consequently, the results suggest that cognitive involvement of parents bears little relationship to the intention to mother in adolescent women.

The intention to parent does, however, appear to have a strong relationship with the perceived quality of the affective relationship between women and their parents. It had been predicted that women who intend to parent would describe their parents as less warm and more rejecting than women who intend to mother. The prediction was definitively supported by the data for mothers, with results remaining significant even when differences due to social desirability

were partialled out. The future childfree women tended to see their mothers as less nurturant and loving, less helpful at times of stress and less willing to listen to their ideas and respect their opinions.

It is worthy of note that mothers of future childfree women were no more likely to work than mothers of women who intend to parent. However, future childfree women were more likely to report feeling that they had been given responsibility to care for themselves at an early age. Most felt that this experience had helped them to become more independent than their peers. Some however felt independence had been achieved at an emotional cost.

My impression was that the mothers of these childless women were so burdened by their own problems and needs that they had limited resources to devote to nurturing their children. Future childfree women were more likely than future mothers to describe families as lacking in closeness. Some described an atmosphere of quiet alienation while others reported chronic tension and open conflict.

In contrast, future mothers tended to describe their mothers as loving and nurturant, at times to a fault. They were however no less likely to report a history of conflict with mother particularly during middle adolescence. Conflicts between future mothers and their mothers were much more likely to focus on daughters' feelings of being overprotected. Such concerns were rarely mentioned by the childfree group.

Initially significant differences were found between women who intend not to parent and those who intend to mother on warmth of father. However, when social desirability was controlled for, the differences were no longer significant. A significant difference was, however, found between groups on acceptance by fathers and a strong trend was found on active involvement. More specifically women who intend to remain childfree saw their fathers as less accepting of them. They also exhibited a tendency to see their fathers as less likely to give attention, love and praise than future mothers.

These differences were clearly evident in interviews. Both groups of women tended to see their fathers as less emotional and less accessible than their mothers. However, the future childfree women seemed significantly more alienated from their fathers. They frequently reported that fathers were uninvolved in the family and were rarely home for meals. When they were at home they tended to be irritable, demanding and rigid. One future childfree woman stated that she had not really talked to her father until age 16. Several of the women who intend not to parent compared to only one future mother reported that fathers had been physically abusive to mothers, themselves or other children. One childfree woman stated that she and her sisters had kept a knife in their bedroom to protect themselves from their alcoholic, abusive father.

The future mothers were not without complaints about their fathers. They tended to see fathers as too practical,

too rational, felt they had difficulty seeing things from others' points of view and were reluctant to express their feelings. However, unlike the future childfree women, future mothers seemed to have a deep rooted sense that their fathers were concerned, tried their best to understand and were basically loving people. In most cases such perceptions were influenced by mothers, who tended to give their daughters a view of the more vulnerable, sensitive side of fathers.

The findings that women who intend not to parent saw their mothers as less warm and their fathers as less accepting lends support to previous investigations which have reported similar findings on the basis of less methodologically sound procedures.

The implications of these results are difficult to determine at this time. One might speculate that they provide an understanding of the developmental roots of the personality variables found to characterize women who intend not to parent in this study. Research has demonstrated that warmth and acceptance of parents is an important factor in achieving individuation (Chodorow, 1978; Fairbairn, 194; Mahler et al, 1975), in the development of sex role identity (Kelly and Worrell, 1976) and in the identification with parents (Benedek, 1970; Chodorow, 1978). Object relations theory proposes for the development of these characteristics, warmth of parents is critical during the preoedipal and oedipal period. Since this study measured parent behavior during adolescence, no conclusions can be drawn about

the quality of the early parent-child relationship for women with different reproductive intentions. This will need to be determined by future research. However, one may speculate that the lower warmth and acceptance that characterized the parents of future childfree women may have made it difficult to further resolve early conflicts that normally resurface and are reworked during the second individuation process of adolescence.

Implications for Future Research

The present study has established that there is a relationship between personality variables, family background and reproductive intentions for adolescent women. However sampling bias limits the generalizability of the results. This study was limited to the study of psychology students in a conservative midwest university. Investigations using a random sample of college age women will help to clarify the meaning of these results.

Generalizability of these findings is also limited by the fact that the sample was composed of only adolescent women. Throughout this research comparisons have been made between the characteristics of this adolescent sample and characteristics of older childfree women reported in other investigations. Since older women were not included here, no definitive conclusions can be reached regarding the relationship between these two groups. This issue is particularly salient when considering the variable of autonomy. As previously mentioned there were significant discrepancies

between the results in this study and others. It has been suggested in the previous discussions that this discrepancy might be due to the different methodologies used, with previous studies measuring attitudes and behavior and this study focussing on the more deeply rooted psychological individuation. Only when a cross sectional study is undertaken which tests both adolescents and older women using the same instruments, will one be able to evaluate whether the discrepancy is attributable to the measurement of different levels of personality or to the testing of women at different developmental stages.

The relationship between adolescent reproductive intentions and adult childbearing attitudes may be further clarified by longitudinal research. To my knowledge all investigations to date have tested women only at one point in time. Not only would longitudinal research be able to determine the stability of reproductive intentions but it would also help to identify those factors that may alter a woman's intentions regarding parenting. Though the present study is focused on intrapsychic variables, future investigations will need to include intrapsychic, social, economic and political factors if a full understanding of the intention not to parent is to be reached.

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105

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Student Number:_____

BACKGROUND INFORMATION QUESTIONNAIRE

DIRECTIONS: Please fill in or check the appropriate spaces.

1) Name:_____

2) Address:_____

_____

3) Telephone Number:_____

4) What is the best time to reach you at the number above?_____

_____

5) Age:_____   6) Gender: Female___   Male___

7) Marital Status: Single___   Married___   Separated___

Divorced___   Widowed___

8) Student Status: Freshman___   Sophomore___   Junior___

Senior___

9) Cumulative Grade Point Average:_____

10) Major:_____

11) Race: Caucasian___   Black___   Mexican American___

Other (specify)_____

12) Religion: Protestant___   Catholic___   Jewish___

Other (specify)_____

13)a) Marital Status of Parents: Married___   Separated____

Divorced___   Widowed_____

b) If parents are divorced separated or widowed, at what

age were you when this occurred?_____

14) What is the highest level of education reached by your father?

