

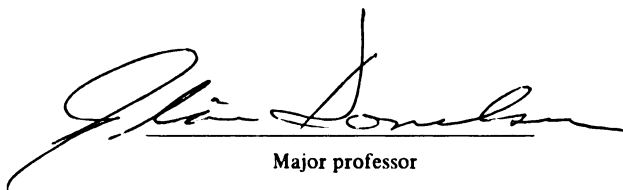
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MATERNAL SEPARATION IN LATE ADOLESCENT WOMEN

By

Patricia Ann Ponto

A THESIS

Submitted to  
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## ABSTRACT

### MATERNAL SEPARATION IN LATE ADOLESCENT WOMEN

By

Patricia Ann Ponto

The purpose of this research is to investigate the process of separation that takes place between mothers and daughters when the daughters leave for college. The sample consists of 101 mother-daughter pairs. Five variables are studied: autonomy, identification, accuracy of perception, mothers' employment, and daughters' choice of spending free time. The first three are measured through a 180-item questionnaire, the Structural Analysis of Social Behavior. The last two involve answers to questions in a behavioral inventory. Analyses of variance and t-tests are employed in testing the hypotheses.

The major conclusion of the study is that distancing from mother is an important part of the process of late adolescent separation for women. Specific distancing mechanisms include low identification with mother, low accuracy of perception, and free time spent with friends.

In addition, many questions are raised about internalized autonomy. The meaning of the concept, particularly its role in late adolescent separation, is questioned, as is the accuracy of its measurement through Series C of the SASB.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Writing this thesis has been a complex, painful, and intriguing process--largely because it focused in many ways on my own developmental struggle of separating from my deceased mother and, thereby, gaining autonomy. Not only was the content appropriate to my struggle, but also the process. The process (in this case, my style) was to work in a very autonomous fashion--being even more independent at times than I really wanted to be or found useful. In retrospect, I sigh a bit and realize that such situations arise when one embarks on such an over-determined piece of work.

I'm grateful to . . .

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## INTRODUCTION

The relationship between mothers and daughters is a topic that has recently gained prominence in literature concerning women. Current writers are convinced that this relationship is very different from those of other dyads and that its quality has far-reaching effects for women (Friday, 1977; Hammer, 1975). The relationship is seen to be changing as, through the women's movement, more women commit themselves to self-development. When women who are mothers begin to define themselves more sharply as individuals rather than being subsumed by the caretaker role, they will be able to encourage their daughters to achieve greater autonomy and clearer senses of themselves as individuals. It is the daughter's autonomy or separateness that is of particular interest to me.

The issue of autonomy is involved throughout the life span of the mother-daughter relationship, but it seems to me that there are several points in typical development at which it is particularly significant. Those are: in late infancy, when autonomy is first experienced; at puberty, when biology dictates that sexuality be addressed; at the end of adolescence, when daughters separate physically or psychologically from home to create their own lives; at marriage, when the daughter also becomes a wife; and, perhaps most significantly, at the birth of a child (especially a female child), when the daughter joins the ranks of mothers.

Of these critical points, one that has not been addressed sufficiently is the separation at late adolescence. The importance of this separation has, I think, been underestimated. As women move more and more to establishing their own identities rather than subscribing to the earlier "automatic" commitments of marriage and family, it is this separation that will gain in importance for increasing numbers of women because it will be a critical factor in the development of a sense of self.

Though there is very little literature concerned specifically with maternal separation in late adolescent women, there are several related areas that require investigation in a study with this focus. The first of these is the theoretical and empirical work that has been done on late adolescent separation from parents in general. This includes both normative and clinical theory and research. Second is the information about the mother-daughter relationship and the implications it holds for late adolescent separation.

#### Parental Separation in Late Adolescence

Much like its more specific counterpart of maternal separation in late adolescent women, this area has not received nearly as much attention as seems its due. The process of separation from parents is implicitly contained in many theories of adolescence as a crucial aspect of the transition from childhood to adulthood. It is also referred to in its negative form as differentiation failure (which results in adolescent psychopathology). The normative research done in this area is, however, very sparse.

### Theoretical Contributions

Among those theorists who have specifically addressed the issue of separation from parents in adolescence are Peter Blos, Edith Jacobson, Helm Stierlin, and Irene Josselyn.

Cutting the "psychological navel cord" (1967, p. 176) is Peter Blos' colloquial definition of the process of adolescent separation. According to Blos, one of the foremost psychoanalytic theorists of adolescence, the shedding of family dependencies is critical to the adolescent's becoming a member of the adult world. In this pursuit, he/she is aided by peers who permit experimentation with the newfound independence and alleviate guilt feelings that accompany the separation. The actual process of separation involves, basically, the disengagement from the parents as primary love objects. This is accomplished by a return to the early phases of development and a reactivation of infantile emotional involvements. In Blos' view, the conflicts surrounding those involvements, particularly the ones relating to Oedipal wishes and fantasies, are more sharply focused at this point in time. After they are worked through at this stage of greater maturity, they are, hopefully, better resolved. The result of the process, then, is disengagement from the internalized infantile objects. When it is accomplished, a new equilibrium is established. The new equilibrium is expressed by the adolescent as a personal and autonomous life style. Following this expression of autonomy, rapprochement or reidentification with the primary object representations at an adult level takes place and completes the adolescent separation process (Blos, 1962).

Ego psychologist Edith Jacobson asserts that "affectionate ties [to parents] must be loosened to guarantee future freedom of object choice and permit sound readjustment to one's own generation, and a normal adjustment to adult social reality" (1964, p. 170). She views the loosening of the symbiotic bond as essential to the processes of ego development, identity formation, and differentiation. If the process of separation fails, chronic pathology results. Such failures often occur, in Jacobson's opinion, because of parental interference with the process. (The interference may take several forms: the parent living through the child, the parent dominating or overprotecting the child, or the parent treating the child as a narcissistic extension of him/herself.) The major task of parents during this period, then, is to encourage the instinctual and emotional freedom of the adolescent. The major task confronting the adolescent, on the other hand, is to alter his/her identification of parents as parents to parents as sexually active persons, who will grant him/her the right to engage in sexual and adult activities. Jacobson describes this task as the "most incisive and difficult step" (1964, p. 175) in the process of separation. Its result is increased freedom for the adolescent from both external and old superego influences.

Like Jacobson, Helm Stierlin is concerned with parent-child interactions that discourage adolescent separation. He believes that parents may discourage their adolescents from separating because they themselves are in the midst of a developmental crisis that they would prefer to ignore. Stierlin proposes that parents interfere with separation by "binding" or "delegating" their adolescents (1974, p. 10).

The "binding" mode involves attempting to tie children to them by means of affect, cognition, or the superego. Affective binding results from overgratification of the regressive wishes of the child by the parents. The result is that the child is so spoiled that only his/her parents will tolerate him/her. Cognitive binding involves parental interference with the child's ability to perceive and articulate his/her own feelings, needs, motives, and goals. The result is an adolescent who cannot trust himself/herself and, consequently, depends on parental judgment. In superego binding, the adolescent is taught to believe that his/her parents cannot survive without him/her. The adolescent, then, views separation as murder. Finally, parents block separation through the "delegating" mode of interaction by putting pressure on the adolescent to fulfill some "mission" in the world that is designed to meet the needs of the parents or to compensate for their own inadequacies.

Irene Josselyn describes separation from parents as an ambivalent process, quite similar to the one that occurs in infancy. She believes that the adolescent experiences pulls toward both dependence and independence (1971). As in infancy, the adolescent asserts his/her separateness through negativism to parents and other authorities. A large part of the motivation for rejection of parents in Josselyn's view relates to the adolescent's budding sexuality and the possibility that the accompanying, newly experienced emotions will be turned toward the parents. The adolescent needs, then, to reduce or deny the intensity of his/her tie to the parents in order to avoid the sexual arousal closeness might initiate.

Josselyn notes in addition that the adolescent's growing ego ideal requires that he/she be a separate entity. As the ego ideal assumes more power in an individual's life, the childhood superego must recede. The rebellion against parents in adolescence may actually be, in this theorist's view, a projected battle with the adolescent's own childhood superego.

Following these battles for independence in the earlier stages of adolescence, the late adolescent realizes that emotional maturity does not mean total independence from others. When the late adolescent has achieved "independence in the area of individual competence" (1971, p. 185) and no longer fears dependence as re-engulfment in the childhood relationship, he/she is free to engage in mature interdependence. This state is based on acceptance of the idea that others need the individual and that the individual has needs that others can gratify. In Josselyn's words, it is at this point that "childhood dependence has grown up" (1971, p. 185) and adult life is achieved.

#### Normative Research

As mentioned earlier, normative research concerning the separation of adolescents from the family is sparse. The notion that an adolescent must become independent of parents' control to become an adult was reported as early as 1904 by G. Stanley Hall. The first reserach related to that construct, however, came thirty years later. In the 1930s, McDill developed a 120-item questionnaire, the Emancipation from Parents Scale. His purpose was to study emancipation with regard to the variables of religion, socioeconomic status, intelligence,

height, and weight. The correlations he obtained were quite low and, apparently, interest in the instrument subsequently waned.

A similar instrument for use with university students was, however, constructed by Sherman in 1946. His concern, much like McDill's, was to discover the relationship between emancipation scale scores and various subject characteristics (sex, intelligence, social class, religion, age, time at college). He compared two groups scoring high and low on his emancipation measure. His results also showed only slight relationships between emancipation and the various characteristics. Sherman concluded that future research should focus on the relationship between the respondents and their parents.

It was about twenty years later that the next research relating specifically to adolescent separation was done. In the early sixties, Murphey, Silber, Coelho, Hamburg, and Greenberg studied the development of autonomy in college freshmen and its relationship to various patterns of parent-child interactions as part of an NIMH project focusing on the development of competent adults. The research team interviewed nineteen students and their parents at the end of the students' senior year in high school and four times during the first year in college. The students were grouped with regard to their relative positions on two dimensions: autonomy and relatedness. Autonomy was defined as the ability to make "separate, responsible choices" (1963, p. 645). Relatedness was defined as the student's expressed satisfaction "in a predominantly positive relationship with his parents" (1963, p. 645).

When the nineteen subjects were grouped according to these two dimensions, only one person was found to be low in both autonomy

and relatedness. Consequently, the researchers studied only these three groups: high-autonomy, high-related; high-autonomy, low-related; and low-autonomy, high-related. Their findings revealed clearcut differences with respect to separation among the parents of the subjects in the three groups. Parents of the high-autonomy, high-related subjects were supportive of their children's development of autonomy and were confident of their children's ability to handle situations. They did not usually offer help unless they were asked for it and they favored their children's separation as necessary for growth. The parents of the low-autonomy, high-related subjects were unclear about the boundaries between themselves and their children. They often wanted their children to fulfill their frustrated aspirations and did not clearly perceive their children's interests and abilities. They also lacked confidence in their children's ability to achieve autonomy. The parents of the third group of subjects (high-autonomy, low-relatedness) viewed their children as separate and provided them with opportunities to develop their own abilities and interests, both important conditions for the development of autonomy. However, these parents could not later accept the subjects' independence and changing values because they required modification of the roles of the subjects in the families. The parents considered these roles unchangeable.

In a study of adolescents in 1966, Douvan and Adelson found that autonomy is characteristic of adolescents whose parents have encouraged gradual detachment from the family. They were very successful at differentiating autonomous from non-autonomous subjects on the basis of whether the adolescent spent most of his/her time with peers or family members.

In a very recent study (1979) of home-leaving in late adolescents, Hotch attempted to provide a framework for separation by adopting a general personality construct, engagement style. There are three forms of engagement style in the framework by McKinney (1978) that she employed: agent (in which the individual views himself/herself as a "doer"), patient (the self is viewed as acted upon) and communal (the self both acts and is acted upon). Hotch hypothesized that the interaction of self-sufficiency and relatedness would be the best predictor of style of leaving home. Her results indicated that style of perceived home-leaving could be reliably assessed and that relatedness, not self-sufficiency or the interaction of the two, was the best predictor of style.

#### Clinical Literature Regarding Problematic Separation

The importance of separation in the development of a healthy family system is supported by the literature on lack of differentiation and the subsequent psychopathology. Morris and Wynne (1965) have suggested that pathological families frequently involve symbiosis or lack of differentiation. Olson adds that the presenting patient often has few ego boundaries and is "defined" in terms of the family system. Bowen (1960) describes how symbiosis is involved in the development of schizophrenia and how families with a schizophrenic child experience a crisis when the child approaches adolescence and the expected separation from parents.

In addition to this rather back-handed affirmation of the importance of the process of separation, Singer and Wynne also affirm

its significance in a more straightforward manner. They report (1966) that one of the two major elements of a healthy family is a separate and potent identity for each family member. This idea is further supported by the results of a survey conducted by the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry in 1970, which revealed that one of the three primary therapeutic goals listed most frequently by its members was improved autonomy and individuation.

In a clinical study directly related to separation, Stierlin (1971) investigated families of adolescents who were in family therapy. His interest was to discover the way in which parental perceptions of adolescent children influenced the child's ability to separate. This study involved family sessions, individual interviews with family members, family Rorschachs, and family art evaluations. The findings revealed that there are three areas of parental perception that seem most influential in determining the individual's capacity to separate: (1) whether or not the adolescent is seen by the parents as potentially able to be autonomous; (2) whether or not the adolescent is seen by the parents as potentially able to form relationships outside of the family; and (3) whether the adolescent's separation is seen by the parents as good and normal, or bad and destructive.

### The Mother-Daughter Attachment and Separation

#### Theoretical Contributions

The special attachment between mothers and daughters and the particular difficulty involved in mother-daughter separation has been

discussed by such theorists as Sigmund Freud, Helene Deutsch, Nancy Chodorow, Lois Hoffman, and J.H. Block.

Freud was well aware of the importance of separation from parents. He wrote:

From the time of puberty onward the human individual must devote himself to the great task of freeing himself from the parents; and only after this detachment is accomplished can he cease to be a child and so become a member of the social community (1935, p. 295; emphasis mine).

He was also aware of the particular difficulty daughters have in freeing themselves from their mothers--largely as a result of their childhood attachment and identifications.

In his essay "Female Sexuality," Freud pointed to the infantile "phase of exclusive attachment to the mother" and concluded that it "is far more important to women than it can claim to be for men" (1953, p. 258). As proof of this, Freud asserted that many women choose husbands that will enable them to duplicate their childhood relationship to their mother and that this often results in a difficult relationship with the husband. Freud believed that "development of womanhood consists mainly in transferring affective ties from the mother to the father-object" (1953, p. 258). He theorized that this occurred at the phallic stage, when the daughter, angry with the mother because they both lack penises, turns from her to the father as primary love object. Freud saw this turning away (a separation) as a very important step in female development. After the important turning away occurs, however, the daughter becomes concerned that the mother might retaliate against her because of the daughter's rivalry for the father and withdraw her love from the daughter. Therefore, the daughter

represses her love for the father and identifies with the mother. The identification with the mother, which was always strong because of her initial position as primary love object, intensifies at this point because of the threatened loss of love. The consequent attachment to the mother is very close. Indeed, Freud speculated that it is so close that many women never abandon it later (1953, p. 253).

Helene Deutsch, a widely-recognized psychoanalytic theorist on the psychology of women, fills in many more details of the specialness of the mother-daughter relationship and the difficulty involved in the separation process.

Deutsch summarizes the process of motherhood: "Women's two greatest tasks as a mother are to shape her unity with the child in a harmonious manner and later to dissolve it harmoniously" (1944-5, p. 294). The attachment between mothers and daughters and its subsequent dissolution is more difficult than that between mothers and sons for several reasons. First, because of the identification process, mothers can more easily justify close attachment to their daughters in the interest of encouraging greater femininity. On the other hand, mothers are urged to separate from their sons in Deutsch's view because of fears of incest and making the boy a sissy. The attachment between mothers and daughters is, therefore, more acceptable and stronger, and the separation that much more difficult. The relationship between mothers and daughters is also special because it is often based on a wish by the mother that she will "be reborn in her daughter, endowed with all the charm of the new being" (1944-5, 325). This attachment, based on the daughter providing the mother with fulfillment, makes

separation more difficult because it appears to some extent to the mother as abandonment of a part of herself. Finally, Deutsch believes that the presence of a daughter reactivates for the mother many of the problems she had with her own mother. This complicates the relationship between the mother and daughter by adding to it aspects of the mother/grandmother interaction. This complication, of course, makes separation between mother and daughter less clearcut and, therefore, more difficult.

Nancy Chodorow (1974), a contemporary theorist interested in family structure and personality development in women, is very concerned about ego boundaries and the mother-daughter relationship. On the basis of clinical evidence, she asserts that separation from mother and the development of a consistently individuated sense of self are particularly difficult psychological issues for Western middle-class women. She summarizes Slater's findings (1961) that "though most forms of personal parental identification correlate with psychological adjustment, personal identification of a daughter with her mother does not" (Chodorow, 1974, p. 59). This is because the identification is often excessive. Chodorow believes that the over-identification leads to blurred ego boundaries. As a result of the boundary confusion, many mothers do not provide experiences of differentiating ego development for their daughters or encourage the breaking of the daughter's dependence.

In comparing Western women to those in East London, Indonesia and Java, Chodorow concludes that the major difference is that the others experience a mature dependence based on full differentiation of

ego and object, whereas women in the Western middle-class are caught up in issues of infantile independence.

Lois Hoffman (1972), in "Childhood Experiences and Achievement," discusses the difficulty of separation from a same sex primary caretaker. She renews Freud's argument that the increased identification with mothers makes it less likely for a girl to establish an early and independent sense of herself. She believes further that establishing the self as separate from mother is easier for boys because they have more conflict with the mother and these conflicted encounters facilitate a sense of separateness. Hoffmann concludes that many girls experience too much maternal nurturance and rapport in the early years and, therefore, find themselves having difficulty facing stress and motivating themselves for autonomous achievement as adults.

Block (1973) writes of separation as a sex-role phenomenon. Her theory is that parent-son relationships are based on control, while parent-daughter relationships emphasize relatedness, protection, and support (all of which focus on dependence rather than autonomy). She maintains, furthermore, that characteristics that are essential for individuation and self-expression are defined in our culture as "masculine" and that women are called upon to submerge themselves in communal roles, thereby renouncing both achievement and autonomy. She sees the socialization of women, then, as detrimental to their development of independence.

Donelson (1977) agrees that the socialization of girls and women emphasizes communal at-one-ness with other people at the expense of a sense of separateness and autonomy. Pinches summarizes the effects

of socialization nicely: ". . . women are trained to strive for harmony and fusion whereas men are trained to strive for autonomy" (1978, p. 34).

The notion of separation between mothers and daughters is most clearly the domain of Signe Hammer's book, Daughters and Mothers, Mothers and Daughters. In fact, Hammer explicitly devotes two chapters to this topic. The first, "Culture and the Separate Self," focuses on the revolution occurring in motherhood. Hammer notes that, previously, being a good mother seemed to be based on acting as though there was no difference between self and other. The mother's power was, at that time, expressed through her control of the family. Because it would diminish their power base, mothers worked hard to inhibit separation. These old ideas of motherhood are, however, undergoing a revolution, in Hammer's opinion. Instead of encouraging their daughters to assume identities similar to their own, mothers are now working to alter mother-daughter relationships and the ways in which their daughters define themselves as girls and women. Like Freud and Hoffmann, Hammer also emphasizes that the process of separation (so important to self definition) is more difficult for daughters because of the same sex identification, which runs very deeply through the relationship.

In "Body and the Separate Self," Hammer focuses on the mother-daughter relationship's effect on sexual identity. She writes of the "mystification" (1975, p. 48) of the female body that the daughter feels because of the mother's ambivalence about her own sexuality. This ambivalence is communicated to the daughter through toilet training procedures, early efforts to inhibit expressions of infantile sexuality,

and, sometimes, an overidentification with the daughter's Oedipal conflict. The last, particularly, causes difficulty in a major aspect of the early process of separation, choosing the father as the love object.

At another point in the book, Hammer notes that daughters typically turn away from their mothers in early adolescence. The intense rebellion that is often part of the relationship between mothers and their adolescent daughters results, in her opinion, from the closeness caused by the identification and from the nature of the relationship, which is usually confined to the emotional and personal sphere.

Finally, Hammer speaks directly about the separation in late adolescence of going away to college. She notes that it is often the first big step toward separation for young women and that, at this point, the separation between mothers and daughters becomes a physical, if not immediately an emotional, reality. She believes that the physical separation is often undertaken in the hope that emotional separation will follow.