Did not graduate high school___   High school graduate___

College graduate___   Postgraduate education___

Student Number:_____

15) What is the highest level of education reached by your mother?

Did not graduate high school___   High school graduate___

College graduate___   Postgraduate education___

16) Father's Current Occupation:_____

17) Mother's Current Occupation:_____

18) How many children are there in your family?_____

19) In your family, are you the: Only child___   Oldest___

Not the oldest or the youngest___   Youngest___

20) a) Do you intend to marry? Yes___   No___   Undecided___

b) How certain are you about your intention to marry?

Very certain___   Moderately certain___

Moderately uncertain___   Very uncertain___

21) A) Do you intend to have children? Yes___   No___   Undecided___

b) How certain are you about your intention to have children?

Very certain___   Moderately certain___

Moderately uncertain___   Very uncertain___

c) (Women) Have you ever given birth to a child? Yes___   No___

d) (Women) Are you now pregnant? Yes___   No___

e) Do you know of any reasons that would physically prevent

you from having a child? Yes___   No___

22) Do you intend to work outside the home? Yes___   No___

Undecided____

How certain are you about your intention to work outside the

home? Very certain___   Moderately certain___

Moderately uncertain___   Very uncertain___

23) Do you wish to receive results of this study following its

completion? Yes___   No___

APPENDIX B

THE SEPARATION ANXIETY TEST

Directions to the Examiner

Be sure to have a room that is undisturbed by outsiders. Have the child sit opposite to you. The book containing the pictures and the statements should be placed directly in front of the child while you have the instructions for the child in front of you. In addition, you should have the recording chart in front of you.

On the chart write the name of the child, the child's age, boy or girl, date of the test, and the name of the facility in which the child is living. It would also be useful to have the number of years in which the child has been living in this facility written on the chart.

Read the instructions to the child and then have the youngster open the book and to the first picture. Tell him (her) to read the title under the first picture and to study the picture. Then call his attention to the printed page opposite the picture. Tell him to read the title at the top of the page. Then ask him to read the questions aloud as follows:

Did this ever happen to you? Yes_____ No_____
If it didn't, can you imagine how it would feel if it did? Yes_____ No_____

Record "Y" for "Yes" and "N" for "No" directly under the Roman numeral. Then say,

The child feels—

and repeat to him to select as many statements below which tell how the child feels. Now indicate that he can read the statements to himself and tell you the number of the statements which he has selected. Encircle these numbers under the appropriate Roman numeral for the picture. Proceed in this same manner for each picture and for each page of statements.

During the examination it is important not to prompt the child in any way. You must, however, remind him that for each picture he should be sure to start out reading the statements at the top and read them in order down the page. It is important that you encircle the numbers under the proper picture, otherwise the test will be invalidated. If the child asks any questions, simply reassure him to use his own judgment and to indicate which statement or statements he thinks apply to the child's feelings. If the child selects only one statement on a particular picture, remind him that he may select as many of the phrases he may wish. Should the child be unable to find any applicable statement, ask him to explain in his own words how the child feels and record this on the back of the chart with the appropriate number for the picture. Our experience has shown that this will rarely ever happen.

When you have completed the administration of the test and dismissed the child, it would be helpful to record your observations of the child's behavior on the back of the chart.

Directions to the Child

This is not a test. It is an experiment to find out what young people feel about some pictures that we have. There are no right or wrong answers. We are only interested in the way you feel about the pictures.

I am going to show you the pictures one at a time. For each picture there will be a number of statements about the child in the picture. You will be asked to pick out as many statements as you wish that tell how the child feels.

Now let's begin with the first picture.

Directions for Adults

This is not a test nor are there any right or wrong answers. We are only interested in the way you felt or, the way you would have felt, if you had been the child in each of the pictures we are about to present to you. In other words we are asking you to imagine that you are a child and to react as if the situation had occurred or might have occurred when you were a child. For each picture there will be a number of statements about the child in the picture and you will be asked to select as many statements as you wish which indicate how the child feels. You merely have to read them to yourself and report aloud the numbers next to the statements you have selected. Now let us begin with the first picture.

THE GIRL WILL LIVE PERMANENTLY WITH HER GRANDMOTHER AND WITHOUT HER PARENTS

THE GIRL WILL LIVE PERMANENTLY WITH HER GRANDMOTHER AND WITHOUT HER PARENTS

Did this ever happen to you? Yes _____ No _____

If it never happened to you, can you imagine how this child feels?
Yes _____ . No _____

Check off below as many statements as you think tell how the girl feels.

The Girl Feels

1. that she will be much happier now.
2. that her parents don't love her any more.
3. like curling up in a corner by herself.
4. a terrible pain in her chest.
5. alone and miserable.
6. that she dosen't care what happens.
7. that she will do her best to get along.
8. that this house will be a scary place to live in.
9. that something bad is going to happen to her now.
10. that it's all the fault of her neighbors.
11. angry at somebody.
12. that she won't be the same person any more.
13. that if she had been a good girl, this wouldn't have happened.
14. that it's only a dream—it isn't really happening.
15. like reading a book, watching TV or playing games.
16. sorry for her parents.
17. she won't be able to concentrate on her schoolwork.

A GIRL IS BEING TRANSFERRED TO A NEW CLASS

A GIRL IS BEING TRANSFERRED TO A NEW CLASS

Can you remember when this last happened to you? Yes _____ No _____

Can you imagine how this child feels about it? Yes _____ No _____

Check as many of the statments below which you think tell how this child feels.

This Child Feels

1. that she doesn't care what happens.
2. that the new class is a scary place to be.
3. sorry for her past teacher.
4. that if she had been a good girl, this wouldn't have happened.
5. like playing games with other children.
6. that something is happening to change her.
7. that she make the best of the situation.
8. that nobody really likes her.
9. that now she is going to have a good time.
10. that it's not really happening—it's only a dream.
11. that she won't be able to concentrate on her school work.
12. like sitting alone in the corner of the room.
13. very angry at somebody.
14. like she's getting a stomach ache.
15. alone and miserable.
16. that something terrible is going to happen.
17. that somebody bad is responsible for doing this to her.

**THE FAMILY IS MOVING TO A
NEW NEIGHBORHOOD**

THE FAMILY IS MOVING TO A NEW NEIGHBORHOOD

Did this ever happen to you? Yes _____ No _____

If it didn't, can you imagine how it would feel if it did? Yes _____ No _____

Now try to imagine how the child in this picture feels.
Check off as many statements below which say what you think the child feels.
You may check as many statements as you wish.