In her very popular book, My Mother, My Self, Nancy Friday also addresses the issue of separation openly. She defines separation as the freedom to let another be herself (1977, p. 68). Though separation is feared by some because it sounds very final and suggests an end to love, Friday maintains that, in fact, it enables love to develop further.

Like Hammer, Friday is convinced that separation is a necessary precondition for true sexuality. She writes: "To grow into

a sexual woman we must fight the person closest to us" (1977, p. 77). Friday believes this process is different for men, who are not raised with similar fears. She concludes: "Sex does not present them with the idea of losing mother" (1977, p. 78).

In other important points, similar to those of Hammer's, Friday notes that:

1. Separation is easier for mothers who have a life of their own (in addition to the role of mother).
2. Adolescent girls go through a process of identifying with other women and rejecting their mothers as a part of separation.
3. Undefined boundaries between mothers and daughters are the greatest impasse to separation.
4. And, finally, that "Seeing mother plain, seeing her whole, a mixture of good and bad, is in itself an enormous step toward separation" (1977, p. 402).

#### Normative Research

Theorists, then, seem to agree that separation is an important step toward womanhood for adolescent daughters. The results of several normative studies, however, bring that conclusion into question. One of the implications of a study by Schenkel (1973) on field-independence was that women seem better able than men to use the support of their families in forming an identity. In reporting this study, Marcia notes that "they [women] seem to feel less need to separate themselves from their backgrounds and, in general, consider autonomy less of an issue than men do" (1975, p. 105). Marcia further comments that this study

is consistent with Douvan and Adelson's (1966) findings that girls tended to have relatively comfortable relationships with their parents and felt little need to change the relationships. Hotch (1979), in her study on home-leaving, also found that self-sufficiency (another expression of separation) was significant as a predictor of style in perceiving home-leaving for males but not for females.

In contrast, Jill Allen (1976), in her unpublished dissertation, Identity Formation in Late Adolescent Women, found that a critical, distancing stance toward the mother marked the moratorium phase (Marcia, 1970) of identity achievement. Separation in the form of distancing, then, seemed to her to be an essential step in the formation of identity as a woman.

Allen also studied separation-impeding interactions and mothers' perceptions of daughters in her dissertation. She hypothesized that the identity crisis (operationalized through Marcia's statuses) would be most successfully resolved in those mother-daughter relationships that had the fewest separation-impeding interactions. This hypothesis was tested by her subjects' responses to a subset of items from the Interpersonal Perception Method (IPM). The items selected for study involved attitudes and behaviors on the part of both mothers and daughters that would, according to theory, impede separation. Allen's second hypothesis was that the most successful resolutions of the identity crisis would be made by the daughters who were most accurately perceived by their mothers. The mothers' predictions of their daughters' responses to the IPM were used to test the second hypothesis. The results of the study failed to confirm either of these hypotheses, but

some conclusions were drawn about a third hypothesis that focused on the degree of mother-daughter identification and the four Marcia identity statuses. Allen defined identification as mother/daughter similarity and measured it as profile similarity on the Interpersonal Adjective Checklist. She found that daughters in the moratorium identity status needed to be critical of and distant to their mothers, and demonstrated low identification with them. In contrast, identity achievement daughters appeared to have stopped the criticizing and distancing processes and to have re-established identification with their mothers. Foreclosure daughters showed high identification and could not, apparently, risk criticizing their mothers. Diffusion daughters experienced low identification with their mothers and a distant attitude toward them. Thus, Allen's findings suggest that there is a relationship between the process of identity formation and the use of a critical and distant attitude as a defense.

## STATEMENT OF HYPOTHESES

In preparing the hypotheses for this paper, the author focused on the theoretical notions of Hammer and Friday and the empirical approach of Allen. The reason for this choice of focus was the extensive work of these authors with the mother/daughter dyad specifically.

One of the central themes running through the literature on adolescent separation in general, and even more strongly through that part of it concerned with mothers and daughters, is that identification plays an important part in the process of separation. The identifications of childhood must be transformed if one is to become an autonomous being, an adult. This transformation seems to be particularly difficult for women because of the intensity of their identifications with their mothers.

Identification is, of course, an extremely broad and complex concept. Ferguson (1970) defines it as an ongoing developmental process during which an individual takes on the characteristics or behavior patterns of another person until he/she has actually incorporated aspects of that pattern into his/her own personality. In working with such a large concept, it is essential to narrow it to a manageable size, often by investigating only one aspect of the concept. In this case, the aspect of identification under study is perceived similarity. The choice receives some support from Donelson, who writes "Perceived

similarity to a model is a likely manifestation of identification . . . ." (1973, p. 457). Donelson describes the function of perceived similarity in identification: "One identifies with those who are salient in one's perceptual field. The salience may be due to the perception of a model as either similar (underlining mine) or powerful to the learner . . . ." (1973, p. 483). In measuring identification, then, this study focuses on the perceived similarity of the daughter (the learner) to the mother (the model).

Some insight to the transformation of identification (as perceived similarity) in the late adolescent separation process is offered by Allen. Her study revealed that foreclosure daughters, who are by definition not separated from their mothers, remained closely identified with them without ever going through a distancing period. As noted above, however, Allen also found that identity achievement daughters, after passing through a distancing phase with their mothers, renewed close identification with them. (As noted earlier, Bos [1967] refers to this process as "rapprochement.") Furthermore, Allen's investigation of moratorium daughters, those in the process of separating, revealed that they felt little identification with their mothers. Building on Allen's conclusions, it seems that daughters who have not separated (or show low autonomy) and those who have separated (or show high autonomy) would identify more with their mothers than those between the two extremes (who would be assumed to be in the process of separating). This idea is stated as the first hypothesis of this study:

Hypothesis 1: Daughters demonstrating low autonomy and those

demonstrating high autonomy will show greater identification with their mothers than those in the mid-range.

Implicit in the definition of identification as perceived similarity is the important role of perception in the overall process of identification. Donelson writes, "The perception of similarity captures attention and motivates the search for additional similarity," which results in a kind of snowball effect (1973, p. 458). This effect would, it seems, be diminished by perceptions that reveal differences. Since accurate perception of another person should reveal both similarities and differences and requires some distance between the perceiver and the perceived, it should be an important step in defining individuality or separateness. Autonomy would, then, involve accurate perception, "seeing it like it is." Allen comments:

. . . it would seem that inaccurate perception would be a necessary result of inadequate separation from that person, because the existence of blurred boundaries between oneself and another person results in a tendency to project one's own feelings and attitudes onto that person (1976, p. 28).

Allen chose to focus on the accuracy of the mother's perceptions of the daughter as the prerequisite to separation. It seems to me, however, that the relationship is reciprocal and that it is both the mother and the daughter who must be clear about their boundaries to perceive each other accurately enough for separation. Friday (1977) lends some tangential support to this conclusion in writing that a major step in separation for daughters is perceiving their mothers as whole human beings. Jacobson speaks of the adolescent's need to tone down the "idealized . . . parental images" in favor of "realistic concepts" as a part of the transformation in identifications that leads to

separation (1964, p. 176). Lidz addresses this issue as well when he speaks of the adolescent's task of overcoming "his childhood image of his parents as omniscient and perfect" (1969, p. 110) in order to relinquish his/her dependency on parents.

The relationship between perception and separation is expressed as the second hypothesis:

Hypothesis 2: The daughters who perceive their mothers most accurately and who are perceived most accurately by their mothers will show higher autonomy than the others.

The remaining three hypotheses of this study focus in various ways on the relationship between autonomy and the roles of motherhood and daughterhood. The basic assumption of these hypotheses is that women who largely define themselves in terms of their roles as mothers and daughters will have particular difficulty in separating or expressing autonomy. Donelson comments on this situation in a general way when she notes that people who define themselves in terms of their relationships to others view rejection as "a threat to existence itself" (1973, p. 482). Since separation appears to involve a process of distancing that could easily be perceived as rejection, it seems reasonable to conclude that individuals whose self-definitions depend on their relationships or roles would experience difficulty separating. This issue has been discussed much more often from the point of view of mothers than from that of daughters. The difficulties that a mother submerged in her role has in adjusting to her children leaving home have been described extensively as the "empty nest syndrome." Both Deutsch and Friday, as cited above, have considered this aspect of the

problem. Further discussion is found in Donelson's chapter, "Social Responsiveness and a Sense of Separateness" (1977). To a lesser extent, however, daughters face the same issue. The Douvan and Adelson study (1966) cited earlier showed that autonomy of adolescents could be predicted on a comparison of the amount of free time spent with peers and family. Since time spent with family is a behavioral indicator of the tightness of the family unit, it seems reasonable to conclude that those adolescents spending more time with family would experience greater identification and dependence and, therefore, would define themselves more in terms of the familial role and would have more difficulty separating.

Women who have a sense of identity beyond their roles as mothers would, it seems, experience more autonomy than women who do not. Because of this, they would be in a better position to foster the development of autonomy in their daughters and to serve as role models of autonomous women. Consequently, their daughters would also show high autonomy. These ideas will be tested as the third hypothesis.

Hypothesis 3a: Mothers who demonstrate high autonomy will more readily foster the development of autonomy in their daughters than other mothers.

Hypothesis 3b: Their daughters will demonstrate higher autonomy than the other daughters.

A more specific variation of this question relates the autonomy of the mother to a behavioral dimension, employment outside the home. Such employment should, it seems, be one means of broadening a woman's definition of herself, thereby making the separation from children

somewhat less threatening to her. The assumption of the effect of women's employment on their self-definition receives some support from a study by Birnbaum (1975). In comparing a group of mothers who were faculty members at a large university with a comparably aged group of mothers who had graduated from college with honors but had not pursued further education or a career, she found that the unemployed mothers had lower self-esteem and a lower sense of competence. Furthermore, Gullahorn notes that the employed mother "tends to have more favorable attitudes about relationships with her children than do nonemployed mothers" (1977, p. 269). She believes that this greater satisfaction with interpersonal relationships results from greater satisfaction with the self that is a consequence of employment.

This possible relationship between outside employment and autonomy will be tested as the fourth hypothesis.

Hypothesis 4: Mothers employed outside the home will foster the growth of autonomy in their daughters more than those who are not.

Finally, a behavioral dimension similar to the one employed in the 1966 Douvan and Adelson study will be used to test the daughters' ability to separate. The theoretical notions, again, are that adolescents who spend more time with their peers identify with them more closely and are less likely to view themselves in terms of familial roles. They should, therefore, separate more easily from parents than those whose primary free activities center on the family. The two parts of the fifth hypothesis are the test for this prediction.

Hypothesis 5a: Daughters who spent the largest amount of free time during high school with their peers will show greater autonomy than the others.

Hypothesis 5b: Daughters who spent the largest amount of free time with their families will show less autonomy than the others.

In addition to studying the relationship of time spent with family or peers and autonomy, the author is also curious about the autonomy of those adolescents who spent the largest part of their free time alone. This group seems to be more difficult to make a prediction for--a case could be made that their time alone indicates autonomy, withdrawal, or a variety of other attributes. Because of the unpredictability of this group, the issue will be stated as an exploratory question rather than a hypothesis.

Exploratory Question: What is the relationship (if any) between time spent alone during adolescence and autonomy?

## METHOD

### Subjects

The aim was to have a sample of 100 freshman women at Michigan State University and their mothers participate in the study. As discussed later, 101 mother/daughter pairs were actually studied. The qualifications for the participation of the daughters in the study were that the subject: (1) was 17, 18, or 19 years of age; (2) was living in a residence hall on campus; (3) had been living with both of her natural parents prior to leaving for school; and, (4) had not lived away from her mother previously for a significant time period (defined as three months or longer). The first two qualifications were an attempt to restrict the level of maturity and to ensure the normative nature of the subjects. The last two qualifications were viewed as necessary to control for earlier separations from the mother that would very likely influence the current experience.

The sign-up sheet for the daughters labelled the study "Mother/Daughter Relationships." This title probably restricted the sample, though it is difficult to evaluate precisely how. It seems likely that subjects who felt they had good relationships with their mothers would be drawn by such a title. However, it also seems possible that daughters with problematic relationships might have been interested in the opportunity to "state their side of the story" or,

even, to learn something that might be helpful. It seems least likely that freshmen who were indifferent about their relationships to their mothers participated in the study.

The study was conducted at the end of the term and the timing may also have produced a biased sample. Many students (particularly the more conscientious, forward-thinking ones) might have completed their experiment participation requirements by that time. This sample may, then, be biased to favor a less active, conscientious student group.

### Instruments

The major instrument was Lorna Smith Benjamin's Structural Analysis of Social Behavior Questionnaire. The questionnaire is based on a model (see Figure 1) that describes the structure of social behavior in a way similar to the models of Leary (1957) and Schaefer (1965). The basic dimensions of the Benjamin model are affiliation (love-hate) and interdependence (emancipation-control). The model can be used to measure the interaction between any dyads. It has been used to study differentiation failure, developmental changes in parent-child interactions, and the interaction between client and therapist. The results of the questionnaire appear as "maps," charts that indicate which items were most salient for the test-taker. An average score is also available for affiliation and autonomy. Finally, the measure provides a means for quantifying identification (in the form of perceived similarity of behavior) and complementarity of behavior (if X does action 1, does Y respond with its complement?). The

autonomy and identification scores were employed in this study. In addition, a correlation that Benjamin does not employ, but that is believed by the author of this study to be a measure of accuracy of perception, was studied.

The model is presented as three diamond-shaped surfaces. The diamond shape is chosen (in preference to Leary's and Schaefer's circumplexes) because Benjamin feels that it is conceptually "more parsimonious" and because it "allows the poles of the axes to be more salient than they would be if the surfaces were circles" (1974, p. 397). Each of the three surfaces represents a focus of the interaction. The top surface is named "focus on other" and represents parentlike behaviors--what is done to or for the other person. The second surface is "focus on self" and includes behaviors prototypically regarded as childlike--what is done to or for the self. The third surface, called the "introject," describes intrapersonal behaviors and attitudes (in contrast to the interpersonal nature of the two above). Points on this third surface were named by deducing what would happen if parentlike behaviors charted on the first surface were directed toward the self. In other words, the introject is assumed to result from the taking in of the experience of others (especially parents) to one's self. The interpersonal experience with others is, then, transformed into this intrapsychic way of being with one's self. The surface is indicated in the code number as the hundreds' digit: focus on other behaviors are the 100s, focus on self are the 200s, and focus on introject are the 300s.

In addition, each surface is divided into four quadrants by the intersection of the affiliation and interdependence axes. The quadrants are titled according to the stance they represent. For example, if the focus is on the other and the behavior falls on the love end of affiliation and the independence side of the interdependence dimension, the action would be one that "encourages friendly autonomy." The quadrant and pole titles of the model are presented in Figure 2. Please note that for the interdependence dimension, maximum interdependence is at the bottom of each diamond and maximum independence at the top. The bottom half of the first two diamonds represents behaviors saturated with control, either in the sense of dominance (focus on other, controlling the other) or submission (focus on self, being controlled by the other). The four quadrants are labelled by Roman numerals and denoted as the tens' digit in the code numbers.

There are also nine topics, which represent subdivisions of the quadrants and are named tracks. The tracks or topics are: primitive basics; approach-avoidance; need fulfillment, contact, nurturance; attachment; logic and communication; attention to self-development; balance in relationship; intimacy-distance; and identity. They are represented in the code numbers as the ones' digits. Any items with the same ones' digit, then, represent the same track or subdivision.

The questionnaire consists of items describing each of the chart points (see Appendix A). The subject rates the applicability of each item on a scale from 0 to 100 (0 = never, not at all; 50 = sometimes, moderately; 100 = always, perfectly). There are four series. Series A describes the interpersonal behavior of another in

terms of the first two surfaces (focus on other and focus on self). An example from the daughters' questionnaire of Series A with the focus on other is "My mother manages, controls, oversees every aspect of my existence." Focus on self is illustrated by "My mother yields, submits, gives in to me." In Series B, the roles are reversed; instead of "he/she," the subject of the items is "I." An example of Series B with the focus on other (again, from the daughters' questionnaire) is "I manage, control, oversee every aspect of my mother's existence," and an example of focus on self is "I yield, submit, give in to my mother." Series C is a measure of how the subject treats him/herself rather than of how he/she relates to others. ("I control, manage myself according to my carefully thought-out goals for myself.") It can be rated by the subject him/herself (and is then called the "introject"), or by someone else judging the subject's self-concept. Series D asks that a third party rate the relationship between the members of the dyad. For any dyad, Series D is given twice, reversing the subject and object the second time.

This model allows the researcher to do both quantitative and qualitative analyses of the affiliation, interdependence, and identification (in the form of perceived similarity) of dyadic members. The model also provides weighted autonomy and affiliation scores that present a summary statement of the basic thrust or orientation. The weights used in computing the affiliation and autonomy scores are given in Figure 3. Note that items approaching the affiliation and autonomy poles are given progressively greater positive weights while those approaching the disaffiliative and interdependence poles are given

progressively greater negative weights. The affiliation or autonomy score is obtained by multiplying the endorsement for each item by its weight as assigned in Figure 3.

In this study, data on both affiliation and autonomy were gathered. Because the two relate to each other in a highly complex way, however, it seemed necessary to focus on one or the other for the sake of relative simplicity. The autonomy score was chosen for two reasons. First and foremost, it seemed to be more relevant than affiliation because the issue under consideration is separation. Second, the autonomy score is affected less by a social desirability set than is affiliation in a normal population (Benjamin, 1974, p. 423).

With regard to the negative autonomy scores, please note that they indicate dominance if generated from the focus on other surface (for daughters, "My mother manages me" or "I manage my mother") and submission if generated from the focus on self surface (for daughters, "My mother yields to me" or "I yield to my mother"). Negative autonomy scores from the introject surface indicate introjected control ("I manage myself"); while positive autonomy scores indicate introjected autonomy ("I listen to and follow what I find deep within myself").

The second instrument was a brief questionnaire designed especially for this study to measure the separation in behavioral terms and to get some impressions about the process from mothers and daughters (Appendices D and E).

The Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (SDS) (see Appendix B) was also given, but it was not analyzed. This measure is a 33-item

true-false scale that was developed as an alternative to the Edwards Social Desirability Scale because of an objection to the pathological content of many of Edwards' items. The authors of the SDS chose items that reflect culturally-sanctioned behaviors that are highly improbable in occurrence. Therefore, the test is more appropriate for use with a normal population than the Edwards. The authors report reliability coefficients of .88 for internal consistency and .89 for test-retest reliability.

### Procedure

The freshman women were contacted through the human subjects pool. They were requested to meet with the researcher in a large room on campus. The researcher first explained that the goal of the study was to investigate the mother/daughter relationship and its effects on women's development. Next, each participant was handed a packet containing a consent form, a copy of Forms A, B, and C of the SASB questionnaire, a copy of the behavioral questionnaire for daughters, and a copy of the Social Desirability Scale. All of these items had been coded to allow for matching with the mothers' questionnaires without involving identification by name. After completing the questionnaires, the subjects were instructed to address an envelope to their mothers. The researcher later placed a cover letter (Appendix C), consent form, a second set of the questionnaires, and a pre-addressed return envelope in the packet to be sent to the mothers. The packets were mailed to the mothers in the envelopes their daughters had addressed. The mothers were asked to return the material in the pre-

addressed envelope without a return address. The only possible source of identification of subjects (once the consent forms were separated from the mothers' questionnaires) was, then, the code numbers. A list of the participants and their code numbers has been maintained because follow-up research on these subjects is planned. The list is held in confidence in the Department of Psychology. The procedure was approved by the Human Subjects Committee.

### Measurement of the Variables

As indicated above, the SASB provides a weighted autonomy score for each member of the dyad for every surface. Autonomy was, then, operationalized in this study as the weighted autonomy scores for the appropriate surfaces (other, self, introject). High Autonomy was defined as the third of the subjects having the highest weighted autonomy score as specified in the hypothesis. Low autonomy included the third of the subjects having the lowest weighted autonomy scores.

Identification was assessed in the form of perceived similarity by correlating each daughter's Series A (her view of her mother in relation to herself) and her Series B (her view of herself in relation to her mother) of the SASB (Benjamin, 1979, p. 10). This measure involves a comparison of the similarity the daughter perceives between her own behaviors and her mother's. For example, one item in the correlation compares the daughter's rating of "My mother manages me" (daughter's Series A) with "I manage my mother" (daughter's Series B). If those two items were rated equivalently by the daughter, the correlation would be high. The conclusion would, then, be that the

daughter perceives herself and her mother to be similar with respect to this behavior. The overall identification correlation used in this study is based on the daughters' opinions of a series of 72 such paired behaviors.