The Child Feels

1. afraid to leave.
2. a pain in the stomach.
3. that the neighbors made them move.
4. glad to get away from this bad neighborhood.
5. alone and miserable.
6. that she dosen't care what happens.
7. that it's only a dream.
8. like hiding somewhere.
9. that the new house will be a scary place to live in.
10. that now she will be a different person.
11. that she won't be able to concentrate on her school work.
12. sorry for her parents.
13. that she will make the best of the situation.
14. like punching somebody in the face.
15. that nobody likes her any more.
16. that now she can make some new friends.
17. that if she had behaved in the neighborhood. she wouldn't have to move.
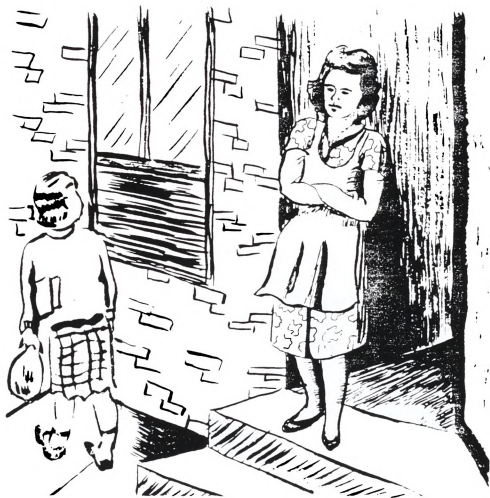
**THE CHILD IS LEAVING HER MOTHER
TO GO TO SCHOOL**

THE CHILD IS LEAVING HER MOTHER TO GO TO SCHOOL

You have done what this girl is doing many times.

You no doubt have some idea about her feelings, don't you?
Yes _____ No _____

Check as many statments below which you think tell how this girl feels.

The Girl Feels

1. that she won't be able to concentrate on her school work.
2. afraid to leave.
3. that school is a scary place to be.
4. that her mother doesn't like her.
5. that she dosen't care what happens.
6. angry at having to go to school.
7. like joining her friends and going to school.
8. glad to get away from her house.
9. sorry for her mother.
10. like she's going to be sick.
11. that something is happening to change her.
12. if she had been a good girl, her mother would let her stay home.
13. like staying home in bed.
14. that she will do her best to get along.
15. that it's not really happening—it's only a dream.
16. alone and miserable.
17. that somebody else is causing all this trouble.
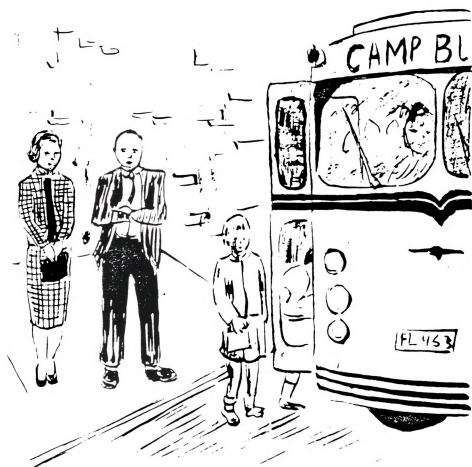
A CHILD IS LEAVING HER PARENTS TO GO TO CAMP

A CHILD IS LEAVING HER PARENTS TO GO TO CAMP

Do you remember if this ever happened to you? Yes _____ No _____

Can you imagine how it felt when it did happen? Yes _____ No _____

If it didn't happen to you, can you imagine how it would feel if it did?
Yes _____ No _____

Now check off as many of the statements below which you think tell what this girl feels.

The Girl Feels

1. sorry for her parents.
2. angry about going.
3. that this is a scary place to be.
4. that now she will be a different person.
5. that it's not really happening—it's only a dream.
6. that her mind can't think straight.
7. like sitting alone in the back of the bus.
8. that someone else made this happen to her.
9. like reading a book and playing games.
10. that she doesn't care what happens.
11. that something terrible is going to happen to her.
12. that a bad headache is coming on.
13. that nobody really loves her.
14. that she will make the best of the situation.
15. that if she had been a good girl, her parent's wouldn't send her away.
16. that now she is really free to enjoy herself.
17. alone and miserable.

**AFTER AN ARGUMENT WITH THE MOTHER,
THE FATHER IS LEAVING**

AFTER AN ARGUMENT WITH THE MOTHER, THE FATHER IS LEAVING

Did this ever happen to you? Yes _____ No _____

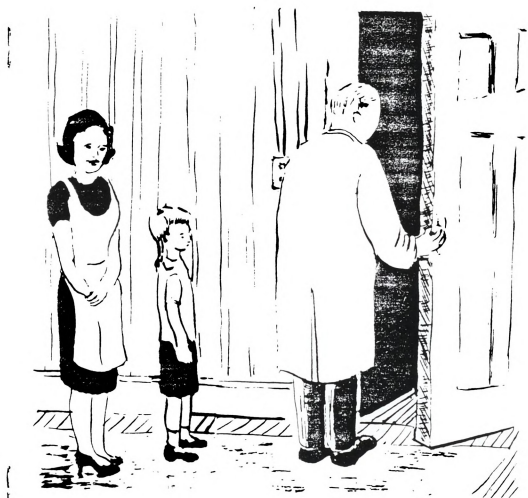If not, can you imagine how you would feel if it did? Yes _____ No _____

Now check off as many of the statements below which tell what you think the girl in the picture feels. Check as many statements as you wish.

The Girl Feels

1. very angry at the father.
2. that now she is free to do anything she wants to.
3. that her home will now be a scary place.
4. that she won't be able to concentrate on her school work.
5. that something terrible is going to happen to her now.
6. that someone else has been causing all of this trouble.
7. like reading a book, fixing something or watching TV.
8. like something is happening to change her.
9. lonely and unhappy.
10. nobody really likes her.
11. that she is going to be very sick.
12. like hiding away in her parent's bedroom.
13. sorry for her mother.
14. that she doesn't care what happens.
15. that she will try hard to work things out.
16. that she, herself, caused her father to leave.
17. that it's only a dream—it really isn't happening.
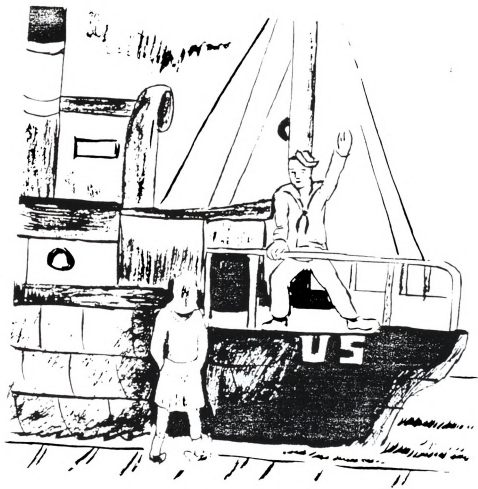
**THE GIRL'S OLDER BROTHER IS A SAILOR
LEAVING ON A VOYAGE**

THE GIRL'S OLDER BROTHER IS A SAILOR
LEAVING ON A VOYAGE

Did this ever happen to you? Yes _____ No _____

Can you imagine how you would feel if this happened to you?
Yes _____ No _____

Now try to imagine how the child in the picture feels.
Check off as many statements below which say what you think the child feels.

The Child Feels

1. sorry for her brother.
2. that if she had behaved better, her brother wouldn't have left her.
3. that it's not really happening—it's only a dream.
4. that this is a very scary thing.
5. very angry.
6. lonely and miserable.
7. that she will not be the same peson any more.
8. like sitting alone in her room at home:
9. that someone else caused all this trouble.
10. like playing a game with her friend.
11. that she won't be able to concentrate on her school work.
12. that she will try hard to work things out.
13. that something terrible is going to happen to her.
14. that nobody really likes her.
15. that a bad stomach ache is coming on.
16. that she doesn't care what happens.
17. that now she is free to enjoy herself in any way she likes.

**THE JUDGE IS PLACING THIS CHILD
IN AN INSTITUTION**

THE JUDGE IS PLACING THIS CHILD IN AN INSTITUTION

Can you remember if this ever happened to you? Yes _____ No _____

If it never happened to you, can you imagine how you would feel if it did?
Yes _____ No _____

*Now check as many statements below which tell what you think this child feels.
Check as many statements as you wish.*

The Child Feels

1. that the world is full of bad people who did this to her.
2. that it's only a dream and she will wake up soon.
3. like committing suicide.
4. that she will go and make the best of it.
5. sorry for her parents.
6. that the court room is a frightening place.
7. like curling up in a corner.
8. dizzy and faint.
9. that she doesn't care what happens.
10. happy to get to the institution as soon as possible.
11. that she is not very well liked.
12. terrified at what will happen to her.
13. like reading a book or watching TV.
14. angry at the judge.
15. that now she won't be able to learn school work.
16. all alone and unhappy.
17. that now she will be a different person.

THE MOTHER HAS JUST PUT THIS CHILD TO BED

THE MOTHER HAS JUST PUT THIS CHILD TO BED

This has probably happened to you many times

Can you imagine in your mind that it is happening right now?
Yes _____ No _____

Now check off those statements below which you think is... how the child feels.
Check as many statements as you wish.

The Girl Feels

1. angry at the mother.
2. that it's scary to be alone here.
3. like hiding under the covers.
4. that she doesn't care what happens.
5. that something is happening to change her.
6. that someone in the family made the mother leave.
7. that now she's free to enjoy herself in any way she likes.
8. that her mother doesn't stay with her because she's a bad girl.
9. that it's not really happening—it's only a dream.
10. that she will make the best of the situation.
11. like reading a book, watching TV or making clay models.
12. that something bad is going to happen to her.
13. sorry for her mother.
14. that she is getting sick.
15. that her mother doesn't really like her.
16. that she, won't be able to study in school tomorrow.
17. very lonely.

**THE GIRL'S MOTHER IS BEING TAKEN
TO THE HOSPITAL**

THE GIRL'S MOTHER IS BEING TAKEN TO THE HOSPITAL

Did anything like this ever happen in your family? Yes _____ No _____

If it didn't, can you imagine how you would feel if it did happen?
Yes _____ No _____

Now check off as many statements below which tell what you think this child feels. Check as many statements as you wish.

The Girl Feels

1. very angry at somebody.
2. that she will not be the same person any more.
3. glad that her mother is leaving.
4. like hiding in her room.
5. that she doesn't care what happens.
6. that it's not really happening—it's only a dream.
7. that she's going to have a bad headache.
8. that she will do her best to get along..
9. scared about what is going to happen to her.
10. sorry for her mother.
11. that nobody likes her any more.
12. like watching TV.
13. that her mother became sick because she was bad.
14. that somebody else caused all this trouble.
15. that her room is going to be a scary place to stay in now.
16. alone and miserable.
17. that she won't be able to concentrate on her school work.
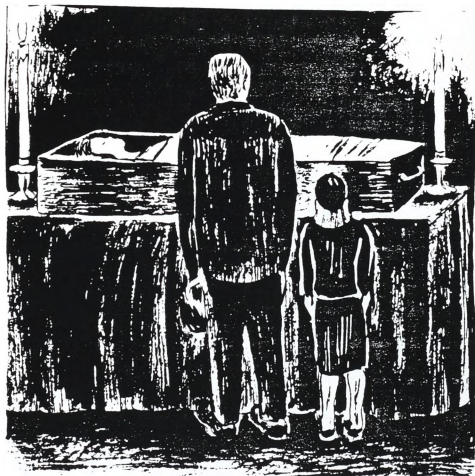
**THE GIRL AND HER FATHER ARE STANDING
AT THE MOTHER'S COFFIN**

THE GIRL AND HER FATHER ARE STANDING AT THE MOTHER'S COFFIN

Did this ever happen to you? Yes _____ No _____

If it didn't, can you imagine how it would feel if it did? Yes _____ No _____

Now try to imagine how the child in the picture feels.
Check off as many statements below which say what you think the child feels.
You may check as many statements as you wish

The Child Feels

1. that she won't be the same person any more.
2. frightened about what will happen to her.
3. that if she had been a good girl, it wouldn't have happened.
4. that now she is free to do what she wants.
5. angry about what happened.
6. that nobody will love her any more.
7. that she doesn't care what happens.
8. that her home will now be a scary place to live in.
9. like sitting in a corner by herself.
10. that other people are to blame for this.
11. that she will make the best of the situation.
12. that it is only a dream.
13. a bad pain in her head.
14. sorry for her father.
15. alone and miserable.
16. that now she won't be able to study any more.
17. like reading a book or watching TV.