Accuracy of perception, the third variable, is a difficult concept to employ. The difficulty is inherent in the term accuracy. What perception is accurate if all are affected to an extent by the subjectivity of the perceiver? In this study, accuracy of perception was defined as agreement of perception--that is, to what extent mother and daughter view the situation in the same way, though from their separate points of view. For the daughter, the accuracy of perception was defined as the degree of agreement between her Series A questionnaire (her view of her mother in relation to herself) and her mother's Series B questionnaire (her mother's view of herself in relation to her daughter). For example, one item in the correlation that represented the daughter's accuracy of perception was the comparison of her rating of "My mother manages me" (daughter's Series A) to her mother's rating of "I manage my daughter" (mother's Series B). A similar accuracy of perception index was calculated for the mother (comparison of her Series A with her daughter's Series B questionnaire). The difference between this variable and identification is that this measure of accuracy of perception involves the views of the individual's performance of a particular behavior by both members of the dyad. In contrast, the identification correlation involves only the daughters' perception of their own and their mothers' behaviors.

Implicit in this design is the use of self-perception as the standard by which the accuracy of the other's perception is measured. That is, the daughter's perception of her mother is compared to the mother's self-perception and the reverse. Although there are clear complications involved because self-perception can as easily be distorted as perception of another and because both mother and daughter can misperceive in the same way, this procedure seemed to be the most appropriate means of approaching the concept of accuracy of perception.

### Tests of the Hypotheses

(See Appendix F for diagrams.) For Hypothesis 1, concerning autonomy and identification, the freshmen women were divided into thirds on the basis of their weighted introjected autonomy scores (Daughters' Series C). The identification correlations (obtained from the matching of Series A and Series B for each daughter) of these three groups were compared through an analysis of variance and t-tests.

The first relationship between accuracy of perception and autonomy predicted in Hypothesis 2 (that daughters who most accurately perceive their mothers will show greater autonomy than those who least accurately perceive them) was tested by dividing the daughters into three groups--high, medium, and low accuracy of perception. The accuracy of perception was measured as the correlation between the daughters' Series A (my mother in relation to me) and their mothers' Series B (I in relation to my daughter) questionnaires. The introjected autonomy

scores of the three groups of daughters were compared through an analysis of variance and t-tests.

The second relationship between accuracy of perception and autonomy predicted in Hypothesis 2 (that daughters who are most accurately perceived by their mothers will show greater autonomy than those who are least accurately perceived by them) was similarly tested by dividing the mothers into three groups on the basis of their accuracy of perception correlations. Then, the introjected autonomy scores of the daughters of these three groups of mothers were compared through an analysis of variance and t-tests.

Hypothesis 3a relates the mothers' autonomy to the fostering of autonomy in her daughter ("give autonomy" in Benjamin's terms). It was tested by dividing the mothers into thirds on the basis of the weighted introjected autonomy scores and comparing their weighted autonomy scores on the Series B focus on other level (you in relation to your daughter) and on the daughters' Series A focus on other level (my mother in relation to me) through analyses of variance and t-tests. (Note: This hypothesis involves two separate comparisons based on the mothers' perceptions of themselves and the daughters' perceptions of their mothers.)

Hypothesis 3b relates mothers' autonomy to that of their daughters. It was tested by selecting the same groups of mothers as in 3a and comparing the averages of their daughters' weighted introjected autonomy scores through an analysis of variance and a t-test.

For Hypothesis 4, mothers were divided into two groups, worked at home only and worked outside the home. These two groups were

compared on their weighted autonomy scores for their Series B focus on other level and their daughters' Series A focus on other level, as in the test for Hypothesis 3a. T-tests were employed.

The relationship between the behavioral dimension of "time spent" and autonomy that is described in Hypothesis 5 was measured by three tests. First, the group of daughters who indicated that they spent the largest portion of their free time with peers were compared to all others with respect to the weighted introjected autonomy scores. It was anticipated that this group would have higher autonomy scores than the others. Second, the group that indicated that they spent the most time with family was compared to all others with the prediction that their autonomy scores would be lower. Finally, the group that spent the most time alone was compared to the others without a specific prediction. All three comparisons involved t-tests.

## RESULTS

### Questionnaire Return

The questionnaires were completed by 175 freshman women. Twenty-five of those respondents were found to have not fulfilled one of the criteria (see below in Basic Description of Sample) or not completed the questionnaire properly; therefore, 150 questionnaires were mailed to the mothers. Of these 150, 121 were returned, for a response rate of 80.7%. In 20 of these cases, the mothers did not follow the directions or left large blocks of questions (in some cases, entire pages) unanswered. Those questionnaires were eliminated from the study. Questionnaires on which only occasional items were skipped were included in the sample. Benjamin's score for missing data (-1) was assigned to the blank items. The result, then, was an N of 101 mother-daughter pairs. Investigation of the questionnaires that were eliminated revealed that they did not differ in any obvious ways from those included in the study.

### Basic Description of Sample

The 101 daughters that comprise this sample met the basic criteria for inclusion in the study. They were all 18 or 19 years of age and freshmen at M.S.U. They lived in a residence hall on campus. The subjects had been living with both of their natural parents before coming to school. None of the subjects had lived away from her mother for more than three months in the past.

The mean number of siblings for these women is 2.75. Seventy-one of the subjects have at least one older sibling and forty-four have at least one older sister. Two of the subjects are only children.

In terms of distance of their parents' home from M.S.U., these freshmen can be grouped as follows:

1	0- 20 miles
10	20- 50 miles
51	50-100 miles
24	100-200 miles
9	200-500 miles
6	more than 500 miles

The 101 mothers of these daughters range in age from 38 to 60. Seventy-three of these women have worked outside their homes at some point during their marriage and 91 worked before the marriage. Their occupations varied extensively. According to the Hollingshead occupational classification system, the jobs of the 73 women who have worked after marriage can be grouped as follows:

- 1 Higher executives, proprietors of large concerns, major professionals
- 17 Business managers, proprietors of medium-sized concerns, lesser professionals
- 13 Administrative personnel, small independent businesses, minor professionals
- 33 Clerical and sales workers, technicians, owners of little businesses
- 2 Skilled manual employees
- 6 Machine operators and semi-skilled employees
- 1 Unskilled employees

### The Autonomy Scores

Some comments about the variable on which much of this study is built, the introjected autonomy score (based on Series C), need to be made before the results of the study are reported. For daughters, the range of the introjected autonomy score was from -103.00 to 37.00 with a mean of -22.88. For mothers, the range was from -105.00 to 74.00 and the mean was -16.57. The scale theoretically ranges from -250.00 (highest interdependence) to 250.00 (highest autonomy). The negative means indicate that for both daughters and mothers the true state of affairs is one of introjected interdependence, rather than introjected autonomy. In fact, only 24 mothers and 15 daughters reported positive introjected autonomy scores. These findings are difficult to evaluate. There is, of course, an initial question about the validity of the measurement technique. The question is, does Series C actually measure internalized autonomy? At this point, there is no ready answer, but the question remains important and will be further addressed in the Discussion section of this paper. Another possibility, discussed further in the section on norms that follows, is that the measure is valid and that this sample is typical of the population--the conclusion being that most people have introjected interdependence, rather than autonomy.

A third possibility, suggested earlier in the Methods section, is that this particular sample is biased to favor interdependence for some reason. As noted above, the method of recruiting subjects may be a source of bias in that the study may have mainly attracted students who felt they had good relationships with their mothers. Many people

seem to define good mother/daughter relationships as close ones. Comments like, "That mother and daughter have such a good relationship-- they tell each other everything/do everything together," are frequently made and illustrate that perspective. Such relationships clearly involve a significant amount of interdependence. If subjects were attracted to this study on the basis of that type of "good" relationship, the reason for the bias toward interdependence is clear. A second possible source of bias for this sample is that the timing of the study at the end of the term may have involved getting subjects who are not "go-getters" (assuming that the "go-getters" would have already fulfilled their experiment participation requirements) and that the sample was, therefore, biased away from autonomy. That does not explain the similar findings of interdependence for the mothers. However, as this study suggests, it seems likely that there is a relationship between the mothers' and daughters' experiences of autonomy and, perhaps, that relationship accounts for the similar findings for the mothers.

Testing hypotheses and understanding the results of the tests in a situation where the measure of autonomy is, actually, that of less interdependence could easily result in problems. These potential problems are accentuated in this study because there is no guarantee of the validity of the assumption that autonomy is the opposite of interdependence or that more of one necessarily implies less of the other. In an attempt to reduce the problems that could result from such a situation, two procedures were employed. The originally proposed procedure of testing for introjected autonomy was implemented

with the assumption that those scores do reflect relative, if not absolute, autonomy (in the form of less interdependence).

The second procedure involved testing another autonomy score, the one that represents the daughter's view of herself in relation to her mother (Daughters' Series B, focus on self). That score was chosen for two reasons. First, it represents the daughter's view of the autonomy/interdependence that she possesses with respect to her mother. For this study on maternal separation, it seems to be a very appropriate choice. It is, perhaps, even more to the point than the originally proposed introjected autonomy score in that the latter is a measure of a general internalized sense of autonomy and the former is directed to the specific object of the separation under study, the mother. This score was not originally chosen as the target because the author's initial interest was in the internalized sense of autonomy and because the daughters' Series B (focus on self ratings) is also involved in other variables in this study (see Methods). Further discussion of the possible relationship between these two forms of autonomy and the theoretical implications of each will be found in the Discussion section.

The second reason for the choice of the autonomy in relation to mother score is that it appears to be more clearly a measure of autonomy than interdependence in terms of the scores the subjects obtained. The mean of the daughters' autonomy in relation to mother scores is located on the autonomy side of the axis (11.55). The range of scores also covers a larger part of the autonomy-interdependence dimension (from -57.00 to 143.00 out of a possible -250.00 to 250.00).

### Basic Data Outline

Table 1 presents an overall picture of the findings. It consists of the means and minimum and maximum ratings obtained for the five autonomy scores involved in this study. The possible range for each score is from -250.00 (greatest interdependence to 250.00) (greatest autonomy).

As Table 1 indicates and as was noted earlier in the section on the autonomy scores, the mean introjected autonomy scores for both mothers and daughters (-16.57, -22.88, respectively) fall on the interdependence side of the dimension. The other three mean autonomy scores are located on the autonomy side of the axis. The highest of these mean scores (13.41) is the mothers' view of their autonomy giving behaviors. Next highest (11.55) is the daughters' view of their own autonomy behaviors in relationship to their mothers. The lowest of these scores is the daughters' mean rating of their mothers' autonomy giving behaviors (4.89).

Since Benjamin is just in the process of collecting data for norms at this time, there is not much available to set a context around these scores. An early study involving medical students and psychiatric patients was the basis for this statement by Benjamin in the Manual for Using SASB:

. . . norms . . . suggest that mothers exerted enough control to average in Quadrant IV (interdependence, positive affiliation) for some groups, and all groups reported a Quadrant IV average level of submissiveness in relation to mother (1979, p. 21).

The introject results (Series C) for this particular study are also

Table 1

Obtained Means, Minimums, and Maximums of Autonomy Scores

Autonomy Scores	Mean	Minimum	Maximum
Mothers' introjected autonomy score (Mothers' Series C)	-16.57	-105.00	74.00
Daughters' introjected autonomy score (Daughters' Series C)	-22.88	-103.00	37.00
Daughters' autonomy in relation to mother score (Daughters' Series B, focus on self)	11.55	- 57.00	143.00
Mothers' view of their autonomy giving behaviors (Mothers' Series B, focus on other)	13.41	- 54.00	84.00
Daughters' view of their mothers' autonomy giving behavior (Daughters' Series A, focus on other)	4.89	- 57.00	76.00

found as graphs in the manual and indicate the average scores for this series also fell in Quadrant IV (interdependence, positive affiliation). Thus, the findings of the current study on mothers and daughters, which place the daughters on the autonomy side of the axis for their experience of autonomy in relation to mother and which also place the mothers' autonomy giving behaviors on that side of the axis, are different from these early norms. On the other hand, the findings for introjected autonomy in this study of mothers and daughters are consistent with these early norms. It is difficult to know what to make of these findings since the norms are so sketchy and specific to certain groups (medical students, psychiatric patients). Perhaps the most important suggestion of the norms for this study on mothers and daughters is the possibility that interdependence rather than autonomy is far more likely to be introjected on the average by any group of individuals; the implications being that the women in this study are not unusual in this regard and that such an introject is not limited to women only.

The tests of the hypotheses that follow are based on various combinations and sub-groupings of the five mean autonomy scores presented in Table 1.

#### Hypothesis 1: The Relationship Between Autonomy and Identification as Perceived Similarity

The first hypothesis stated that daughters demonstrating low autonomy and those demonstrating high autonomy would show greater identification with their mothers than those in the mid-range. The

classification of autonomy (low, mid-range, high) was made first on the basis of the daughters' weighted introjected autonomy scores (e.g., the score derived from the ratings of such Series C statements as "I listen to and follow what I find deep within myself."). Three groups of 33, 34, and 34 freshman women were formed. Identification was assessed in the form of perceived similarity by comparing the raw scores of the daughters' Series A (my mother in relation to me--e.g., "My mother manages me") and the daughters' Series B (I in relation to my mother--e.g., "I manage my mother") questionnaires through a Pearson product-moment correlation. The Pearson  $r$ 's were then transformed to  $z$ -scores using Fisher's formula. This standardization method was employed to meet the assumptions of normality and homogeneity for the analysis of variance procedure. Next, a one-way analysis of variance was performed on the transformed  $r$  scores. The results of that procedure are found in Table 2.

As shown in Table 2, the correlations are quite high (.66 to .79) and the difference among the means is highly significant with a probability of .008. Two  $t$ -tests were computed next to test the specific predictions of the hypothesis. The first compared the group that had the highest weighted introjected autonomy (Group 1) with those in the mid-range (Group 2). The results of that comparison were not significant. Thus, there was no evidence for the prediction that the group with high autonomy would show greater identification than the mid-range group. In fact, the mean of the second group is slightly higher than that of the first ( $z_{\text{Group 2}} = 1.0837$ ,  $z_{\text{Group 1}} = 1.0618$ ;  $r_{\text{Group 2}} = .795$ ,  $r_{\text{Group 1}} = .786$ ).

Table 2

The Relationship between Daughters' Introjected Autonomy  
and the Identification Correlation

ANOVA	Mean	SD	F	P
Group 1 (High autonomy)	1.0618 ( $r = .786$ )	.381	5.074	.008
Group 2 (Mid-range)	1.0837 ( $r = .795$ )	.452		
Group 3 (Low autonomy)	.7965 ( $r = .661$ )	.402		
T-tests	Mean	t	DF	P
Group 1	1.0618	-2.77	65.11	.0035
Group 2	1.0837			
Group 3	.7965	- .22	63.77	NS
Group 2	1.0837			

The second t-test compared the standardized correlations of the low autonomy group (Group 3) and the mid-range group (Group 2). The results of that procedure were  $t = -2.77$ ,  $p = .0035$ . This comparison of means shows highly statistically significant differences, but in the reversed direction. The mean transformed  $r$  score for Group 2 is significantly larger than that for Group 3 ( $z_{\text{Group 2}} = 1.0837$ ,  $z_{\text{Group 3}} = .7965$ ;  $r_{\text{Group 2}} = .795$ ,  $r_{\text{Group 3}} = .661$ ).

The same testing procedure was next employed for the alternate autonomy score, the daughter's view of herself in relationship to her mother (Series B, I in relation to my mother, e.g., "I manage my

mother"). The results for both the one-way analysis of variance and the t-tests are summarized in Table 3.

Table 3  
The Relationship between Daughters' Autonomy in Relation  
to Mother and the Identification Correlation

ANOVA	Mean	SD	F	P
Group 1 (High autonomy)	.8963 ( $r = .715$ )	.5192	.930	NS
Group 2 (Mid-range)	1.0255 ( $r = .772$ )	.3878		
Group 3 (Low autonomy)	1.0153 ( $r = .768$ )	.3700		
T-tests	Mean	T	DF	P
Group 1	.8963	-.1292	59.2	NS
Group 2	1.0255			
Group 3	1.0153	-.0102	65.9	NS
Group 2	1.0255			

The hypothesis was not supported in any of the three tests. Inspection of the means reveals that the group of daughters who reported highest autonomy in relation to mother had the lowest mean identification correlation ( $z = .8963$ ,  $r = .715$ ). The average correlations for the groups reporting low and mid-range autonomy are very close ( $z_{\text{Group 3}} = 1.0153$ ,  $z_{\text{Group 2}} = 1.0255$ ;  $r_{\text{Group 3}} = .768$ ,  $r_{\text{Group 2}} = .772$ ).

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Another approach to the measurement of identification in the form of perceived similarity was taken in the supplement to the SASB. Daughters were asked directly to rate their similarity to their mothers on a six-point scale: 1-very dissimilar, 2-moderately dissimilar, 3-slightly dissimilar, 4-slightly similar, 5-moderately similar, 6-very similar. The mean rating was 4.6134. This assessment technique was compared to the SASB-derived identification correlation through a Pearson product-moment correlation. The correlation between the two techniques is .4954, which is significant at the .001 level.

The testing procedures that were employed with the SASB measure of identification were also carried out on this self-report measure. The results are summarized in Table 4.

With respect to the analyses based on the groups that were defined by the introjected autonomy score, the hypothesis was not maintained in any of the three tests. Though the means are close in size (4.70, 4.68, 4.47), it is the low autonomy group that shows the least identification.

The analyses based on the daughters' view of her autonomy with respect to her mother are presented in Table 5 and do, in contrast, show some significant results. First of all, the one-way analysis of variance indicates that there is a highly significant difference among the means ( $p = .0058$ ). The  $t$ -tests reveal that the difference between the means for these high and mid-range groups is significant at the .02 level, but that the difference is in the reversed direction from the prediction--that is, the mid-range group has higher identification than the high autonomy group (4.71, 4.03, respectively). The second test

Table 4

The Relationship between Daughters' Introjected Autonomy and  
Self-report Identification

ANOVA	Mean	SD	F	P
Group 1 (High autonomy)	4.70	1.2866	.272	NS
Group 2 (Mid-range)	4.68	1.5120		
Group 3 (Low autonomy)	4.47	1.3759		
T-tests	Mean	T	DF	P
Group 1	4.70	.0205	98.0	NS
Group 2	4.68			
Group 3	4.47	-.2059	98.0	NS
Group 2				

shows a trend ( $p = .107$ ) in the direction predicted for the contrast between the low and mid-range autonomy groups (the low autonomy group shows greater identification than that of the mid-range--5.09, 4.71, respectively).

Table 5

The Relationship between Daughters' Autonomy in Relation to  
Mother and Self-report Identification

ANOVA	Mean	SD	F	P
Group 1 (High autonomy)	4.03	1.5907	5.439	.0058
Group 2 (Mid-range)	4.71	1.1423		
Group 3 (Low autonomy)	5.09	1.2152		
T-tests	Mean	T	DF	P
Group 1	4.03	- .6756	98.0	.02
Group 2	4.71			
Group 3	5.09	.3824	98.0	.107
Group 2	4.71			

Hypothesis 2: The Relationship between Accuracy of  
Perception and Autonomy

The predictions of the second hypothesis were: (a) daughters who most accurately perceive their mothers will show higher autonomy than those who least accurately perceive them; and (b) daughters whose mothers most accurately perceive them will show higher autonomy than those whose mothers least accurately perceive them. Three groups (high, medium, low accuracy) were formed for each of the two sets (mothers, daughters) by dividing the 101 subjects into thirds on the basis of the accuracy of perception score. For mothers, this score is a

correlation between the mother's view of her daughter (Series A--my daughter in relation to me) and her daughter's self-view (Series B--I in relation to my mother). The daughter's self-view is, then, the standard of reference and the correlation measures how close the mother's view of her daughter approximates the daughter's view of herself. The correlation is called "accuracy of mothers' perceptions of daughters." For the accuracy of the daughters' perception, the correlations are, similarly, between their own Series A (the daughter's view of her mother) scores and their mothers' Series B (the mother's self-view). As was done for Hypothesis 1, Pearson product-moment correlations were computed and transformed to z scores. One-way analyses of variance comparing the three groups of each set on the daughters' weighted introjected autonomy scores were computed first. T-tests comparing only the groups of each set that were high and low on accuracy of perception were computed second. The results follow in Table 6.

Table 6 indicates that the results of the analysis of variance show no significant differences among the means of the three groups (-17.15, -22.91, -28.41) based on the accuracy of the daughters' perception of their mothers. However, the t-test comparing the means of the high and low accuracy of daughters' perception groups (-17.15, -28.41, respectively) does yield significant results ( $t = 1.68$ ,  $p = .0485$ ). Therefore, the part of the hypothesis that states that the daughters who most accurately perceive their mothers will show higher autonomy than those who least accurately perceive them was supported.

The results of the analysis of variance of the accuracy of the mothers' perception of their daughters (presented in Table 7, below)

Table 6

The Relationship between Daughters' Correlated Accuracy of Perception and Daughters' Introjected Autonomy

ANOVA	Mean	SD	F	P
Group 1 (High accuracy)	-17.15	19.1	1.432	NS
Group 2 (Medium)	-22.91	26.99		
Group 3 (Low accuracy)	-28.41	33.46		
T-test	Mean	T	DF	P
Group 1	-17.15	1.68	65	.0485
Group 3	-28.41			

revealed highly significant differences ( $p = .0003$ ) among the means (-14.88, -16.21, -38.00). The t-tests comparing the groups that were high and low (-14.88, -38.00) on this measure of accuracy of mothers' perception were also found to be highly significant ( $t = 3.52$ ,  $p = .0005$ ). The second part of the hypothesis--that daughters whose mothers most accurately perceive them will show higher autonomy than those whose mothers least accurately perceive them--was also supported.

The same set of tests were performed on the alternate autonomy score, the daughters' view of their autonomy with respect to their mothers. The results of the tests are condensed in Table 8 (Daughters' Accuracy) and Table 9 (Mothers' Accuracy).

Table 7

The Relationship between Mothers' Correlated Accuracy of Perception and Daughters' Introjected Autonomy

ANOVA	Mean	SD	F	P
Group 1 (High accuracy)	-14.88	22.33	8.660	.0003
Group 2 (Medium)	-16.21	22.79		
Group 3 (Low accuracy)	-38.00	30.60		
T-test	Mean	t	DF	P
Group 1	-14.88	3.52	58.47	.0005
Group 3	-38.00			

Table 8

The Relationship between Daughters' Correlated Accuracy of Perception and Autonomy in Relation to Mother

ANOVA	Mean	SD	F	P
Group 1 (High accuracy)	10.35	29.55	2.369	.0989
Group 2 (Medium)	3.35	30.66		
Group 3 (Low)	20.91	39.26		
T-test	Mean	t	DF	P
Group 1	10.35	- 1.24	65	NS
Group 3	20.91			

Table 9

The Relationship between Mothers' Correlated Accuracy of  
Perception and Autonomy in Relation to Mother

ANOVA	Mean	SD	F	P
Group 1 (High accuracy)	9.29	30.48	.971	NS
Group 2 (Medium)	7.35	37.28		
Group 3 (Low accuracy)	18.21	33.72		
T-test	Mean	t	DF	P
Group 1	9.29	- 1.13	63.91	NS
Group 3	18.21			

Though none of the results is statistically significant, inspection of the means reveals a pattern with this autonomy score that is very different from that for introjected autonomy. As just stated, for the latter, high accuracy of both mothers and daughters was paired with greater autonomy for daughters and low accuracy with less autonomy. In this case, daughters who have the least accurate perception and the daughters of mothers who have the least accurate perception show the greatest autonomy (means of 20.91, 18.21, respectively). Those who rank in the high accuracy groups have the next largest autonomy means (10.35, 9.29, respectively). The lowest autonomy is reported by those in the mid-range (3.35, 7.35, respectively).

The second assessment of accuracy of perception, similar to the second measure of identification in Hypothesis 1, was done to supplement the SASB. Mothers were simply asked to evaluate the accuracy of their daughters' perception of them by the question, "How accurate is your daughter's view of you?" They were asked to reply using another six-point scale: 1-very accurate, 2-moderately accurate, 3-slightly accurate, 4-slightly inaccurate, 5-moderately inaccurate, 6-very inaccurate. The reply is, then, the mother's estimate of the accuracy of her daughter's perception of the mother. That is, it is the mother's estimate of her daughter's accuracy, not the daughter's estimate of her own accuracy that is being measured. Daughters were asked in a similar fashion to evaluate the accuracy of their mothers' perceptions of them. Their replies are described below as the daughters' estimate of the accuracy of the mothers' perceptions of the daughters.

The two measures of accuracy of perception (SASB correlation and simple report) were compared through a Pearson product-moment correlation. The correlation between the mothers' SASB scores that rated the accuracy of their perceptions of their daughters and their daughters' simple report of the accuracy of their mothers' perception was .3097. For the daughter's accuracy, the correlation was .3896. Both of these correlations are significant at the .001 level.

One-way analyses of variance dividing the subjects on the basis of the six simple report accuracy scores were computed for the daughters' introjected autonomy score and the daughters' autonomy in relationship to mother score. The results of these analyses for introjected autonomy follow in Table 10.

Table 10

The Relationship between Reported Accuracy of Perception  
and Daughters' Introjected Autonomy

<u>Mothers' Estimate of the Accuracy of the Daughters' Perception of Mother</u>					
ANOVA	Mean	N	SD	F	P
Group 1	-25.71	28	31.33	1.003	NS
Group 2	-20.21	62	25.28		
Group 3	- 7.00	3	19.08		
Group 4	-39.67	3	11.15		
Group 5	-50.50	2	62.93		
Group 6	-19.00	1	0		
<u>Daughters' Estimate of the Accuracy of the Mothers' Perception of Daughters</u>					
ANOVA	Mean	N	SD	F	P
Group 1	-19.00	31	22.36	.803	NS
Group 2	-22.78	49	27.05		
Group 3	-25.40	10	41.70		
Group 4	-47.50	4	38.38		
Group 5	-27.00	3	18.36		
Group 6	-20.25	4	17.23		

As shown in Table 10, neither the comparison based on the daughters' estimate of the mothers' accuracy of perception nor that based on the mothers' estimate of the daughters' accuracy yielded significant results with respect to introjected autonomy. Inspection

of the means reveals that there is no clearly consistent pattern, but that higher introjected autonomy scores tend in general to be associated with higher accuracy of perception ratings while low scores are found with the lower accuracy ratings. For instance, for the tests based on the mothers' estimate of the daughters' accuracy, the introjected autonomy scores for the three high accuracy groups are -25.74, -20.21, and -7.00. Those scores for the low accuracy groups are -39.67, -50.50 and -19.00.

In contrast, as presented in Table 11 below, the results of the analyses of variance that compared the mean scores of daughters' autonomy in relationship to mother are significant for both the groupings based on the mothers' estimate of their daughters' accuracy of perception and the daughters' estimate of their mothers' accuracy ( $p = .0018, .0013$ , respectively). Inspection of these means also reveals an inconsistent pattern, but one in which high autonomy scores tend to be associated with the "very inaccurate" and "slightly accurate" groups, while low scores are found in the "very accurate" and "moderately inaccurate" categories. For example, for the tests based on the daughters' estimate of the mothers' accuracy, the autonomy in relation to mother scores for the "very inaccurate" and "slightly inaccurate" groups are 77.75 and 11.25, respectively. Those scores for the "very accurate" and "moderately accurate" groups are 2.65 and 5.67.

T-tests were computed next to test the actual differences between the high and low accuracy groups. Because there were so few subjects in each of the three categories representing inaccuracy, the

Table 11

The Relationship between Reported Accuracy of  
Perception and Daughters' Autonomy in  
Relation to Mother

<u>Mothers' Estimate of the Accuracy of the Daughters'</u> <u>Perception of Mother</u>					
ANOVA	Mean	N	SD	F	P
Group 1	5.18	28	33.24	4.167	.0018
Group 2	12.16	62	30.72		
Group 3	36.67	3	21.73		
Group 4	- 3.67	3	39.83		
Group 5	11.00	2	48.08		
Group 6	143.00	1	0		
<u>Daughters' Estimate of the Accuracy of the Mothers'</u> <u>Perception of Daughters</u>					
ANOVA	Mean	N	SD	F	P
Group 1	2.65	31	35.43	4.368	.0013
Group 2	9.86	49	26.68		
Group 3	22.90	10	33.71		
Group 4	11.25	4	20.60		
Group 5	5.67	3	47.82		
Group 6	77.75	4	43.66		

researcher decided to condense those three groups into one that represented low accuracy. High accuracy was defined as the "very accurate" classification. The results of the t-tests for the daughters' estimate of the mothers' accuracy are presented in Table 12.

Table 12

The Relationship between Daughters' Estimate of the  
Accuracy of the Mothers' Perceptions of  
Daughters and Daughters' Autonomy

<u>T-test</u>	Mean	N	SD	t	DF	P
<u>Introjected Autonomy</u>						
Group 1 (High accuracy)	-19.00	31	22.36	1.41	14.96	.0895
Group 2 (Low accuracy)	-32.00	11	27.58			
<u>Autonomy in Relation to Mother</u>						
Group 1 (High accuracy)	2.65	31	35.43	-1.95	13.95	.0355
Group 2 (Low accuracy)	33.91	11	48.68			

As the table indicates, the daughters' estimate of the mothers' accuracy of perception proved to be near significant ( $p = .0895$ ) in the predicted direction for introjected autonomy. Thus, this form of mothers' high accuracy is associated with greater internalized autonomy among daughters than is low accuracy (means of -19.00 and -32.00, respectively). Furthermore, the daughters' estimate of the mothers' accuracy proved to be significant ( $p = .0355$ ) for the autonomy

in relationship to mother score. It was significant, however, in the reversed direction from the prediction--those who estimated that their mothers were inaccurate in their perceptions showed greater autonomy in relation to mother than those who estimated that their mothers were very accurate (33.91, 2.65, respectively).

As shown in Table 13 below, mothers' estimate of the daughters' accuracy of perception did not have a statistically significant impact, but inspection of the means reveals that these scores are consistent with the pattern for the daughters' estimate of the mothers' accuracy: introjected autonomy is affected as predicted with this form of high accuracy being associated with greater autonomy than low accuracy (-25.71, -39.83, respectively). The opposite is true for autonomy in relation to mother: the daughters whose mothers estimate that they view their mothers inaccurately show greater autonomy than the daughters whose mothers say their perception of their mothers is very accurate (25.67, 5.18, respectively).

Table 13

The Relationship between Mothers' Estimate of the Accuracy  
of the Daughters' Perception of Mother and Daughters'  
Autonomy

<u>T-test</u>	Mean	N	SD	T	DF	P
<u>Introjected Autonomy</u>						
Group 1 (High accuracy)	-25.71	28	31.33	1.00	7.33	NS
Group 2 (Low accuracy)	-39.83	6	31.21			
<u>Autonomy in Relation to Mother</u>						
Group 1 (High accuracy)	5.18	28	33.24	- .73	5.54	NS
Group 2 (Low accuracy)	25.67	6	66.73			

Hypothesis 3: The Relationship Between Mothers' Own  
Autonomy and Their Ability to Give Autonomy

Hypothesis 3 is intended to test the effect of the mother's sense of her own autonomy on her ability to "give" autonomy to her daughter and on her daughter's sense of autonomy. The first part of the hypothesis states that mothers possessing high autonomy will more readily foster the development of autonomy in their daughters; the second, that their daughters will demonstrate higher autonomy. For the tests of this hypothesis, the 101 mothers were divided into three groups (high, mid-range, low autonomy) based on their introjected autonomy scores. Four analyses of variance were, then, computed. First, the mothers' senses of their own behaviors of "giving" autonomy were

compared in the form of the mothers' weighted score of their Series B focus on other level (you in relation to your daughter). Second, the daughters' views of their mothers' behaviors of "giving" autonomy were compared through the daughters' weighted autonomy score of the Series A focus on other level (my mother in relation to me). Third, the three groups were compared on the basis of the daughters' introjected autonomy scores (Daughters' Series C). Finally, the groups were compared on the alternate autonomy score for daughters, the daughters' view of their autonomy in relation to mother (Daughters' Series B, focus on self). The results of these analyses follow in Table 14.

As Table 14 indicates, the results of three of the four analyses of variance were not significant. No significant differences were found in the tests of the mothers' view of their ability to give autonomy, the daughters' view of their mothers' ability to give autonomy, and the daughters' experience of autonomy in relationship to their mothers. The single significant result ( $p = .003$ ) was found for the test based on the daughters' weighted introjected autonomy scores. The result was in the predicted direction--the daughters whose mothers reported their own greater internalized autonomy experienced greater internalized autonomy. The means of the daughters' introjected autonomy score for the three groups (based on the mothers' high, mid-range, and low introjected autonomy scores) were, respectively, -9.91, -28.17, and -30.24.

Because the original prediction involved comparisons of the group of high autonomy mothers with all others, t-tests using two groups (high autonomy and all others) were also performed on these variables. The results of these tests are found in Table 15.

Table 14

The Relationship between Mothers' Introjected Autonomy,  
Their Autonomy Giving Behaviors and Their  
Daughters' Sense of Autonomy

ANOVA	Mean	SD	F	P
<u>Mothers' View of Their Autonomy Giving Behavior</u>				
Group 1 (High autonomy)	13.09	22.41	.030	NS
Group 2 (Mid-range)	14.29	22.05		
Group 3 (Low autonomy)	12.79	33.89		
<u>Daughters' View of Their Mothers' Autonomy Giving Behavior</u>				
Group 1	5.00	27.74	1.950	NS
Group 2	- 1.60	29.19		
Group 3	11.67	25.95		
<u>Daughters' Introjected Autonomy</u>				
Group 1	- 9.91	23.38	6.134	.003
Group 2	-28.17	26.63		
Group 3	-30.24	27.87		
<u>Daughters' Autonomy in Relation to Mother</u>				
Group 1	15.12	32.95	.892	NS
Group 2	14.29	35.13		
Group 3	5.09	33.72		

Table 15

T-tests Regarding the Relationship between Mothers' High  
Introjected Autonomy Group and All Others

T-test	Mean	SD	t	DF	P
<u>Mothers' View of Their Autonomy Giving Behaviors</u>					
Group 1 (High autonomy)	13.09	22.41	- .09	78.08	NS
Group 2 (All others)	13.56	28.56			
<u>Daughters View of Their Mothers' Autonomy Giving Behaviors</u>					
Group 1	5.00	27.74	.03	64.54	NS
Group 2	4.84	28.26			
<u>Daughters' Introjected Autonomy</u>					
Group 1	- 9.91	23.38	3.69	72.48	.0005
Group 2	-29.18	27.06			
<u>Daughters' Autonomy in Relation to Mother</u>					
Group 1	15.12	32.95	3.61		.0005
Group 2	9.69				

These results did not show significant differences for the mothers' or the daughters' views of the mothers' behaviors of giving autonomy, but did show highly significant differences ( $p = .0005$  in both cases) with respect to the daughters' weighted introjected autonomy

score (means of -9.91 for those whose mothers scored high and -29.18 for all others) and the daughter's view of her autonomy in relation to mother (15.12 and 9.99, respectively).

Thus, the first prediction of this hypothesis, that mothers who demonstrate high autonomy will more readily foster the development of autonomy in their daughters than other mothers, was not upheld. The second prediction, that the daughters of these mothers will demonstrate higher autonomy than other daughters, was supported. Further inspection of the results reveals that there is very little difference among the average scores of the mothers' view of their behaviors of giving autonomy (13.09, 14.29, 12.79 for mothers' high, medium and low introjected autonomy groups, respectively). In the daughters' view, the mothers with the least introjected autonomy give the most (11.67) followed by those mothers with the most autonomy (5.00). The daughters' introjected autonomy scores parallel the pattern of the mothers--high for both mothers and daughters, mid-range for both, low for both. The means for the daughters are -9.91, -28.17, -30.24, respectively. The daughters of mothers who report high and medium internalized autonomy have quite high autonomy in relation to mother scores, while those whose mothers report low introjected autonomy tend to have a lower autonomy in relation to mother score (15.12, 14.29, 5.09, respectively).

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Hypothesis 4: The Relationship between Mothers' Employment  
and their Ability to Give Autonomy

This hypothesis states that mothers employed outside the home would foster the growth of autonomy in their daughters more than those who are not. For the tests of this hypothesis, the mothers were divided into two groups, those employed outside the home at any time since marriage (Group 1) and those not employed outside the home since marriage (Group 2). These groups were compared on the same Benjamin "give" autonomy measures as in Hypothesis 3a--the mothers' view of their autonomy giving behaviors (mothers' Series B focus on other level) and the daughters' view of their mothers' autonomy giving behaviors (daughters' Series A focus on other). The results of the t-tests on these two groups for these two scores are presented in Table 16.

Table 16

The Relationship between Outside Employment  
and Autonomy Giving Behaviors

<u>T-test</u>	Mean	SD	t	DF	p
<u>Mothers' View of Their Autonomy Giving Behaviors</u>					
Group 1 (Outside employment)	13.05	25.10	-.2	42.49	NS
Group 2 (Home only)	14.32	29.82			
<u>Daughters' View of Their Mothers' Autonomy Giving Behaviors</u>					
Group 1	4.48	27.64	-.23	46.60	NS
Group 2	5.96	29.25			

The hypothesis was not supported in either test. In both cases, the means of the autonomy giving behaviors of the two groups were quite close (13.05 and 14.32 in the mothers' view, 4.48 and 5.96 in the daughters' view). In each case, inspection of the means reveals that it is the mothers who have not been employed outside the home who view themselves and whose daughters view them as giving more autonomy, which is the reverse of the original prediction.

This hypothesis was tested further by a breakdown of mother's employment to "before marriage" and the following categories after marriage:

- 1: worked when daughter was aged 0 to 2
- 2: worked when daughter was aged 2 to 5
- 3: worked when daughter was aged 6 to 12
- 4: worked when daughter was aged 13 to 18
- 5: worked when daughter was aged 18 onwards

(Please note that each of these classifications has been treated as a discrete unit and, consequently, a mother who worked only when her daughter was aged 2 to 5 would be found in Group 1 for the test for that age category and in Group 2 for all of the others. Also, please note that the autonomy giving behaviors are measured with respect to the current situation, not the time period(s) during which the mother worked.)

T-tests were run on each of these groups and their counterparts of mothers who were not employed outside the home at the time. The results of these tests are presented in Table 17. Members of Group 1 were employed outside the home for all or part of the stated time

Table 17

A further Delineation of the Relationship between Employment Outside the Home  
and Mothers' Autonomy Giving Behaviors

T-test	Mean	N	SD	t	DF	P
<u>Employed Outside the Home</u>						
<u>Before Marriage</u>						
Group 1 (Outside employment)	11.02	10	25.45	-2.83	11.05	.008
Group 2 (Home only)	35.10	91	25.58			
<u>Daughters' View</u>						
Group 1	3.69	10	28.27	-1.53	12.12	.074
Group 2	15.80	91	23.29			
<u>Worked When Daughter was 0 to 2</u>						
<u>Mothers' View</u>						
Group 1	14.00	11	16.36	- .12	17.78	NS
Group 2	13.33	90	27.38			
<u>Daughters' View</u>						
Group 1	- 5.27	11	26.28	-1.35	12.95	.10
Group 2	6.13	90	28.04			

Table 17 (Cont'd.)

<u>T-test</u>	Mean	N	SD	t	DF	P
<u>Worked When Daughter was 2 to 5</u>						
<u>Mothers' View</u>						
Group 1	10.05	20	19.17	- .79	41.34	NS
Group 2	14.23	81	27.87			
<u>Daughters' View</u>						
Group 1	- 3.95	20	22.69	-1.84	35.80	.037
Group 2	7.07	81	28.81			
<u>Worked When Daughter was 6 to 12</u>						
<u>Mothers' View</u>						
Group 1	13.95	40	25.80	.17	86.00	NS
Group 2	13.05	61	26.90			
<u>Daughters' View</u>						
Group 1	- .60	40	23.91	-1.69	95.11	.0475
Group 2	8.49	61	29.96			
<u>Worked When Daughter was 13 to 18</u>						
<u>Mothers' View</u>						
Group 1	14.14	59	25.06	.32	81.55	NS
Group 2	12.38	42	28.32			

Table 17 (Cont'd.)

T-test	Mean	N	SD	t	DF	P
<u>Daughters' View</u>						
Group 1	4.37	59	28.29	- .22	89.41	NS
Group 2	5.62	42	27.79			
<u>Worked When Daughter was 18 onwards</u>						
<u>Mothers' View</u>						
Group 1	10.46	54	23.76	-1.19	89.21	NS
Group 2	16.79	47	28.92			
<u>Daughters' View</u>						
Group 1	1.46	54	25.14	-1.31	89.08	.097
Group 2	8.83	47	30.67			

period, members of Group 2 were not employed outside the home at that time.