THE GIRL IS RUNNING AWAY FROM HOME

THE GIRL IS RUNNING AWAY FROM HOME

Did you ever do anything like this? Yes _____ No _____

If you didn't, did you ever think of doing something like this?
Yes _____ No _____

Can you understand why this child would want to do this?
Yes _____ No _____

Now check as many of the statements below which you think tell how this child feels.

The Child Feels

1. that she is just going away to have some fun.
2. angry at her parents.
3. afraid that she will be punished for something she did.
4. that she doesn't care what happens.
5. that her parent's don't want her around any more.
6. that the neighbors have been stirring up her parents against her.
7. terrible stomach cramps coming on.
8. that she will do her best to get along.
9. that she is only dreaming about this and it's not happening.
10. that something very bad is going to happen to her.
11. that it is awfully scary outside.
12. sorry for her parents.
13. like watching TV or reading a book.
14. like going to her hideout.
15. that she won't be able to study school work any more.
16. that now she will be a different person.
17. lonely and miserable.

APPENDIX C

CHART FOR CONTROLLED ASSOCIATION RESPONSES

Picture Number	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	TOTAL	MILD	STRONG
Mental Set Response															
Separation Intensity	8	M	M	M	M	8	M	8	M	S	S	8			
Rejection	2	8	15	4°	13	10°	14°	11	15	11°	9	8			
Impaired Concentration	17	11	11	1	6	4	11	15	16	17	16	15			
Phobic Feeling	8	2	9	3	3	3	4	6	7	15	8	11			
Anxiety	9	16	1	2	11	5	13	12	12°	9	2	10			
Loneliness	5	15	5	16	17	9	6	16	17	16	15	17			
Withdrawal	3	12	8	13	7	12	8	7	3	4	9	14			
Somatic	4	14	2	10	12	11	15	8	14	7	13	7			
Adaptive Reaction	7	7	13	14	14	15	12	4	10	8	11	8			
Anger	11	13	14	8	2	1	5	14	1	1	5	2			
Projection	10	17	3°	17°	8	6	9°	1	8	14	10	6			
Empathy	16	3°	12	5°	1°	13	1	9	13°	10	14	12°			
Evasion	6	1	6	5°	10	14	16	8	4	5	7	4			
Fantasy	14	10	7	15°	9	17	3	2	6	6	12	9			
Well-Being	1	9	4	8	16	2	17	10°	7	3	4	1			
Sublimation	15°	5	16	7	9	7	10	13	11	12	17°	13			
Intrapunitive	13	4	17	12°	15	16°	2°	3°	8	13	3°	3			
Identity Stress	12	6	10	11	4	8	7	17	5°	2	1	16			
TOTAL															

APPENDIX D

PATTERN SUMMARY CHART

RESPONSE PATTERN	Number of Responses		Total	% of Total Protocol	Area of Emphasis	Comment
	Mild II, III, IV, V, VII, IX	Strong I, VI, VIII, X, XI, XII				
Attachment (Sum of loneliness, and empathy)						
Individuation (Sum of adaptation, well-being, and sublimation)						
Hostility (Sum of anger, projection and intrapunitiveness)						
Painful Tension (Sum of phobic, anxiety; and somatic reactions)						
Reality Avoidance (Sum of withdrawal, evasion, and fantasy)						
Concentration Impairment and sublimation (Self-esteem preoccupation)						
Self-love Loss (Sum of rejection and intrapunitiveness)						
Identity Stress						
Absurd Responses						
Attachment-Individuation Balance						
Mild-Strong Scores & %	Score %	Score %	Diff.	Diff.		

APPENDIX E

SCORING CRITERIA FOR PROJECTIVE STORIES

Attachment

Rejection

1) A person with whom the child has had an ongoing relationship does not love, like or care about the child or does not love/like/care about the child to the extent they previously did.

2) The child feels rejected, abandoned or rebuffed by another person.

Loneliness

The child feels sad, lonely, miserable, unhappy, empty, a sense of loss, or grief because of being separated from another person.

Relatedness

1) The child has feelings of security, contentment, confidence which is associated with the current, remembered or expected presence of another person.

2) The child feels responsible for or obligated to another person.

3) The child loves, likes, cares about, understands, is interested in or is concerned about another person.

4) The child has influence over, is influenced by, wants to be like or admires another person.

Affiliation

> The child seeks out another for the purpose of giving or receiving contact, attention, reassurance, admiration, approval, acceptance, emotional support, affection, understanding, comfort, advice or to confide in.

Individuation

Object Constancy/Sense of Self

> 1) A child has a feeling of security, contentment or confidence in his/her capacity to function in the absence of the person from whom the child is being separated.
>
> 2) The child exhibits the ability to maintain a feeling of relatedness to the person from whom s/he is being separated.
>
> 3) The child expresses confidence that the relationship will continue and survive periods of separation.

Adaptation (implies separation has been disruptive)/ Self Maintenance

> 1) The child accepts the separation and attempts to change in order to overcome obstacles/problems created by the separation or to reestablish some previous level of functioning.
>
> 2) The child adjusts to the situation, adapts or does the best s/he can do.

3) The child demonstrates the ability to carry on routine tasks (school, play, social relationships) in the absence of the person from whom s/he is separating.

Exploration/Initiative

1) The child seeks out new experiences or opportunities.

2) The child feels excited about the prospect of having new experiences.

3) The child desires independence or freedom for the purpose of his/her growth and development. An act simply for the purpose of defying or getting back at someone is not a criterion for scoring this category.

APPENDIX F

BEM SEX ROLE INVENTORY
INSTRUCTIONS

All your responses should be made on the printed (computer) sheets with a #2 pencil. Before you begin, full in your student number and sex and FILL IN THE CORRESPONDING CIRCLES on each of the computer sheets attached to this form.

On the following pages is a list of 30 items. Each consists of a pair of characteristics, with the letters A-E in between. For example:

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

Each pair describes contradictory characteristics, that is, you cannot be both at the same time, such as very artistic and not at all artistic.

The letters form a scale between the two extremes. You are to choose a letter which 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.

Now begin answering the questions on the answer sheet. Be sure to answer every question, use a #2 pencil, and answer quickly because YOUR FIRST IMPRESSION IS BEST.