As Table 17 indicates, there are only three significant differences. Those are found in the mothers' view of their autonomy giving behaviors in the worked before marriage grouping and in the daughters' perception of their mothers' autonomy giving for the categories of ages 2-5 and 6-12. The one-tailed probabilities equal .008, .037, and .0475, respectively. Inspection of the means reveals, however, that the results are all in reverse of the predicted direction: those mothers who worked before marriage see themselves as giving less autonomy now than the mothers who did not (11.02, 35.10, respectively). In the daughters' view, the mothers who worked when they were 2-5 years of age and 6-12 years of age also give less autonomy now than those employed at home only (-3.95, 7.07 for the 2-5 group, -.60 and 8.49 for the 6-12 group). The same tendency for mothers employed outside the home to give less autonomy now is noted in the three cases of near-significance: the daughters' views of their mothers' autonomy giving behaviors in the before marriage ( $p = .074$ ), 0 to 2 years ( $p = .10$ ) and 18 on ( $p = .097$ ) categories.

Hypothesis 4, then, received no support. Indeed, inspection of the means for the significant findings indicate that, contrary to the original prediction, mothers' employment outside the home during the periods specified (before marriage, daughters' ages 2-5 and 6-12) is associated with less fostering of autonomy in their daughters at present than is employment at home only during those years.

Hypothesis 5: The Relationship of Ways of Spending  
Free Time to Autonomy

The predictions of Hypothesis 5 were: first, that daughters who spent the largest amount of their free time during high school with peers would show greater autonomy than the others and, second, that daughters who spent the largest amount of free time with families would show less autonomy than others. No prediction was made for the group that spent the most time alone. Two sets of three t-tests were employed to test Hypothesis 5. One set was based on the daughters' introjected autonomy score and the other on the daughters' view of their autonomy in relation to mother. The first test in each set compared those freshmen who spent the largest amount of free time with friends to all others, the second compared those who spent that time with family to all others, and the third compared those who spent that time alone with all others. The results for introjected autonomy are presented in Table 18.

Table 18

<u>The Relationship of Free Time to Introjected Autonomy</u>						
<u>T-test</u>	Mean	N	SD	t	DF	P
Most with Friends	-21.26	54	25.71	.63	92.37	NS
All Others	-24.74	47	29.28			
Most with Family	-20.37	35	23.21	.72	84.46	NS
All Others	-24.21	66	29.39			
Most Alone	-32.27	11	38.59	-.88	11.11	NS
All Others	-21.73	90	25.70			

As the table indicates, the predictions of this hypothesis were not supported for any of the tests of introjected autonomy. An inspection of the means reveals that the average weighted introjected autonomy scores for daughters who spent the most free time with friends was highest (-20.37), followed by those who spent that time with family (-21.26), and, finally, those who spent it alone (-32.27).

For the autonomy in relation to mother score (presented below in Table 19), the contrast between the group that spent the most time with family and all others (means of 1.26 and 17.02, respectively) was significant in the predicted direction ( $p = .02$ ). The contrast for the group that spent the most time with friends and all others (means of 15.83 and 6.64, respectively) nearly reached the .05 level of significance ( $p = .089$ ). The result for the test comparing those who spent the most time alone to all others (means of 20.27 and 10.49, respectively) was not significant, but that group did show the highest autonomy in relation to mother score (20.27).

Table 19

## The Relationship of Free Time to Autonomy in Relation to Mother

<u>T-test</u>	Mean	N	SD	t	DF	P
Most with Friends	15.83	54	32.63	1.36	94.75	.089
All Others	6.64	47	35.08			
Most with Family	1.26	35	29.98	-2.37	78.97	.02
All Others	17.02	66	34.84			
Most Alone	20.27	11	46.39	.68	11.21	NS
All Others	10.49	90	32.27			

Because the first set of groups was based on only partial use of the information available (the rank of 1), a second approach was developed that more specifically defined the groups using all of the rank orderings. These six groups were defined as:

Free Time Spent	First	Second	Third
Group 1	family	friends	alone
Group 2	family	alone	friends
Group 3	friends	family	alone
Group 4	friends	alone	family
Group 5	alone	family	friends
Group 6	alone	friends	family

Twelve of the daughters did not rank order the list; indicating, instead, with one "x" how they spent most of their free time. They were not included in this grouping. Analyses of variance were done on these groups with the dependent variables of daughters' introjected autonomy and daughters' view of autonomy in relation to mother. The results of these procedures are found in Table 20.

Again, the predictions of the hypothesis were not supported for the tests of introjected autonomy. Inspection of the means reveals very little difference among the average scores for Groups 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6 (-20.24, -23.80, -23.03, -24.38, -24.11, respectively). The mean of Group 5 (those who spent their time in the order alone, family, friends) is, however, much lower (-69.00).

The results of the one-way analysis of variance on the autonomy in relation to mother score approached the .05 level of significance ( $p = .0804$ ). The means were rank-ordered as follows:

Table 20

One-way Analysis of Variance on the Relationship of  
Free Time to Autonomy

ANOVA	Mean	N	SD	F	P
<u>Introjected Autonomy</u>					
Group 1	-20.24	29	22.19	1.230	NS
Group 2	-23.80	5	32.95		
Group 3	-23.03	36	25.92		
Group 4	-24.38	8	31.78		
Group 5	-69.00	2	48.08		
Group 6	-24.11	9	34.06		
<u>Autonomy in Relation to Mother</u>					
Group 1	2.79	29	28.37	2.047	.0804
Group 2	-12.40	5	40.14		
Group 3	-13.00	36	29.73		
Group 4	-32.13	8	44.88		
Group 5	- 9.50	2	7.78		
Group 6	26.89	9	49.11		

Groups RankingMean

friends, alone, family	32.13
alone, friends, family	26.89
friends, family, alone	13.00
family, friends, alone	2.79
alone, family, friends	- 9.50
family, alone, friends	-12.40

Inspection of the means reveals that the greatest autonomy in relation to mother was expressed by those groups who spent their free time during high school mainly with friends and alone and, thus, ranked family third. The lowest autonomy was associated with those who spent that time with family and alone, ranking friends in the third position.

In conclusion, this hypothesis was not supported with respect to daughters' introjected autonomy, but it did receive some support in the area of daughters' autonomy in relation to mother. In the latter, the prediction that those who spent the most time with family would experience less autonomy than the others was upheld at the .02 level of significance. Further, there was a trend that indicated that those daughters who spent most of their free time with friends would show greater autonomy than the others ( $p = .089$ ). The results of the tests based on all three rankings lend support to these findings (at non-significant levels) from a different angle. The difference is viewing the results in terms of the ways the daughters spent the least amount of their free time rather than the most. Those findings indicate that it was those daughters who ranked family last that reported the most autonomy and those who rated friends third that reported the least.

## DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study is to investigate the process of separation from mothers that takes place when late adolescent daughters leave home for college. The basic question of the study is: What aspects of the mother-daughter relationship affect the amount of autonomy the daughter experiences at this important transitional time? More specific points of interest involve the relationship between the daughters' autonomy and their perceived similarity to their mothers, the accuracy of their perception of their mothers and their mothers' perceptions of them, and the amount of internalized autonomy their mothers experience. Also of interest is the relationship of the mothers' ability to foster autonomy in their daughters to the mothers' sense of internalized autonomy and to their employment experiences. The final focus of the study is the relationship between the daughters' autonomy and the ways they chose to spend their free time during high school.

This study, then, focuses entirely on autonomy, excluding any analysis of affiliation. As such, it represents only one slice (though a major one) of the process of separation. In the Methods section, it was noted that the decision to focus on autonomy alone was viewed as necessary to simplify the project. It was also stated that autonomy was selected because of its presumed importance in the process of separation and its lesser susceptibility to social desirability factors. In looking at the major, global processes of separation, identification, and accuracy

of perception, then, this study focuses on the behavioral manifestations of autonomy as measured by the SASB and the simple report questions.

Introjected Autonomy, Autonomy in Relation to  
Mother, and the Relationship between  
the Two

As noted specifically earlier and evident throughout the Results section, the tests of the hypotheses of this study were conducted on two quite different autonomy scores, the introjected autonomy score and the autonomy in relation to mother score. As a prelude to the discussion of the results of those tests, some effort must be made to understand the concepts the two scores represent and their relationship.

The introjected autonomy score is intended to be a measure of an internalized sense of autonomy--it is the person's own view of the autonomous behaviors that he/she currently experiences with respect to himself/herself, e.g., "I feel solid, integrated, together, acceptant of my inner core." In Figure 2, Benjamin notes that it is the "introject of other to self." As described earlier, the introject, results from the taking in of the experience of others to one's self. In other words, the interpersonal experience with others is transformed into an intrapsychic way of being with one's self. Thus, introjected or internalized autonomy (the two terms are used interchangeably in this paper) is quite a complex phenomenon. It is complex because it involves the internalization of many experiences and relationships, of which the relationship to mother, however important, is only one. The initial assumption of this study, that the daughters' introjected autonomy would have some direct or clearcut connection to their relationship to their mothers, appears to

be too simple. Furthermore, it is not possible on the basis of the data in this study to define the various contributors to the daughters' sense of internalized autonomy or the size of their contributions. Understanding this, however, may be of use in explaining the differences in results obtained from using the two autonomy scores.

In approaching these differences, it is also important to keep in mind that, for most of the women in this study, interdependence in the form of introjected control, rather than autonomy, has been internalized. That is, the mean scores for both mothers and daughters in this sample fall on the interdependence side of the dimension. As indicated in the Results section, the method of recruitment may have biased these findings. One possibility suggested was that students were attracted to the study because they felt they had good, close relationships with their mothers and that the closeness involved interdependence. A second possibility involved the timing of the study and the hypothesis that the more autonomous students may have already filled their participation requirements and, thus, may not have been interested in taking part in this study.

In addition to the possible relationship of this finding to subject recruitment, the author wondered initially if the introjected control (interdependence) was related to the traditional social roles assigned to women. The only norms available at the time of this writing reveal that, in the one study reported, both male and female medical students and psychiatric patients reported behaviors that averaged on the interdependence side of the axis. Thus, the available norms do not point to such a difference. It seems to the author, however, that it would be

both interesting and important to investigate any sex-related differences in this form of autonomy.

The impact of the findings that interdependence rather than autonomy has been introjected by most subjects in this study and that internalized autonomy is more complex than originally thought is to cast some doubt on the meaning and/or validity of the concept of internalized autonomy (in contrast to introjected interdependence or control), at least as measured in this study by this score. Further questions about the issue will be raised as necessary in the discussion that follows.

In contrast to the introjected autonomy score, the autonomy in relation to mother score seems to be simpler and more direct. As noted earlier, it is a measure of the behaviors that the daughter states that she currently engages in with respect to her mother. It is, therefore, a measure of one specific relationship where the object is clearly identified. As such, it seems unlikely that the score that represents this concept would be as influenced by other relationships as the introjected autonomy score is. Autonomy in relation to mother is also more direct than introjected autonomy in that it does not involve the additional step of internalization of the experience of the other.

The relationship between these two forms of autonomy is not specifically defined by Benjamin and can, thus, only be speculated about. Looking at the concepts from a very general and long-range perspective, it seems likely that introjected autonomy ultimately encompasses autonomy in relation to mother and all other significant persons. At any

particular point in time, however, it appears that the relationship between the two forms of autonomy is highly interactive. In late adolescence, for instance, the number of autonomous behaviors a daughter engages in with respect to her mother would certainly be influenced by the strength of her sense of internalized autonomy. Similarly, the autonomy that she feels with respect to herself would be affected by the autonomy that she has expressed to her mother. It seems, then, that the two forms of autonomy are interactive, but that it is not possible to specify the exact nature of the relationship at any particular point in time--at least not on the basis of the data in this study. Further work in the area of the development of internalized autonomy and the relationship between this internal sense and the autonomy experienced in relating to significant others needs to be done. Specific questions about this issue will be addressed as appropriate in the discussion of the individual hypotheses.

#### Autonomy and Identification as Perceived Similarity

As indicated earlier, identification is a complex process involving many phenomena, only one of which (perceived similarity) is under investigation in this study. Perceived similarity is defined in this study as the correlation between the daughter's ratings of her own behaviors and the daughter's ratings of her mother's behavior. As such, it is the daughter's perception of the similarity between herself and her mother. The results of this study do not support the predictions of Hypothesis 1 that the daughters who scored high and low on autonomy

would show greater identification (perceived similarity) with their mothers than those in the mid-range. Inspection of the means for both the SASB and self-report measures (summarized in Table 21) reveals some interesting patterns, however.

For introjected autonomy, the pattern on both measures is that those in the high and mid-range autonomy groups show greater perceived similarity than those in the low autonomy groups. For autonomy in relation to mother, the pattern is that those high on autonomy in relation to mother show less perceived similarity than those in the mid-range or low autonomy groups.

Before commenting on the implications of the results, the issue of the two measures of identification must be addressed. As noted in the Results section, the correlation between the two identification measures (SASB and self-report) is .495 ( $p = .001$ ). This indicates that about 25% of the variability in the SASB measure is shared with the self-report measure. The two techniques for assessing perceived similarity are, then, tapping the same material to that significant, but quite limited extent. The differences between the measures may be related to the more global and clearly self-report nature of the second. Inferences from the test results need to be made with an awareness of these differences.

The predictions of this hypothesis were based, largely, on the results of Jill Allen's dissertation. The theoretical notions behind them were: those daughters who rated high on autonomy would have already separated and would, therefore, be in a "rapprochement" phase with their mothers and would show greater identification (like Allen's identity

Table 21

The Means of the Analyses of Variance Tests on the Relationship  
between Identification and Autonomy

Variable	Group 1 (High Autonomy)	Group 2 (Mid-range)	Group 3 (Low)
Identification Correlation with Introjected Autonomy	1.0618	1.0837	.7965
Identification Correlation with Autonomy in Relation to Mother	.8963	1.0255	1.0153
Self-report Identification with Introjected Autonomy	4.6970	4.6765	4.4706
Self-report Identification with Autonomy in Relation to Mother	4.0303	4.7059	5.0882

achievement group); those low on autonomy would not have separated yet and would, therefore, maintain the higher identification of the pre-separation period (as Allen's foreclosure daughters did); and those in the mid-range would be in the process of separating themselves from their mothers and would, therefore, show less identification with them (Allen's moratorium group).

The discrepancy between the results of this study and Allen's may have several causes. First of all, the measurements of identification are quite different although they are all based on the notion of similarity. Allen used the Interpersonal Adjective Checklist and measured identification as mother-daughter profile similarity. In this study, the identification was assessed entirely from the daughters' perspective. As described above, the identification correlation was the match between the daughter's view of herself and her view of her mother. The self-report assessment of identification was also based on the daughters' perspective only. It was their general view of the similarity between them and their mothers. In addition to the difference in perspective, the measurement techniques also differ in what they measured. Allen used adjectives or attributes that describe personality traits, the SASB identification correlations are based on statements about behaviors, and the self-report is one global rating.

A second area that may account for the differences is the subjects' ages. Allen's daughter subjects ranged in age from 19 to 23 and represented all four years of college, while the subjects in this study were all 18 or 19 and college freshmen. The differences in age

present several possible reasons for the differences in results. One possibility is that the subjects in this study, who had all arrived at the University nine weeks prior to participating in the study, were still so involved in the separation process that individual differences were masked by the intensity of their common experience or, perhaps, the demands and excitement of adjustment to University life had left them little time to think about the process of separation.

The brief nine-week time period may also indicate that these daughters were still in the process of grieving their separation and that autonomy could not develop until a later date when the grieving was completed. Using Schneider's model (1981) of the grieving process, these daughters could have been involved in the "holding on/letting go" stage--where their early reaction to the separation was either to experience the depth of their interdependence (holding on) or to deny the importance of the relationship and focus entirely on their independence (letting go). In either case, the daughter would be unable to experience any true or lasting autonomy. The daughters' paragraphs at the end of the behavioral inventory, which focus on their reactions to the process of leaving home, lend some support to this possibility. Many daughters spontaneously commented that leaving home made them realize how much their families meant to them and how much they missed them. Another large group indicated that they were enjoying the separation because of the freedom and independence they experienced.

In summary, the age differences between the subjects in the two studies may account for the different results in that the daughters in

this study were all in the very early stage of physical separation with its attendant excitement and grief.

Developing the issue of the age difference further leads to a second, related possibility. The younger age of the daughters in this study may invalidate the assumption that was made about the relationship between the groups of the two studies: that the high autonomy group of this study would be comparable to Allen's identity achievement group, the mid-range to the moratorium group, and the low autonomy group to her foreclosure group. Because of the differences in ages between the two sets of subjects, the groups may be in different stages of the process of separation and, therefore, the findings about autonomy may not be comparable. For instance, the daughters high on autonomy in this study may, because of their younger ages, be in the moratorium phase or the process of separating from mother rather than the identity achievement or rapprochement stage.

If that is the case, a second look at the results of this study may show more support for Allen's results than originally thought. As noted above, inspection of the means reveals that both tests based on the daughter's view of her autonomy in relationship to her mother follow the same pattern: the medium and low autonomy groups show greater identification scores and the high autonomy groups show much smaller identification scores. (This pattern is observed for both the SASB and simple report scores with respect to autonomy in relationship to mother.) Since the basis for this autonomy rating is the daughter's view of her behavior to her mother, the daughters who rate high on this score may well be the ones who are in the process of separating or

distancing themselves from their mothers. This view is based on an idea that the scores depicting the process of separating from mother might be best represented by a curve in which the greatest amount of autonomy in relation to mother occurs at a point when distance from mother is most crucial to the development of a separate sense of self. Those daughters who have already achieved their own sense of identity might show lower autonomy in relation to mother scores because they would no longer require as much distance from their mothers and, therefore, could acknowledge the behavioral aspects of their relationships that involve interdependence. The low identification (perceived similarity) scores of the daughters experiencing the greatest autonomy in relation to mother would, then, reflect the process of distancing, the need to see one's self as being separate or different from mother. This result parallels what Allen discovered about the moratorium daughters in her study. They were also the ones involved in the process of distancing themselves and they also showed less identification with mothers than the other groups.

For introjected autonomy, the identification correlation was found to be high and quite close for those in the high and mid-range groups and lower for those in the low group. The three self-report means followed the same pattern, although they were very close in size. Introjected autonomy, then, also relates to perceived similarity in a way that is very different from the original prediction. The discrepancy may be based on the concept of internalized autonomy and its possible lack of meaning for the women in this study. As pointed out earlier, that lack of meaning is suggested by the finding that

interdependence is more likely to be internalized than autonomy. The actual relationship between interdependence and perceived similarity may, then, be very different from the one predicted for internalized autonomy. That difference may account for the discrepancy between the predicted and the actual findings. A second possibility is that this measure of internalized autonomy (as is) may only become relevant with respect to this form of identification when it is studied at a more advanced stage, perhaps at the end of the separation process. In that case, the discrepancy between the predicted and the actual results would be due to the point in the separation process that the study focused on.

A third possible reason for the discrepancy assumes that the pattern identified does have meaning for the separation process as measured in this study. If so, the implication is that relative autonomy or decreased interdependence in its internalized form depends to an extent on identification at this stage of development. Perhaps identification is an important "bottom line" on which internalized autonomy is built. Those freshman women who report high interdependence may do so because they do not identify with their mothers and are, therefore, lacking a basis on which to build a sense of internal autonomy during the very transitional time of leaving home. Take, for instance, those women who are beginning college and planning professional careers, but whose mothers have not gone to college or had careers. The identification of the daughter with the mother in these cases might be quite low. At the stage of transition in which these women were involved at the time of the study, this lack of identification could be experienced as a real lack in grounding that leaves them

feeling quite insecure and, therefore, experiencing themselves as highly interdependent.

In summary, the results of this study indicate that strong identification with mother (in the form of high perceived similarity) is associated with high and mid-range introjected autonomy and low autonomy in relation to mother. The most likely reason for the introjected autonomy finding is that identification is an important base line on which this form of autonomy is built. The second finding, regarding autonomy in relation to mother, is best explained by the stage in the process of separation that the daughters in this sample were involved in at the time of the data collection. It seems likely that those experiencing high autonomy were in the process of distancing themselves from their mothers and, thus, perceiving themselves as different or separate from the mothers (resulting in low perceived similarity scores).