After you have finished the questionnaire describing yourself, using the second printed computer answer sheet, choose the letter which best describes YOUR MOTHER on each of the 30 items.

Code No._____

1. Almost never defend my   A....B....C....D....E   Almost always defend my
   own beliefs   own beliefs

2. Not very affectionate   A....B....C....D....E   Very affectionate

3. Not very conscientious   A....B....C....D....E   Very conscientious

4. Not very independent   A....B....C....D....E   Very independent

5. Not very sympathetic   A....B....C....D....E   Very sympathetic

6. Not very moody   A....B....C....D....E   Very moody

7. Not very assertive   A....B....C....D....E   Very assertive

8. Not very sensitive to   A....B....C....D....E   Very sensitive to the
   the needs of others   the needs of others

9. Not very reliable   A....B....C....D....E   Very reliable

10. Not a very strong   A....B....C....D....E   Very strong personality
    personality

11. Not very understanding   A....B....C....n....E   Very understanding

12. Not very jealous   A....B....C....D....E   Very jealous

13. Not very forceful   A....B....C....D....E   Very forceful

14. Not very compassionate   A....B....C....D....E   Very compassionate

15. Not very truthful   A....B....C....D....E   Very truthful

16. Not much leadership   A....B....C....D....E   Much leadership ability
    ability

17. Not too eager to   A....B....C....D....E   Very eager to soothe
    soothe hurt feelings   hurt feelings

18. Very secretive A....B....C....D....E Not very secretive

19. Not willing to take A....B....C....D....E Willing to take risks
  risks

20. Not very warm A....B....C....D....E Very warm

21. Not very adaptable A....B....C....D....E Very adaptable

22. Submissive   A....B....C....D....E Dominant

23. Not very tender A....B....C....D....E Very tender

24. Conceited   A....B....C....D....E Not conceited

25.. Not willing to take a A....B....C....D....E Very willing to take a
   stand   stand

26. Not very fond of A....B....C....D....E Very fond of children
  children

27. Not very tactful A....B....C....D....E Very tactful

28. Not very aggressive A....B....C....D....E Very aggressive

29. Not very gentle a....B....C....D....E Very gentle

30. Very conventional A....B....C....D....E Not very conventional

REMINDER -- FILL IN THE CIRCLES FOR SEX, & STUDENT NUMBER ON YOUR ANSWER
SHEET.

APPENDIX G

PARENT BEHAVIOR FORM

Directions:

On the following pages you will find a series of statements which a person might use to describe his parents. Read each statement and decide which answer most closely describes the way each of your parents has acted toward you. Indicate your answer on the separate answer sheet.

If you are under 16, answer the questions as they describe what is happening now. If you are over 16, answer as you would have around the age of 16. If you have been living with someone other than your real mother or father, answer the questions in terms of those individuals.