#### Autonomy and Accuracy of Perception

For the accuracy of perception measure based on the SASB, the results of this study supported both parts of Hypothesis 2 for the daughters' introjected autonomy. The findings were that (a) daughters who most accurately perceive their mothers do show higher introjected autonomy than those who least accurately perceive them, and (b) the daughters of mothers who most accurately perceive them do show higher introjected autonomy than those whose mothers least accurately perceive them. With respect to the daughters' autonomy in relationship to mother score, there were no statistically significant findings, but inspection

of the means revealed the opposite effect--least accuracy by both mothers and daughters was associated with highest autonomy for the daughters.

Before commenting on the results of the tests based on the simple report accuracy of perception measure, the ways in which this technique differs from that derived from the SASB need to be considered. First, the SASB accuracy of perception measure compared the daughter's view of her mother to her mother's self-view, while the simple report is the mother's estimate of the accuracy of her daughter's perception (that is, the mother evaluates the accuracy of her daughter's view). In both cases, the mother is used as the standard of reference for accuracy but, in the simple report measure, this use is only implicit. It is implicit in that it is based on the assumption that the mother evaluates the accuracy of her daughter's perception by comparing it to her own view of herself. The simple report measure is also different from the SASB in that it is based on the mother's estimate rather than a comparison of data from both mother and daughter. As such, it is the mother's opinion of the daughter's accuracy and nothing more. This opinion is, of course, a global impression and that is the final way in which this measure differs from the SASB method. The simple report is one general estimate, whereas the correlation is based on 72 pairs of items.

The differences between these two measures of accuracy of perception show up clearly in the correlations between them. The mothers' accuracy ratings show a correlation of .3097, while the correlation for the daughters' accuracy ratings is .3896. Although

both are significant at the .001 level, the correlations indicate that only about 9% and 16% (respectively) of the variability of the SASB measure is shared with the simple report measure. Like the instruments used to measure identification, these techniques are, to a large extent, measuring the concept of accuracy of perception in different ways and this must be acknowledged in drawing inferences.

The results of the tests based on the simple report technique are, then, as follows. First, the prediction of the hypothesis concerning the daughters' estimate of their mothers' accuracy was nearly supported for daughters' introjected autonomy; that is, there was a trend ( $p = .0895$ ) that indicated that the daughters who view their mothers to be most accurate in perceiving them experience the highest introjected autonomy. The comparison of the mothers' high and low accuracy groups also was significant ( $p = .0355$ ) for the daughter's view of her autonomy in relationship to mother, but in the reverse direction; that is, the daughters whose mothers are seen by daughters to be most accurate experience the least autonomy in relation to mother. No significant results were found for the daughters' accuracy, but the patterns were the same: high accuracy was associated with high introjected autonomy and low autonomy in relation to mother.

The results of this study with respect to Hypothesis 2 can, then, be summarized as follows:

For introjected autonomy, the predictions are upheld as anticipated: high accuracy of perception is associated with high autonomy. (In the four tests that compared high and low accuracy groups, two showed significant results and one showed near-significance.)

For the daughters' view of autonomy in relationship to mother, the pattern appears to be the reverse: least accurate perception is associated with high autonomy. (Significance is reached in only one of the four tests.)

The differences between the results for the two autonomy scores is intriguing. The results of the tests on daughters' autonomy in relation to mother coincide with Allen's findings about maternal accuracy. She concluded that maternal accuracy of perception was important in the early childhood separation-individuation, but not in late adolescent separation. Furthermore, she hypothesized that late adolescent daughters might "not allow their mothers to know them very well during this period in order to facilitate separation" (1976, p. 92). If this is the case, it appears that maternal inaccuracy of perception plays an important role in the late adolescent separation process.

In addition to supporting Allen's hypothesis (albeit, partly at non-statistically significant levels) about maternal accuracy, this study also suggests that the daughters who are least accurate in their perceptions of their mothers are most autonomous in their relationships to them. It seems very possible that this difference is, similarly, a part of separation. For some daughters, distancing from mother may also be achieved by inaccurately perceiving her, for at least a time. Perhaps, during this stage of development, then, daughters both hide themselves from their mothers and hide their mothers, as they really are, from themselves in order to facilitate the necessary separation.

The support that the predictions received with respect to introjected autonomy underscores, again, the difference between these two forms of autonomy. As mentioned earlier, there is some question about the introjected autonomy score in general and its meaning for this sample. The introject is mainly of interdependence and that may change what should be expected from the relationship of this score to accuracy of perception. If the introjected autonomy score is meaningful, this study shows that greater accuracy of perception by both mothers and daughters is associated with the development of higher internalized autonomy in the daughters. The suggestion in such a case is that internalized autonomy involves accuracy of perception, seeing things/people as they really are. One explanation of this finding is viewing introjected autonomy as the end of the process of separation and, thus, at a more developmentally advanced stage than the part of the process that is associated with high scores for daughters' autonomy in relation to mother. High accuracy of perception would, then, become important after the separation from mother is completed because the inaccurate perception would have served its purpose and could be put aside. This possibility seems consistent with the notion of rapprochement, the coming together after distancing. Perhaps, the process of putting the inaccurate perception aside is, even, part of the rapprochement. The viability of this argument for this study is, however, limited in that the daughters in this sample are more likely to be involved in (than to have completed) the process of separating from their mothers.

Perhaps, then, the accuracy of perception is involved as predicted in the process of separation itself--with respect to internalized autonomy. If that is the case, this finding seems quite similar to that of the first hypothesis, which indicated the importance of the daughters' relationship to her mother as a base line on which internalized autonomy is built. For this hypothesis, it seems that the base line is that accurate views of mother by daughter and daughter by mother are important in the development of internalized autonomy, even though they are not important in the same way for the experience of autonomy in relation to mother.

In summary, the results of this study suggest that high accuracy of perception by mothers and daughters is associated with high introjected autonomy for daughters while low accuracy of perception by both groups is associated with high autonomy in relationship to mother. The most likely explanation for the former is, once again, the base line idea--accuracy of perception may be one of the foundations on which internalized autonomy is built. The latter finding about autonomy in relation to mother suggests that, in the process of separating from mother, daughters go through a time when they neither perceive their mothers accurately nor allow their mothers to perceive them accurately.

#### The Effects of Mothers' Autonomy

The results of this study do not support the prediction of the first part of the third hypothesis, that mothers who demonstrate high introjected autonomy will more readily foster the development of

autonomy ("give autonomy"--mothers' Series B, focus on other; daughters' Series A, focus on other) in their daughters. The second prediction, that daughters of mothers who demonstrate high introjected autonomy will demonstrate higher introjected autonomy than the other daughters is, however, supported. In an additional test, those daughters also demonstrated higher autonomy in relation to mother.

Though there are no statistically significant results for the tests of the first prediction, the patterns of the means for the tests are interesting. From the mothers' view, there is very little difference in the amount of autonomy giving behavior among the three groups (high, medium, and low introjected autonomy). This pattern suggests the possibility that mother's behaviors of giving autonomy do not depend on their introjected autonomy, but on another factor, perhaps on their sense of appropriate parenting, on an idealized view of autonomy, or on the daughters' behavior. The appropriate parenting factor suggests that there is a certain amount of autonomy that mothers think "should" be given to young women at this particular point in time. That amount is probably at least partially determined by sociocultural influences. The second suggestion, the idealized view of autonomy, could involve either a very positive or a very negative perspective. The positive might be summarized by "I never had a chance for independence, so I'll make sure my daughter does." The negative, on the other hand, might be based on such thinking as "I've always had to be so grown-up and strong, I won't let my daughter suffer as I have." The third possible factor, the daughters' behavior, could also influence mothers' autonomy-giving behaviors in both positive and negative directions. Daughters whose autonomous or interdependent behaviors result in positive

experiences for mother and/or daughter may be encouraged by their mothers to continue in those behaviors, while those mothers that experience negative results for themselves and/or their daughters may discourage the problematic autonomous or interdependent behaviors. For instance, daughters whose autonomy leads to late night drinking parties may be consciously and purposefully given less autonomy by their mothers. On the other hand, mothers who enjoy their daughters' interdependence with them may give their daughters less autonomy than others in an attempt to maintain the interdependence.

From the daughters' view (measured by the daughters' Series A, focus on other), it is the mothers low on autonomy who give the most. This finding suggests an attempt by low introjected autonomy mothers to compensate for their own lack or to insure that their daughters will have what they didn't, as in the "I didn't have independence, but my daughter will" stance. Or, perhaps, (taking a less positive view) those women are fearful of the interdependence their daughters might feel toward them because they do not perceive themselves as strong enough to be depended upon. Perhaps, they are afraid that such interdependence would lock them into a particular form of the mothering role that they do not care to assume. These mothers may, then, encourage their daughters' autonomy to prevent the feared interdependence.

When the lack of results in mothers' giving autonomy is taken together with the daughters' experience of high autonomy, several more possible explanations for the results of the tests of this hypothesis come into focus. One possibility is that the critical factor in

transmitting autonomy may not be how one behaves in terms of giving autonomy (at least as measured by this particular instrument), but rather what one is (as represented by the introject, one's behaviors with respect to one's self). This explanation seems to reverse the directive of the popular adage, "Do what I say, not what I do" to "Be what I am, don't respond to how I behave to you." In this study, the daughters do follow their mothers' leads in "being what they are" in that the daughters of mothers who rate high on introjected autonomy report high introjected autonomy for themselves and high autonomy in relation to mother scores. It appears, then, that the autonomy of the mothers and the daughters are directly linked by some factor. The most likely factor seems to be to be modeling--daughters learn to be autonomous, in part, because of the examples their mothers offer them. The findings may also indicate that daughters whose mothers are more autonomous feel freer to express their own autonomy, perhaps because it is less likely to be perceived as a threat to such mothers than to those without much sense of internal autonomy.

Another explanation for the lack of results in mothers' giving autonomy scores, together with the daughters' experience of high autonomy, is that autonomy may be "taken" by daughters rather than "given" by mothers. Again, the suggestion is that autonomy giving behaviors may be much less relevant than originally hypothesized in this study. This explanation also seems to reinforce the conclusion suggested above, that daughters whose mothers are more autonomous may be in a better position to express, or in this case to take, their own autonomy. The reason, again, is that the taking of autonomy by the

daughters would be less likely to be perceived as a threat or a negative experience by more autonomous mothers.

Developing this concept further (and quite speculatively), it may be the case that being "given" autonomy actually makes the process of becoming autonomous more problematic. Perhaps the giving of autonomy interferes with the taking of it--and thus inhibits the process of separation. This explanation focuses on the active role the adolescent must assume in deciding to become autonomous and implementing the decision. Such a focus is clearly different from the original idea of this study which centered on the passive reception of autonomy that is given. The importance of the adolescent's active role of taking autonomy is, once again, underscored.

As is the case for the first two hypotheses, the discussion about internal autonomy must be placed in the actual context of less interdependence. The implication for this hypothesis is that less internal interdependence for mothers is associated with less interdependence for their daughters. The importance of a base line or foundation on which the daughters' sense of internal autonomy develops is again suggested.

In summary, the results of this study suggest that mothers' behaviors of giving autonomy do not depend on their own internalized sense of autonomy, but on some other factor--perhaps, a sense of appropriate parenting, an idealized view of autonomy, or the daughter's behavior. The mothers' internal sense of autonomy is, however, associated with their daughters' experience of both internal autonomy and autonomy in relation to mother. These associations suggest the

possibilities that modeling and/or freedom for the daughter to express or take her own independence are involved in her acquisition of autonomy.

#### The Effect of Mothers' Employment Outside the Home

There was no support for the prediction that mothers employed outside the home at any time would currently foster the growth of autonomy in their daughters more than those who have not been/are not. Inspection of the means of the three tests that result in significant differences reveal that in each case the mothers who stayed home currently give more autonomy. (Please note that fourteen t-tests were performed and, thus, it could be expected that one of the findings of significance might well be based on chance alone. The .05 level of significance would clearly lead to that conclusion for one out of twenty tests.)

The general lack of support for this hypothesis may have several causes. First, the hypothesis was intended to be a more specific variation of the first part of Hypothesis 3, using what was thought to be a behavioral dimension of autonomy, employment outside the home. The results of these tests are, basically, the same as for that part of Hypothesis 3--no effect in the predicted direction on "give" autonomy behaviors. The "give" autonomy behaviors, then, do not seem to depend on this specific behavioral measure of autonomy any more than they did on mothers' introjected autonomy. Possible reasons for the lack of relationship were suggested in the discussion of Hypothesis 3.

A second possibility for the lack of support for this hypothesis is related to the fact that the meaning and quality of the employment of these mothers was not taken into consideration. Perhaps for many of the working mothers, the outside employment was not a result of personal choice, but of economic necessity. In these cases, it seems likely that the employment was not related positively to the mothers' own experience of autonomy or to their autonomy-giving potential.

Another possibility is that these employed mothers may have been very conflicted about their employment and the time it caused them to spend away from their children and that this conflict may still influence their autonomy giving behaviors. For instance, some mothers may feel guilty about the time spent away from their children and, thus, work very hard at, perhaps even overdo, the process of mothering, especially those aspects that involve interdependence. The reversal for those who worked outside the home when their daughters were very young (aged 2 to 5 and 6 to 12)--the then-employed mothers now give less autonomy in their daughters' view--seems consistent with this possibility.

The question of quality of employment may also have been an important factor to consider. Job type and job satisfaction, in particular, seem likely to be influential in this regard. It is difficult to imagine, for instance, that a mother employed as a clerical worker (the modal occupation in this sample) and constantly under someone else's direction would feel particularly autonomous as an individual or be in a position to foster autonomy in her daughter.

On the other hand, the generally higher autonomy-giving scores by the mothers who worked at home only may reflect their desire to give their daughters more autonomy than they themselves have experienced. Women feeling trapped by their role definitions as wives and mothers may encourage their daughters to act autonomously or give them more autonomy in the hope that the daughters will avoid their mothers' trap. They may also give more autonomy because they are so overwhelmed by their own mothering responsibilities that they are eager for a part of the responsibility to diminish by having the daughter grow up. Perhaps the mothers also get some vicarious satisfaction from the daughters' autonomy. An example of this last possibility is found in the mother/daughter relationship of a friend of the author. The daughter, oldest of twelve children, was encouraged by her mother (clearly overwhelmed by her mothering responsibility) to travel extensively when still an adolescent. The mother seemed to derive some vicarious pleasure from sending her daughter out into the world when the mother herself was largely confined to her home and her children.

In summary, the results of this study suggest that mothers' autonomy giving behaviors are not related to their employment outside the home; in fact, those mothers working at home only quite consistently give more autonomy to their daughters. Possible explanations for this unpredicted result center on the meaning and quality of the outside employment and the reasons mothers' working at home only may encourage autonomy.

The lack of a positive relationship between mothers' employment outside the home and their autonomy giving behaviors is intriguing. It

is the speculation of the author that this finding will change as the effects of the women's movement take hold and more women decide to work because they want to and find satisfying jobs. (It may, in fact, already be the case for younger working mothers.) Such change, of course, assumes that there will be a meaningful job available for every woman who seeks employment, which is certainly not the norm in our society. Many people, of course, spend their lives working at jobs that pay the bills, but give them very little personal satisfaction or reward. Furthermore, the likelihood of obtaining meaningful employment at this point in time, when the nation's economy is in such difficult straits, is even more limited. Until the economic situation improves, the desire to have a satisfying job may, in fact, become another source of stress for women because such jobs may simply not be available. In that case, it seems likely that job-oriented women will continue to be stymied in their ability to give autonomy to their daughters.

#### The Effects of Ways of Spending Free Time

For autonomy in relation to mother, the prediction that those women who had spent the most time with family would have lower scores was upheld. The prediction about those women who had spent the most time with friends (their autonomy scores would be higher) showed near significance. There was no support of the predictions for introjected autonomy.

The results of the additional analyses of variance indicated that there was not much difference among the means of introjected autonomy for the groups that rated family or friends highest. In the test for autonomy in relation to mother (see Table 19), which resulted in near-significance, inspection of the means reveals that the greatest autonomy in relation to mother was expressed by those groups who spent their free time during high school mainly with friends and alone and, thus, ranked family third. The lowest autonomy was associated with those who spent that time with family and alone, ranking friends in the third position.

In general, then, the results of this study with regard to autonomy in relation to mother do offer support (at levels of significance and near-significance) for the predictions of the hypothesis and the conclusions of the Douvan and Adelson study--that adolescents who spend more time with friends will show greater autonomy and those who spend more time with family will show less autonomy than the others. In addition, this study introduces the very interesting factor of time alone, which will be discussed in detail later. This study, then, differentiated the ways of spending time further than Douvan and Adelson did. The fact that their results receive support even when another category is included underscores the importance of the factors of spending time with family and friends as indicators of autonomy or the lack of it.

As noted above, there was no support for the predictions with respect to introjected autonomy. The difference in findings may be a result, as indicated throughout this study, of the lack of meaning of

the score or concept of internalized autonomy for this sample. The difference may also be related to the concepts of autonomy represented. It seems likely that methods of spending free time would have a more direct impact on the autonomy in relation to mother score because it specifically names a parent as the object of the separation, whereas the internalized autonomy score is much more complex and general. For instance, if the adolescent is spending time with friends in order to break the bond with her parents, it seems likely that she would experience greater autonomy with respect to her mother. However, it is not as clear what the effect would be on internalized autonomy. Shifting between the two primary reference groups may involve insecurity and, thus, have a limited or, even, a negative effect on internalized autonomy. In this study, the result seems to be a limited effect as the first four groups (those who rate family or friends in the first position) show very little difference with respect to internalized autonomy. When the shift and the separation from parents are completed, one would, of course, expect greater internalized autonomy to result. However, as noted earlier, it is unlikely that the daughters in this sample have completed that separation process.

The lack of difference among the first four groups with respect to introjected autonomy may be viewed from another perspective--that relationships with either family or friends are sufficient for developing introjected autonomy. The reason may be that social acceptability or success with either group provides an important base line condition on which introjected autonomy is built. (See below for discussion of the results for Groups 5 and 6.)

To answer the exploratory question about the effect of time alone on autonomy, the rankings of the second analysis of variance, which focused on autonomy in relation to mother deserve another look. Those means were rank-ordered as follows: (this rank-ordering was initially presented on page 77 without the group numbers, which are now added for the convenience of quick identification in the next few pages of the text)

<u>Group's Ranking</u>	<u>Mean</u>
friends, alone, family (Group 4)	32.13
alone, friends, family (Group 6)	26.89
friends, family, alone (Group 3)	13.00
family, friends, alone (Group 1)	2.79
alone, family, friends (Group 5)	- 9.50
family, alone, friends (Group 2)	-12.40

As indicated in the Results section, the two highest means belong to the groups that rated family last, with friends and alone in the first and second positions; the mid-range means to those who rated alone last with friends and family in those positions; and the lowest means to those who rated friends last, with family and alone as first and second. These three sets of pairs are interesting in that they seem to suggest three general types of adolescent life-style.

The first group appears to be relatively independent of family, to experience ease in relation to friends, and to enjoy time alone. The second pair of groups suggests young women who are not as independent from family, but who also experience ease in forming friendships. They do not spend much time alone, perhaps because they are uncomfortable with it or are more other-oriented. The final pair suggests those adolescents who are quite dependent on family, experience relative difficulty with friends, and probably spend time alone more

because of shyness than choice. Again, from this perspective, the associations of more time with friends and greater autonomy and more time with family and less autonomy are clear.

But what about those who rated alone first? Group 6 (alone, friends, family) has the second highest autonomy in relation to mother score and Group 5 (alone, family, friends) has the second lowest score. The same pattern holds for introjected autonomy--Group 6's score was quite close to the other means, while Group 5's mean was much lower. From the differences in the means, it does seem likely that these scores represent two very different groups of people. As suggested above, the nine daughters in Group 6 may be relatively independent individuals who enjoy their time alone and do not have particular difficulty developing friendships or experience much dependence on family. There are only two members in Group 5 (scores of -35.00 and -103.00); it is, therefore, difficult to generalize about them. It seems probable, however, that they would fit the description of shy, withdrawing adolescents who have trouble making friends and, therefore, spend much of their time with family members.

The effect of time alone, then, appears to be rather complex. By one measure, those daughters report the lowest introjected autonomy scores and the highest autonomy in relation to mother scores. When they are studied further, however, two groups actually seem to be involved--one that pairs time alone with friends and experiences high autonomy and the other that pairs time alone with family and experiences low autonomy. Thus, the conclusion seems to be that the effect of time alone depends on what it's paired with and, by implication, the style of life that it represents. Based on the implied

life-style differences, it seems probable that it is a case of choosing and enjoying time alone or requiring it because of shyness and withdrawal.

In summary, the results of this study indicate that, as predicted, daughters who spent most of their free time in high school with friends experience greater autonomy in relation to their mothers as they begin college, while those who spent that time with family experience less of this type of autonomy. Such differences are not observed for daughters' internalized autonomy. The major explanation of this lack of differences centers on the late adolescent shift from family to friends as primary reference group. It is hypothesized that these daughters are in the process of that shift and that the effect of the change on internalized autonomy will not be clear until the process is completed.

The effect of time alone on the experience of autonomy appears to be complex and to depend on whether the time alone is chosen and enjoyed (increased autonomy of both types) or the result of shyness (decreased autonomy of both types).

## CONCLUSIONS

The separation from mothers that takes place when daughters leave home for college is a complex phenomenon that has been studied very little. This investigation of the phenomenon focused on two forms of autonomy that are assumed to be a part of the separation process--introjected autonomy and autonomy in relation to mother. The investigation shows very different results for the two sets of autonomy scores. Thus, conclusions about the implications of this study for the late adolescent separation process need to be made for each form of autonomy.

Before discussing those conclusions, some comments about the generalizability of the results must be made. There are several factors that may well limit the generalizability of this study to the late adolescent separation process in general. Most basic of the limitations is that the subjects were all women. These conclusions may not apply at all, then, for late adolescent males or for females with respect to their fathers or to their parents as a couple.

Second, the daughter subjects in this study were all enrolled in and living at a large, Midwestern state university and taking a psychology course during their first term. Thus, within the realm of late adolescent women, this study samples those who live (primarily) in the Midwest, choose to attend college, select a large state university as their initial college experience, decide to live in a residence

hall, and appear to have an early interest in psychology (or in fulfilling a requirement by selecting a psychology course--still suggesting the possibility of some interest in the field). In addition, these freshmen came from intact homes and had not experienced any lengthy separations from their mothers previously. The results of the study may then apply only to first term college women from "normal" homes who are autonomous enough to enroll at a large state university as freshmen, and who have some curiosity about behavior.

Within this group of college females, the generalizability issue is again raised, as discussed earlier, by the process of recruiting for the study. Perhaps, the daughters who chose to participate in this study did so because of a particularly close or difficult relationship with their mothers. Perhaps, also, these freshmen, who participated in the study at the end of the term, represent those with less initiative or foresight.

The sample is, then, limited in many ways. Some limitations were chosen to insure a normative sample and some resulted from convenience. The conclusions about the late adolescent separation process can, in the author's opinion, only be generalized to college females who are from intact homes and in the initial stages of separation from their mothers.

Of the two forms of autonomy studied, the results for the autonomy in relation to mother score are more clear-cut. High autonomy in relation to mother scores are associated in this study with low identification in the form of perceived similarity, low accuracy of perception by both mothers and daughters, and free time spent with

friends instead of family. The implications of these results for the process of separation appear to be that the late adolescent daughters who experience the greatest autonomy in relation to their mothers are separating from them and employing these distancing mechanisms to facilitate the separation.

The first distancing mechanism, the low identification with mother, seems to be employed by the daughters to disrupt their relationship to their mothers in order to develop their own personal identity or sense of self. It is as if the daughter needs to figure out how she is different from this most important other woman before she can realize who she is. Allen's study revealed a similar finding, her moratorium daughters did not identify with their mothers and took, instead, a critical, distancing stance with respect to them. She concludes: ". . . this disruption of identifications with the mother is stimulated by, and in turn stimulates, the process of separation from the mother" (1976, p. 94, emphasis mine).

Low accuracy of perception is also a distancing mechanism. It appears that daughters high on autonomy at this point in the separation process both view their mothers inaccurately and are viewed inaccurately by them.

The daughters' inaccurate perception may, in a way similar to the low identification with mother, serve as a means of disrupting the relationship. It may be that daughters choose to inaccurately view their mothers at this time in an effort to push their mothers away, to give themselves and their mothers reasons to be angry (in that anger is a likely result of continued misperception), or to

create a situation in which rebellion against this very significant other can be rationalized. In any case, the importance of distance from mother in the development of the daughter's separate sense of self is clear.

The role of mothers' inaccuracy in the separation process appears to be more complicated, mainly because it's difficult to know how much of that inaccuracy results from the mothers' personalities or actions and how much from the daughters'. Inaccurate perception by the mothers may result from their own emotional difficulties or may be a means that some use to cope with the pain they experience as their daughters separate from them. Maternal inaccuracy may also result from the daughters' choice to not let their mothers know them very well during this part of the process--again, in an effort to create distance from the mothers and to give themselves more room to experiment with their developing selves. Allen's comment about her similar findings is that it would be important in future work "to distinguish between maternal inaccuracy caused by the daughter's attempts to distance herself from her mother, and maternal inaccuracy caused by emotional problems on the part of the mother" (1976, p. 92). I agree.


Both aspects of inaccurate perception, then, seem to have the effect (and, perhaps, the goal--if they do both result from the daughters' actions) of disrupting this powerful relationship between mothers and daughters in order to effect the autonomous self-development of the daughters.

The workings of the third distancing mechanism, spending more time with friends than family, seem to be quite obvious: one way to

achieve distance is to not spend time with those from whom the distance is desired and, instead, to fill that time with another set of relationships. This appears to be a particularly effective technique for adolescents in that peers can insulate the adolescent from the powerful family relationships that need to be broken. The insulation can serve as a cocoon of sorts in which the adolescent can develop his/her own personal and autonomous life-style with minimal family influence.

In conclusion, separating from mother is often a difficult process for the daughter because of the intensity and complexity of the relationship. Three techniques that the late adolescent women in this study seem to use to accomplish the distancing from mother that is so important to their own self-development are: low identification, low accuracy of perception, and free time spent with friends.

These findings are consistent with the theories proffered by those who have written about late adolescent separation. Of the theorists in that field cited earlier, the work of Blos and Josselyn seems most applicable. Blos' emphasis on the important role that peers play in accomplishing the late adolescent separation is consistent with the suggestion above that peers insulate the adolescent from her family in order to allow for self-development. Josselyn's description of the negativism employed by the adolescent to separate seems similar conceptually to the distancing mechanisms of low identification and accuracy of perception, which imply negative aspects of the relationship. In addition, Blos' notion of rapprochement and Josselyn's similar concept of mature interdependence are relevant to the results of the study, even though these concepts represent a more advanced



stage of the process than that in which the daughters in this study are engaged. The relevance of the concepts is that they predict that, after a period of distancing and high autonomy in relation to mother (the stage which these daughters appear to be currently experiencing), they will move closer to their mothers, again--but in a more mature fashion.

In their studies of mothers and daughters, Hammer and Friday also discuss the importance of turning away from mother (the distancing mechanisms) as part of the process of separation. This study supports that theory with respect to autonomy in relation to mother. Friday's idea of the importance of the daughter's accuracy of perception is, however, not upheld for this form of autonomy.

In contrast to autonomy in relation to mother, introjected autonomy is associated in this study with higher identification with mother (in the form of perceived similarity), greater accuracy of perception by both mothers and daughters (support for Friday's hypothesis), and free time spent with either family or friends. The implications of these findings for the process of separation are, however, not clear.

The lack of clarity results, mainly, from the difficulties involved in understanding the meaning of introjected autonomy. The first difficulty involves the finding that most of the women in this sample have introjected interdependence (which, as noted earlier, is control--"I manage myself"), rather than autonomy ("I listen to and follow what I find deep within myself"). The measures of introjected autonomy are, then, actually measures of interdependence (control).

This fact makes any conclusions about introjected autonomy tenuous at best. The tenuousness derives from the fact that there is no guarantee that less interdependence (control) is the same as more autonomy. These findings also bring the validity of Benjamin's introject measure (Series C) into serious question. As discussed earlier, those questions are not answerable at this time because of the newness of the measure. However, I believe that in thinking about these results, the possibility that this part of the measure is invalid must remain in one's mind.

The second difficulty involves the complexity of the introject whether it's autonomy or interdependence. It seems likely that the introject involves far more than the daughter's relationship to her mother. Thus any inferences about that relationship that are based on the introjected autonomy score must be made cautiously.

In addition to these questions about the meaning of introjected autonomy, further difficulty is encountered in attempts to place this concept securely within the framework of separation. Introjected autonomy can, it seems, either be viewed as a part of the process of separation or as the product of that process. If it is viewed as a meaningful part of the process, the results of this study indicate that accuracy of perception by both mother and daughter and the spending of the majority of free time with either family or friends are important base lines on which internalized autonomy is built. The results also indicate that internalized autonomy is related directly to identification with mother. If this is the case, it appears that increased introjected autonomy (or decreased interdependence) results from an harmonious and

close-knit relationship with mother. The factors important to the development of this form of autonomy (particularly, strong identification and high accuracy of perception) stand in direct contrast to those involved in the development of autonomy in relation to mother. There is not much theoretical support for this perspective of the development of autonomy, at least not among the theorists of adolescence studied for the introduction to this paper. However, the concept of internalized autonomy, particularly as opposed to autonomy in relation to parents, is not specifically addressed by any of the theorists.

If introjected autonomy is viewed as meaningful only as a result or product of the separation process--in a final internalized form--this study has little to offer to its understanding. As discussed earlier, the ages of the daughters in this sample and their current situation of leaving home for college preclude the likelihood that many would have completed the separation process.

The basic conclusion from the work done on internalized autonomy in this study is that it is a complicated (and confusing) concept, about which very little can be definitively stated. As noted above, some of the theorists appear to be "on the right track," (as suggested by the results of this study) in analyzing the process of separation as it involves autonomy in relation to mother, but nothing has really been done (to my knowledge) with internalized autonomy. The approach of the theorists to the concept of autonomy seems at present to be too global or general. There appears to be a need to refine the concept of autonomy and to begin separating out the various forms it can take (at least the two studied here) and the factors that

contribute to the development of each. With respect to internalized autonomy and the process of maternal separation by late adolescent women, the following questions need to be answered:

1. What does introjected (internalized) autonomy actually mean?
2. Why is the introjected autonomy score actually a measure of interdependence for the women in this sample?
3. What contributes, and to what degree, to a sense of internalized autonomy?
4. How, specifically, is the mother-daughter relationship involved in its development?
5. Does internalized autonomy have meaning as a part of the process of late adolescent separation or only as an outcome?

This section of the conclusions about introjected autonomy would not be complete without some mention of the mothers' autonomy-giving behaviors and the lack of relationship between them and the mothers' internalized autonomy or their employment outside the home. My conclusion is that autonomy-giving behaviors must depend on another factor. However accurate that conclusion may be, I'm still intrigued by the lack of relationship between the mother's supposed experience of autonomy and her ability to give autonomy to her daughter, especially considering that there appears to be a direct relationship between the mothers' and daughters' experiences of internalized autonomy. Further study of these issues would, I believe, be very useful. Such study seems to be particularly important as more women enter the work force

and as autonomy becomes a more accepted possibility and sought-after goal for women.

A final question that this study raises, and that also seems deserving of further exploration, is the relationship between the two forms of autonomy. As noted in the Discussion section, the relationship can only be speculated about at present. My own speculation, described in that section, is that it is a highly interactive relationship when viewed at any point in the process of separation; but that, if considered as an end point, the internalized autonomy would subsume the experience of autonomy in relation to mother. It seems that both theoretical and experimental work would be needed to explicitly define the nature of this relationship.

The future experimental work that has been suggested would be more fruitful if several methodological changes were made. First and foremost, the global concepts and processes that are involved in separation must be broken down to component parts that are clearly measurable and capable of being tightly controlled. As mentioned above, the concept of autonomy definitely needs further differentiation. The processes discussed, particularly that of identification, also need to be refined and focused. Identification, even in the narrowed form of perceived similarity, very likely involves several steps of a process--perhaps, recognizing a similarity, thinking about what the similarity means, deciding if the implications are favorable or not--each of which may bring with it different problems or conclusions. Such a very precise breakdown seems difficult to accomplish, but important to real understanding of these complex phenomena.

A second recommendation for future work would be to measure autonomy (particularly, internalized autonomy) through another method. There are several difficulties involved in using the SASB. First, as mentioned frequently above, there are many questions about the introjected autonomy score and its meaning as a measure of autonomy (or interdependence). Those questions center on the validity of the measure; i.e., does it actually measure introjected autonomy? In addition, the complexity of the instrument makes (in my experience) efficient explanation of both methods and results difficult. Because of the complexity, there is a tendency to get bogged down in understanding and explaining the instrument, rather than one's uses of it. The instrument is also rather lengthy and tedious for subjects to complete. Finally, there are so few norms at present that it is difficult to place an accurate context about one's findings or to make useful comparisons.

Even with the difficulties involved in the use of the SASB, it seemed in this study to be a relatively effective method of assessing interaction. It would, however, be particularly interesting to employ a method that focused on a sample of the actual interaction between mother and daughter. Such a method would involve a content analysis (and all of its attendant complexity). The chief advantage of that system would be that it would allow the researcher to measure behavior itself rather than opinions of behavior.

A final major suggestion for future work is to follow a group of subjects over time and thus create a longitudinal picture of the process of separation, rather than a one-time glimpse. Such an

approach would, it seems, yield much richer results in understanding what appears to be the most important aspect of the phenomena of separation, its nature as a process.

The major contributions of this paper to the understanding of the process of maternal separation in late adolescent women are two. First, this paper reinforces the theoretical notion that distancing from mother is an important part of the process of late adolescent separation for women and, as one of the few normative research studies directed to this issue, points to specific distancing mechanisms that are employed.

This paper's second major contribution is to raise many questions about the concept of internalized or introjected autonomy, particularly as it applies to late adolescents and women and as it is measured by Series C of the SASB. The answers to these questions, which center on the meaning, development, and accurate measurement of internalized autonomy, are seen by the author to have far-reaching consequences for the understanding of the process of separation and the role of autonomy in the lives of adult women in this society.

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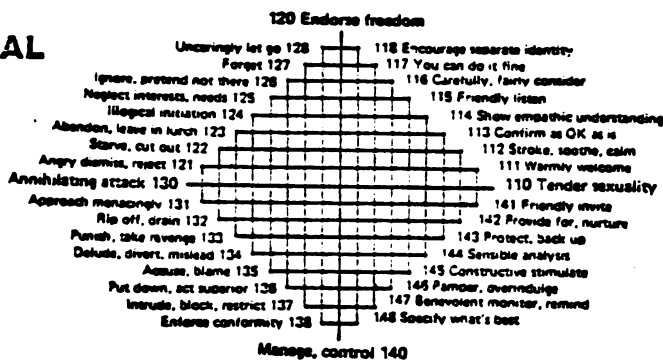
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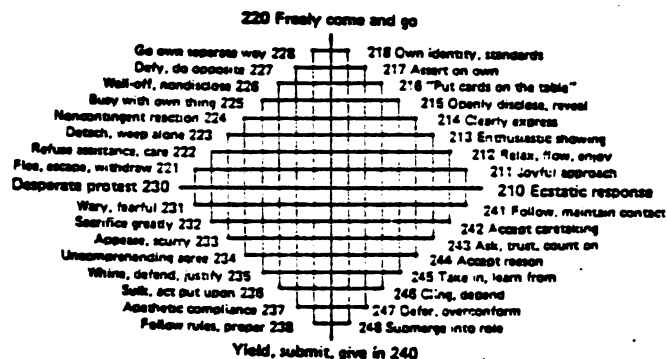
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# INTERPERSONAL

OTHER



SELF



# INTRAPSYCHIC

Introject of  
OTHER  
to SELF

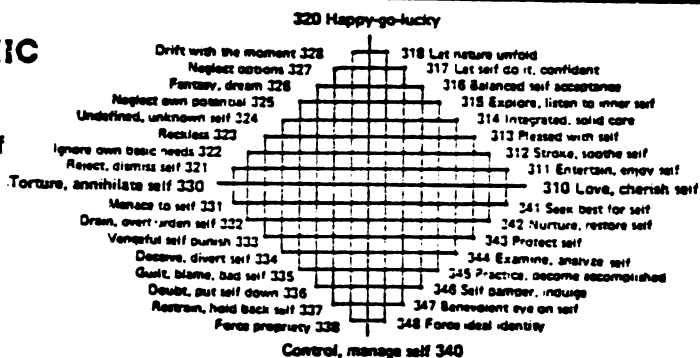


Figure 1. SASB Model

5 = Attention to Self Development  
 6 = Balance in Relationship  
 7 = Inclusiveness  
 8 = Identity  
 0 = Primitive "basics"  
 1 = Approach-Avoidance  
 2 = Needs fulfillment, nurturance  
 3 = Attachment  
 4 = Formal logic

TRACKS:

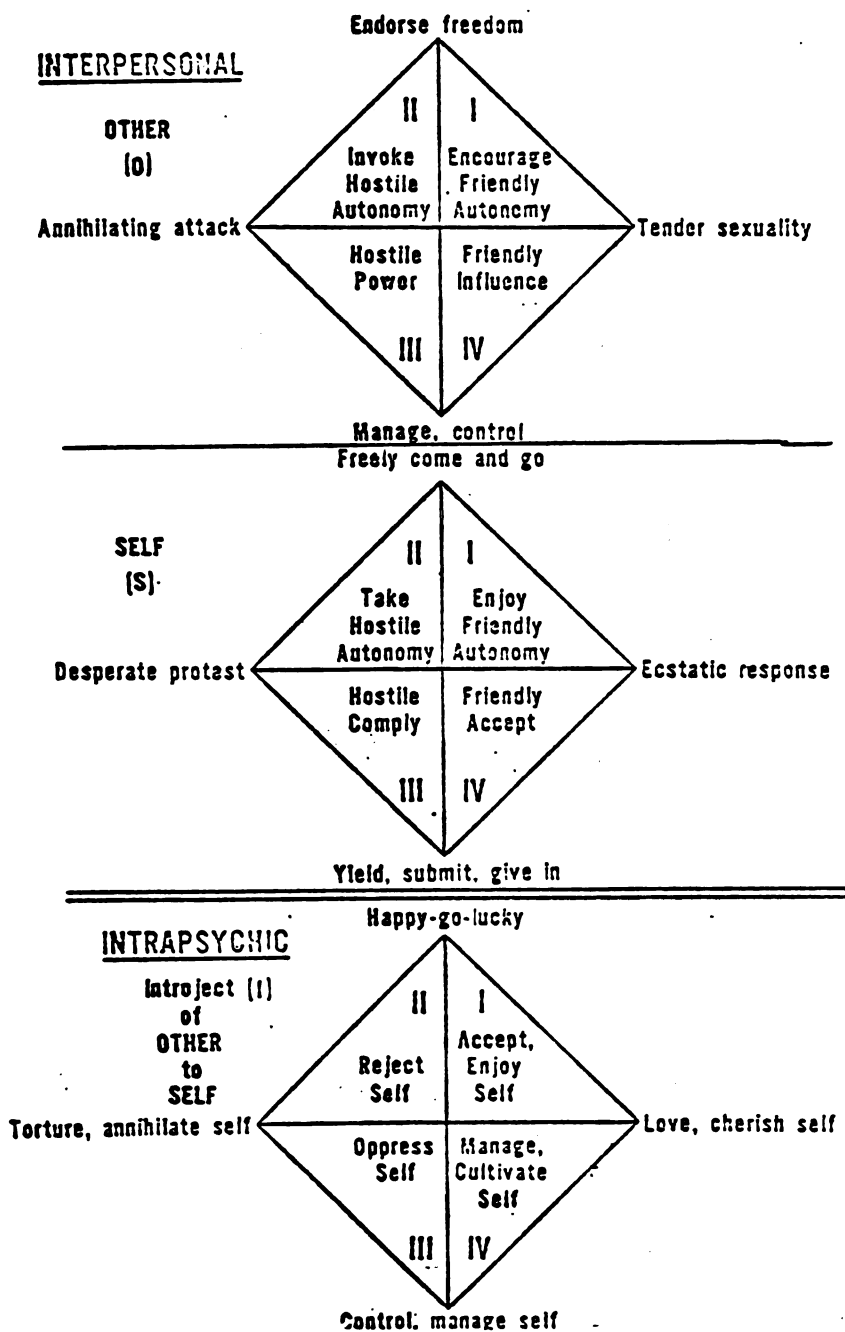


Figure 2. Pole and Quadrant titles.