MOTHER

1. Makes me feel better after talking over my worries with her.

2. Often praises me.

3. Lets me help to decide how to do things we're working on.

4. Really wants me to tell just how I feel about things.

5. Wants me to know how and why natural things happen in the way they do.

6. Encourages me to develop after school skills and hobbies.

7. Lets me dress in any way I please.

8. Tells me to think and plan before I act.

9. Is unhappy that I'm not better in school than I am.

10. Sees to it that I know exactly what I may or may not do.

11. Insists that I must do exactly as I'm told.

12. If I take someone else's side in an argument, she is cold and distant to me.

13. Thinks I am just someone to "put up with."

14. Tells me neither of us has a brain.

15. Is considerate of others.

16. Is able to make me feel better when I am upset.

17. Believes in showing her love for me.

18. Doesn't get angry if I disagree with her ideas.

19. Likes me to assert my own ideas with her.

20. Likes to discuss current events with me.

21. Provided me with puzzles when I was young.

22. Doesn't tell me what time to be home when I go out.

23. Tells me that good hard work will make life worth while.

24. Says that my teachers often expect too little of me.

25. Wants to know exactly where I am and what I am doing.

26. Believes in having a lot of rules and sticking to them.

27. Says I'm a big problem.

28. Makes me feel I'm not loved.

29. Says that things with sugar taste sour.

30. Makes good decisions about family problems.

31. Makes me feel free when I'm with her.

32. Tells me how much she loves me.

33. Allows me to be myself.

34. Likes when I'm able to criticize my own or others' ideas effectively.

35. Talks with me about philosophical ideas.

36. Has taken me to look at paintings, sculpture and architecture.

37. Lets me do anything I like to do.

38. Sees to it that I keep my clothes neat, clean, and in order.

39. Wants me to know a lot of facts regardless of whether or not they have meaning for me.

40. Doesn't let me go places because something might happen to me.

41. Believes that all my bad behavior should be punished in some way.

42. Almost always complains about what I do.

43. Is never interested in meeting or talking with my friends.

44. Expects me to stare at the sun for hours.

45. Is hard working and efficient.

46. Comforts me when I'm afraid.

47. Tells me I'm good looking.

48. Doesn't mind if I kid her about things.

49. Wants me to keep an open mind about my own or others' beliefs.

50. Points out the beauties of nature.

51. Has taken me to see a performance in a play or concert.

52. Doesn't pay much attention to my misbehavior.

53. Wants me to have the same religious beliefs as she does.

54. Says she would like to see me enter a profession which requires original thinking.

55. Is always telling me how I should behave.

56. Has more rules that I can remember, so is often punishing me.

57. Tells me I am immature.

58. Doesn't show that she loves me.

59. Tells me the earth is square.

60. Is a responsible person.

61. Cheers me up when I am sad.

62. Says I make her happy.

63. Enjoys it when I bring friends to my home.

64. Is pleased when I bring up original ideas.

65. Talks with me about how things are made.

66. Plays classical music when I am home.

67. Does not insist I obey if I complain or protest.

68. Taught me to believe in God.

69. Wants me to pursue a career in a scientifically related field.

70. Wants to control whatever I do.

71. Sees to it that I obey when she tells me something.

72. Often blows her top when I bother her.

73. Doesn't seem to think of me very often.

74. Reads to me in Greek and Latin.

75. Is truthful.

76. Has a good time at home with me.

77. Gives me a lot of care and attention.

78. Allows discussion of right and wrong.

79. Likes when I ask questions about all kinds of things.

80. Encourages me to discuss the causes and possible solutions of social, political, economic or international problems.

81. Buys books for me to read.

82. Excuses my bad conduct.

83. Encourages me to pray.

84. Says she would like me to be an important or famous person some day.

85. Keeps reminding me about things I am not allowed to do.

86. Punishes me when I don't obey.

87. Whenever we get into a discussion, she treats me more like a child than an adult.

88. Changes her mind to make things easier for herself.

39. Gives me green lollipops everyday.

90. Uses good judgement.

91. Is easy to talk to.

92. Becomes very involved in my life.

93. Is easy with me.

94. Tells me to stand up for what I believe.

95. Feels I should read as much as possible on my own.

96. Encourages me to be different from other people.

97. Can be talked into things easily.

98. Feels hurt when I don't follow his advice.

99. Expects me to be successful in everything I try.

100. Is always getting after me.

101. Believes in punishing me to correct and improve my manners.

102. When I don't do as he wants, says I'm not grateful for all he has done for me.

103. Doesn't get me things unless I ask over and over again.

104. Buys me thousand dollar suits or dresses.

105. Is honest in dealing with others.

106. Seems to see my good points more than my faults.

107. Says I'm very good natured.

108. Tries to be a friend rather than a boss.

109. Gives me reasons for rules that he makes.

110. Encourages me to read news periodicals and watch news broadcasts on TV.

111. Requires me to arrive at my own conclusions when I have a problem to solve.

112. Seldom insists that I do anything.

113. Feels hurt by the things I do.

114. Is more concerned with my being bright rather than steady and dependable.

115. Decides what friends I can go around with.

116. Loses his temper with me when I don't help around the house.

117. Tells me of all the things he has done for me.

118. Asks other people what I do away from home.

119. Expects me to make all of my own clothes.

120. Obeys the law.

121. Smiles at me very often.

122. Is always thinking of things that will please me.

123. Tries to treat me as an equal.

124. Trains me to be rational and objective in my thinking.

125. Encourages me to fool around with new ideas even if they turn out to have been a waste of time.

126. Wants me to find out answers for myself.

127. Does not bother to enforce rules.

128. Seems to regret that I am growing up and am spending more time away from home.

129. Prefers me to be good in academic work rather than in sports.

130. Tells me how to spend my free time.

131. Doesn't give me any peace until I do what he says.

132. Is less friendly with me if I don't see things his way.

133. Almost always wants to know who phoned me or wrote to me and what they said.

134. Says I should never ride in an automobile.

135. Makes guests feel at home.

FATHER

1. Makes me feel better after talking over my worries with him.

2. Often praises me.

3. Lets me help to decide how to do things we're working on.

4. Really wants me to tell him just how I feel about things.

5. Wants me to know how and why natural things happen in the way they do.

6. Encourages me to develop after school skills and hobbies.

7. Lets me dress in any way I please.

8. Tells me to think and plan before I act.

9. Is unhappy that I'm not better in school than I am.

10. Sees to it that I know exactly what I may or may not do.

11. Insists that I must do exactly as I'm told.

12. If I take someone else's side in an argument, he is cold and distant to me.

13. Thinks I am just someone to "put up with."

14. Tells me neither of us has a brain.

15. Is considerate of others.

16. Is able to make me feel better when I am upset.

17. Believes in showing his love for me.

18. Doesn't get angry if I disagree with his ideas.

19. Likes me to assert my own ideas with him.

20. Likes to discuss current events with me.

21. Provided me with puzzles when I was young.

22. Doesn't tell me what time to be home when I go out.

23. Tells me that good hard work will make life worth while.

24. Says that my teachers often expect too little of me.

25. Wants to know exactly where I am and what I am doing.

26. Believes in having a lot of rules and sticking to them.

27. Says I'm a big problem.

28. Makes me feel I'm not loved.

29. Says that things with sugar taste sour.

30. Makes good decisions about family problems.

31. Makes me feel free when I'm with him.

32. Tells me how much he loves me.

33. Allows me to be myself.

34. Likes when I am able to criticize my own or others' ideas effectively.

35. Talks with me about philosophical ideas.

36. Has taken me to look at paintings, sculpture and architecture.

37. Lets me do anything I like to do.

38. Sees to it that I keep my clothes neat, clean, and in order.

39. Wants me to know a lot of facts regardless of whether or not they have meaning for me.

40. Doesn't let me go places because something might happen to me.

41. Believes that all my bad behavior should be punished in some way.

42. Almost always complains about what I do.

43. Is never interested in meeting or talking with my friends.

44. Expects me to stare at the sun for hours.

45. Is hard working and efficient.

46. Comforts me when I'm afraid.

47. Tells me I'm good looking.

48. Doesn't mind if I kid him about things.

49. Wants me to keep an open mind about my own or others' beliefs.

50. Points out the beauties of nature.

51. Has taken me to see a performance in a play or concert.

52. Doesn't pay much attention to my misbehavior.

53. Wants me to have the same religious beliefs as he does.

54. Says he would like to see me enter a profession which requires original thinking.

55. Is always telling me how I should behave.

56. Has more rules than I can remember, so is often punishing me.

57. Tells me I am immature.

58. Doesn't show that he loves me.

59. Tells me the earth is square.

60. Is a responsible person.

61. Cheers me up when I am sad.

62. Says I make him happy.

63. Enjoys it when I bring friends to my home.

64. Is pleased when I bring up original ideas.

65. Talks with me about how things are made.

66. Plays classical music when I am home.

67. Does not insist I obey if I complain or protest.

68. Taught me to believe in God.

69. Wants me to pursue a career in a scientifically related field.

70. Wants to control whatever I do.

71. Sees to it that I obey when he tells me something.

72. Often blows his top when I bother him.

73. Doesn't seem to think of me very often.

764. Reads to me in Greek and Latin.

75. Is truthful.

76. Has a good time at home with me.

77. Gives me a lot of care and attention.

78. Allows discussion of right and wrong.

79. Likes when I ask questions about all kinds of things.

80. Encourages me to discuss the causes and possible solutions of social, political, economic or international problems.

81. Buys books for me to read.

82. Excuses my bad conduct.

83. Encourages me to pray.

84. Says he would like me to be an important or famous person some day.

85. Keeps reminding me about things I am not allowed to do.

86. Punishes me when I don't obey.

87. Whenever we get into a discussion, he treats me more like a child than an adult.

88. Changes his mind to make things easier for himself.

89. Gives me green lollipops everyday.

90. Uses good judgement.

91. Is easy to talk to.

92. Becomes very involved in my life.

93. Is easy with me.

94. Tells me to stand up for what I believe.

95. Feels I should read as much as possible on my own.

96. Encourages me to be different from other people.

97. Can be talked into things easily.

98. Feels hurt when I don't follow her advice.

99. Expects me to be successful in everything I try.

100. Is always getting after me.

101. Believes in punishing me to correct and improve my manners.

102. When I don't do as she wants, says I'm not grateful for all she has done for me.

103. Doesn't get me things unless I ask over and over again.

104. Buys me thousand dollars suits or dresses.

105. Is honest in dealing with others.

106. Seems to see my good points more than my faults.

107. Says I'm very good natured.

108. Tries to be a friend rather than a boss.

109. Gives me reasons for rules that she makes.

110. Encourages me to read news periodicals and watch news broadcasts on TV.

111. Requires me to arrive at my own conclusions when I have a problem to solve.

112. Seldom insists that I do anything.

113. Feels hurt by the things I do.

114. Is more concerned with my being bright rather than steady and dependable.

115. Decides what friends I can go around with.

116. Loses her temper with me when I don't help around the house.

117. Tells me of all the things she has done for me.

118. Asks other people what I do away from home.

119. Expects me to make all of my own clothes.

120. Obeys the law.

121. Smiles at me very often.

122. Is always thinking of things that will please me.

123. Tries to treat me as an equal.

124. Trains me to be rational and objective in my thinking.

125. Encourages me to fool around with new ideas even if they turn out to have been a waste of time.

126. Wants me to find out answers for myself.

127. Does not bother to enforce rules.

128. Seems to regret that I am growing up and am spending more time away from home.

129. Prefers me to be good in academic work rather than in sports.

130. Tells me how to spend my free time.

131. Doesn't give me any peace until I do what she says.

132. Is less friendly with me if I don't see things her way.

133. Almost always wants to know who phoned me or wrote to me and what they said.

134. Says I should never ride in an autombile.

135. Makes guests feel at home.

APPENDIX H

Parent Behavior Form Scale Descriptions

Acceptance	A
Active Involvement	AI
Equalitarianism	E
Cognitive Independence	CI
Curiosity	CU
Cognitive Competence	CC
Lax Control	LC
Conformity	CO
Achievement	AC
Strict Control	SC
Punitive Control	PC
Hostile Control	HC
Rejection	R

The order of the scales is determined by the correlation of each cluster with the lead scale of acceptance. Therefore, the scales range roughly on an acceptance-rejection dimension. Scales high on the list have a closer correlation with Acceptance. Scales on the lower end of the list have a negative relationship with acceptance and scales near the middle have low or variable relationships depending upon the parent being considered.

Acceptance:	The parent is seen as warm, loving, accepting. Listens to problems, nurturant and caring, concerned about feelings, easy going, has a positive view of child and enjoys his companionship.
Active Involvement:	The parent becomes actively nurturant and initiates open indications of positive feelings. Parent takes an active role in communicating his feelings and concern for the child. Wants child to know how parent feels about him. Becomes actively involved in child's activities.
Equalitarianism:	Tries to treat the child as an equal. Allows open expression of child's feelings, even if negative. Accepts disagreements, listens to child's opinions. Accepts child's friends and ideas. Non-punitive and non-critical.
CI:	Encourages child to think for himself, to come to his own conclusions. Wants child to express his individuality with parent and with others as well. Encourages critical thinking while keeping an open mind about his own and others' ideas. Encourages originality, analysis of ideas. Emphasis on child developing own sources of information rather than taking on parents' ideas.

CU: Wants the child to ask questions about life, the world and himself. Enjoys intellectual dialogue with child. Wants child to appreciate nature and how it evolved. Wants child to keep informed on current events and new ideas.

CC: Wants child to develop skills and to be competent at a variety of tasks. Wants child to develop cultural and aesthetic interests. Provides wide exposure to cultural activities. Encourages individuality and competence at problem solving.

LC: Provides a wide latitude of freedom for child's activities. Does not set down many specific rules for child to follow. Allows child to avoid obeying rules that do exist and ignores misbehavior that occurs. Is never coercive or demanding. Allows child freedom to develop his own rules.

CO: Wants child to adopt values of hard work, religious involvement, obedience to rules and orderliness. Takes an active role in teaching and enforcing these values. Tends to view the child as an extention of himself in these values and feels hurt when child does not conform. Fears losing control over child.

AC: Has high goals for achievement for child. Feels child could do more to be meeting these goals. Communicates to child that he falls short of parent expectancies for him. Wants child to excell in an outstanding career involving professional or scientific areas. Would like child to be famous. Expects child to be academically superior and successful in all of his endeavors.

SC: Has many rules that he communicates and enforces carefully. Supervises child's activities and is restrictive about free movement. Constantly reminds about rules, tries to monitor all behavior. Tells child what to do in his free time and with whom he may associate.

PC: Insistent and coercive about conformity to all rules. Punishes all misbehavior. Punishes frequently for a variety of infringements. Has many rules. Loses temper when child does not comply and nags until he does.

NC: Communicates his dissatisfaction with everything child does. Tells child he is a big problem. Gives blanket criticisms, loses his temper easily, becomes cold when child disagrees with him. Controls child through accusations, guilt induction and psychological withdrawal from the relationship.

R: Communicates his active dislike and dissatisfaction with child. Never shows love or concern. Makes it clear that child is of little importance to him. At the same time, he is intrusive about child's activities and pries into his private life.

APPENDIX I

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
Department of Psychology

DEPARTMENTAL RESEARCH CONSENT FORM

1. I have freely consented to take part in a scientific study being conducted by: __Linda Cohen__

   under the supervision of: __Albert I. Rabin, Ph.D.__

   Academic Title: __Professor__

2. The study has been explained to me and I understand the explanation that has been given and what my participation will involve.

3. I understand that I am free to discontinue my participation in the study at any time without penalty.

4. I understand that the results of the study will be treated in strict confidence and that I will remain anonymous. Within these restrictions, results of the study will be made available to me at my request.

5. I understand that my participation in the study does not guarantee any beneficial results to me.

6. I understand that, at my request, I can receive additional explanation of the study after my participation is completed.

   Signed: _____

   Date: _____

TITLE OF RESEARCH PROJECT: __Women's Roles__