## FIGURES

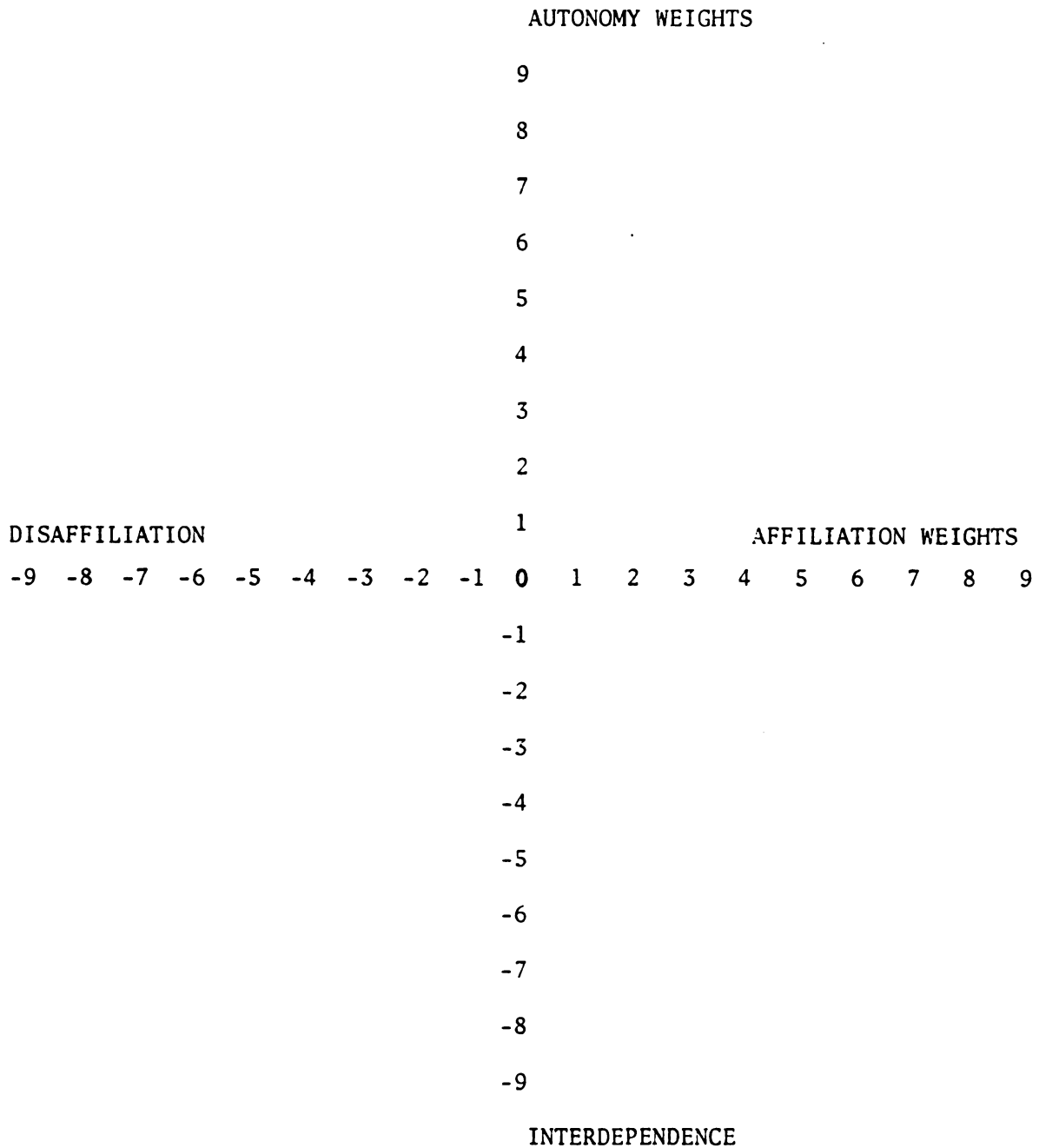


Figure 3. Affiliation and Autonomy Weights.

The weights used in computing the affiliation and autonomy scores. Affiliation weights are maximal around the affiliative pole and minimal around the disaffiliative pole. Autonomy weights are maximal around the autonomy pole and minimal around the interdependence pole.

## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A

## SASB QUESTIONNAIRE (Series A)

Please place a number in the blank indicating how well the phrases describe the behavior of your mother/daughter in relation to you. Use the following scale

NEVER					ALWAYS				
NOT AT ALL					PERFECTLY				
0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90 100

A rating of 50 or above indicates "true"; a rating of less than 50 indicates "false."

1. \_\_\_ Constructively, sensibly, persuasively analyzes situations involving me.
2. \_\_\_ Has her own identity, internal standards.
3. \_\_\_ Enforces conformity to norms she prefers, insists I be "proper."
4. \_\_\_ Puts me down, tells me that I do things all wrong, acts superior.
5. \_\_\_ Looks to me as an advisor because she feels she can learn from what I suggest.
6. \_\_\_ Complies with my wishes without much feeling of her own, is apathetic.
7. \_\_\_ Angrily rejects, dismisses, tells me to get the "H" out.
8. \_\_\_ Comfortably accepts help, caretaking when I offer it.
9. \_\_\_ Defies, does the opposite of what she thinks I want her to do.
10. \_\_\_ Lets me know her views so I can give them due consideration.
11. \_\_\_ Enthusiastically shows, shares herself or "thing" with me.
12. \_\_\_ Murderously attacks, annihilates me.
13. \_\_\_ Picks up on what I say/do in an irrelevant or only distantly related way; goes on her "own trip" with it.
14. \_\_\_ Reacts to my touch with joyful love.
15. \_\_\_ Invites me to be with her, to be in touch as often as I can.
16. \_\_\_ Lets me know where she is so I can maintain friendly contact with her if I want to.
17. \_\_\_ Freely comes and goes without special regard for what I might have to say about it.
18. \_\_\_ Tenderly, lovingly touches me if I seem receptive.
19. \_\_\_ Constructively stimulates me, shows me how to understand, do.
20. \_\_\_ Accuses, blames me, tries to get me to admit I am wrong.
21. \_\_\_ Gladly, enthusiastically, warmly welcomes me.
22. \_\_\_ Depends upon me to take care of everything for her.
23. \_\_\_ Punishes me, takes revenge.
24. \_\_\_ Shows understanding of my view, has empathy for me.
25. \_\_\_ Asks trustingly, vulnerably; counts on me to respond to her with kindness and consideration.
26. \_\_\_ Willingly accepts, yields to my reasonable suggestions, ideas.
27. \_\_\_ Desperately writhes in agony as she protests that I am destroying, killing her.

28. \_\_\_ Gives "strokes," soothes, calms me.
29. \_\_\_ Intrudes on me, blocks, restricts me.
30. \_\_\_ Even if she feels suspicious and uneasy, she gives in to my arguments, ideals.
31. \_\_\_ Follows my preferred rules, standards, routines.
32. \_\_\_ Rips me off, drains me, takes my vital supplies.
33. \_\_\_ Is so eager that I be pleased with her that she defers, checks with me on every little thing.
34. \_\_\_ Is terrified, extremely wary, very fearful of me.
35. \_\_\_ Deludes, deceives, diverts, misleads me.
36. \_\_\_ Resentfully allows my needs and wants to prevail over hers at her own enormous expense.
37. \_\_\_ Provides for, nurtures, takes care of me.
38. \_\_\_ Carefully considers my side of things, treats me fairly.
39. \_\_\_ Ignores me, acts on her own as if I were not there.
40. \_\_\_ Uncaringly lets me go, do what I want.
41. \_\_\_ Vehemently refuses my caretaking, my offers to assist.
42. \_\_\_ Tries as hard as she can to escape, to flee from me.
43. \_\_\_ Benevolently checks on me and reminds me of what I should do.
44. \_\_\_ "Gives me her blessing" and leaves me to develop my own identity separate from her.
45. \_\_\_ Forgets me, fails to remember and keep agreements or plans made with me.
46. \_\_\_ Does things the way I want but sulks quietly with resentment and anger.
47. \_\_\_ Yields, submits, gives in to me.
48. \_\_\_ Approaches me very menacingly, gathers materials she can use to hurt me.
49. \_\_\_ Manages, controls, oversees every aspect of my existence.
50. \_\_\_ Tells me that she thinks I am competent to do things on my own.
51. \_\_\_ Expresses her thoughts and feelings in a clear and friendly manner so I have every opportunity to understand her well.
52. \_\_\_ Feels, becomes what she thinks I want.
53. \_\_\_ Starves me, fails to give me my "due," cuts me out.
54. \_\_\_ Tries to truly understand me; actively listens in a non-judgmental and friendly way.
55. \_\_\_ Detaches from me, doesn't ask for anything, weeps alone about me.
56. \_\_\_ Tries to anticipate my every need so I don't need to do anything for myself.
57. \_\_\_ Hides her resentment and anger and scurries to avoid my disapproval.
58. \_\_\_ Asserts, holds her own without needing external support.
59. \_\_\_ Walls herself off from me, doesn't hear, doesn't react.
60. \_\_\_ Confirms, tells me she likes and appreciates me just as I am.
61. \_\_\_ Avoids me by being busy and alone with her "own thing."
62. \_\_\_ Relaxes, enjoys, flexibly flows, feels good about being with me.
63. \_\_\_ For my own good, she specifies, tells me what is best for me to do, be, think.
64. \_\_\_ Whines, squirms, painfully tries to account for, defend and justify herself.
65. \_\_\_ Regardless of what I say or do, she treats me according to her own unwarranted and illogical assumptions about me.

- 66. ☐ Goes her own separate way.
- 67. ☐ Looks after my interests, takes steps to protect me,  
actively backs me up.
- 68. ☐ Freely and openly discloses her innermost self when I am  
listening.
- 69. ☐ Expects to have wonderful fun with me and so approaches me  
joyfully.
- 70. ☐ Just when she is needed most, she abandons me, leaves me "in the  
lurch."
- 71. ☐ Neglects me, doesn't attend to my interests, needs.
- 72. ☐ Tells me I am on my own; I can do and be whatever I want.

Series B

Please place a number in the blank indicating how well the phrases describe you in relation to your mother/daughter. Use the following scale.

NEVER					ALWAYS				
NOT AT ALL					PERFECTLY				
0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90 100

A rating of 50 or above indicates "true"; a rating of less than 50 indicates "false."

1. \_\_\_ I constructively, sensibly, persuasively analyze situations involving her.
2. \_\_\_ I have my own identity, internal standards.
3. \_\_\_ I enforce conformity to the norms I prefer, insist she be "proper."
4. \_\_\_ I put her down, tell her that she does things all wrong, I act superior.
5. \_\_\_ I look to her as an advisor because I feel I can learn from what she suggests.
6. \_\_\_ I comply with her wishes without much feeling of my own, am apathetic.
7. \_\_\_ I angrily reject, dismiss, tell her to get the "H" out.
8. \_\_\_ I comfortably accept help, caretaking when she offers it.
9. \_\_\_ I defy, do the opposite of what I think she wants me to do.
10. \_\_\_ I let her know my views so she can give them due consideration.
12. \_\_\_ I enthusiastically show, share myself or "thing" with her.
12. \_\_\_ I murderously attack, annihilate her.
13. \_\_\_ I pick up on what she says or does in an irrelevant or only distantly related way; I go on my "own trip" with it.
14. \_\_\_ I react to her touch with joyful love.
15. \_\_\_ I invite her to be with me, to be in touch as often as she can.
16. \_\_\_ I let her know where I am so she can maintain friendly contact with me if she wants to.
17. \_\_\_ I freely come and go without special regard for what she might have to say about it.
18. \_\_\_ I tenderly, lovingly touch her if she seems receptive.
19. \_\_\_ I constructively stimulate her, show her how to understand, do.
20. \_\_\_ I accuse, blame her, try to get her to admit she is wrong.
21. \_\_\_ I gladly, enthusiastically, warmly welcome her.
22. \_\_\_ I depend on her to take care of everything for me.
23. \_\_\_ I punish her, take revenge.
24. \_\_\_ I show understanding of her view, have empathy for her.
25. \_\_\_ I ask trustingly, vulnerably; I count on her to respond to me with kindness and consideration.
25. \_\_\_ I willingly accept, yield to her reasonable suggestions, ideas.
27. \_\_\_ I desperately writhe in agony as I protest that she is destroying, killing me.
28. \_\_\_ I give "strokes," soothe, calm her.

29. ☐ I intrude on her, block, restrict her.
30. ☐ Even if I feel suspicious and uneasy, I give in to her arguments, ideas.
31. ☐ I follow her preferred rules, standards, routines.
32. ☐ I rip her off, drain her, take her vital supplies.
33. ☐ I am so eager that she be pleased with me that I check with her on every little thing.
34. ☐ I am terrified, extremely wary, very fearful of her.
35. ☐ I delude, deceive, divert, mislead her.
36. ☐ I resentfully allow her needs and wants to prevail over mine at my own enormous expense.
37. ☐ I provide for, nurture, take care of her.
38. ☐ I carefully consider her side of things, treat her fairly.
39. ☐ I ignore her, act on my own as if she were not there.
40. ☐ I uncaringly let her go, do what she wants.
41. ☐ I vehemently refuse her caretaking, her offers to assist.
42. ☐ I try as hard as I can to escape, to flee from her.
43. ☐ I benevolently check on her and remind her of what she should do.
44. ☐ I "give her my blessing" and leave her to develop her own identity separate from me.
45. ☐ I forget her, fail to remember and keep agreements or plans made with her.
46. ☐ I do things the way she wants but sulk quietly with resentment and anger.
47. ☐ I yield, submit, give in to her.
48. ☐ I approach her very menacingly, gather materials I can use to hurt her.
49. ☐ I manage, control, oversee every aspect of her existence.
50. ☐ I tell her that I think she is competent to do things on her own.
51. ☐ I express my thoughts and feelings in a clear and friendly manner so she has every opportunity to understand me well.
52. ☐ I feel, become what I think she wants.
53. ☐ I starve her, fail to give her her due, cut her out.
54. ☐ I try to truly understand her; I actively listen in a nonjudgmental and friendly way.
55. ☐ I detach from her, don't ask for anything, weep alone about her.
56. ☐ I try to anticipate her every need so she doesn't need to do anything for herself.
57. ☐ I hide my resentment and anger and scurry to avoid her disapproval.
58. ☐ I assert, hold my own without needing external support.
59. ☐ I wall myself off from her, don't hear, don't react.
60. ☐ I confirm, tell her I like and appreciate her just as she is.
61. ☐ I avoid her by being busy and alone with my "own thing."
62. ☐ I relax, enjoy, flexibly flow, feel good about being with her.
63. ☐ For her own good, I specify, tell her what is best for her to do, be, think.
64. ☐ I whine, squirm, painfully try to account for, defend and justify myself.
65. ☐ Regardless of what she says or does, I treat her according to my own unwarranted and illogical assumptions about her.

- 66. ☐ I go my own separate way.
- 67. ☐ I look after her interests, take steps to protect her, actively back her.
- 68. ☐ I freely and openly disclose my innermost self when she is listening.
- 69. ☐ I expect to have wonderful fun with her and so I approach joyfully.
- 70. ☐ Just when I'm needed most I abandon her, leave her "in the lurch."
- 71. ☐ I neglect her, don't attend to her interests, needs.
- 72. ☐ I tell her she is on her own; she can do and be whatever she wants.

## Series C

Please write a number in the blank indicating how well each of the following phrases describes your feelings about yourself.

NEVER						ALWAYS					
NOT AT ALL						PERFECTLY					
0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100	

A rating of 50 or above indicates "true"; a rating of less than 50 indicates "false."

1. \_\_\_ I neglect myself, don't try to develop my own potential skills, ways of being.
2. \_\_\_ I examine, analyze myself sensibly, carefully, realistically.
3. \_\_\_ I let myself daydream and fantasize instead of actually doing what would be good for me.
4. \_\_\_ I let important choices, thoughts, issues, options slip by me unattended.
5. \_\_\_ Knowing both my faults and my strong points, I comfortably accept myself as I am.
6. \_\_\_ I am pleased with, glad about myself.
7. \_\_\_ I tell myself things to make me feel bad, guilty, ashamed, unworthy.
8. \_\_\_ I practice, work on developing worthwhile skills, ways of being.
9. \_\_\_ I love, cherish, adore myself.
10. \_\_\_ I nurture, care for, restore, heal myself as needed.
11. \_\_\_ I vehemently reject, dismiss myself as worthless.
12. \_\_\_ I let unwarranted, illogical ideas I have about myself go unexamined and unchallenged.
13. \_\_\_ I entertain myself, enjoy being with myself.
14. \_\_\_ I am very careful to restrain myself, to hold back.
15. \_\_\_ I control, manage myself according to my carefully thought out goals for myself.
16. \_\_\_ I torture, kill, annihilate myself just because "I'm me."
17. \_\_\_ I deprive, deplete myself, make myself sacrifice for others even if it means harming myself greatly.
18. \_\_\_ I stroke myself, pat myself on the back for "just being me."
19. \_\_\_ I keep an eye on myself to be sure I'm doing what I think I should be doing.
20. \_\_\_ I try very hard to make myself as ideal as I can.
21. \_\_\_ I listen to and follow what I find deep within myself.
22. \_\_\_ I don't care if I harm myself by ignoring my own sickness or injury.
23. \_\_\_ I put a lot of energy into making sure I conform to standards, am proper.
24. \_\_\_ I vengefully, viciously punish myself, "take it out on myself."
25. \_\_\_ I "sell out," make myself do and be things which I know are not right for me.
26. \_\_\_ I am happy-go-lucky, content with "here today, gone tomorrow."
27. \_\_\_ I protect myself, take constructive steps on my own behalf.

28. \_\_\_ I drift with the moment, have no particular internal directions, standards.
29. \_\_\_ I put a lot of energy into getting myself absolutely everything I need or want.
30. \_\_\_ By just letting myself do what flows naturally and easily I do everything well enough to suit myself.
31. \_\_\_ I feel solid, integrated, "together," acceptant of my inner core.
32. \_\_\_ I am comfortable letting my basic nature unfold as it will.
33. \_\_\_ I am reckless, carelessly end up in self-destructive situations.
34. \_\_\_ I seek, try to find situations which will be very pleasant and good for me.
35. \_\_\_ I tell myself to be unsure, that I am inadequate because others are better than me.
36. \_\_\_ I approach myself with a negative, destructive attitude; I am my own worst enemy.

## Series C, continued

Please write a number in the blank indicating how well each of the following phrases describes how you believe your mother/daughter feels about herself.

NEVER					ALWAYS				
NOT AT ALL					PERFECTLY				
0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90 100

A rating of 50 or more indicates "true"; a rating of less than 50 indicates "false."

1. \_\_\_ I neglect myself, don't try to develop my own potential skills, ways of being.
2. \_\_\_ I examine, analyze myself sensibly, carefully, realistically.
3. \_\_\_ I let myself daydream and fantasize instead of actually doing what would be good for me.
4. \_\_\_ I let important choices, thoughts, issues, options slip by me unattended.
5. \_\_\_ Knowing both my faults and my strong points, I comfortably accept myself as I am.
6. \_\_\_ I am pleased with, glad about myself.
7. \_\_\_ I tell myself things to make me feel bad, guilty, ashamed, unworthy.
8. \_\_\_ I practice, work on developing worthwhile skills, ways of being.
9. \_\_\_ I love, cherish, adore myself.
10. \_\_\_ I nurture, care for, restore, heal myself as needed.
11. \_\_\_ I vehemently reject, dismiss myself as worthless.
12. \_\_\_ I let unwarranted, illogical ideas I have about myself go unexamined and unchallenged.
13. \_\_\_ I entertain myself, enjoy being with myself.
14. \_\_\_ I am very careful to restrain myself, to hold back.
15. \_\_\_ I control, manage myself according to my carefully thought out goals for myself.
16. \_\_\_ I torture, kill, annihilate myself just because "I'm me."
17. \_\_\_ I deprive, deplete myself, make myself sacrifice for others even if it means harming myself greatly.
18. \_\_\_ I stroke myself, pat myself on the back for "just being me."
19. \_\_\_ I keep an eye on myself to be sure I'm doing what I think I should be doing.
20. \_\_\_ I try very hard to make myself be as ideal as I can.
21. \_\_\_ I listen to and follow what I find deep within myself.
22. \_\_\_ I don't care if I harm myself by ignoring my own sickness or injury.
23. \_\_\_ I put a lot of energy into making sure I conform to standards, am proper.
24. \_\_\_ I vengefully, viscerously punish myself, "take it out on myself."
25. \_\_\_ I "sell out," make myself do and be things which I know are not right for me.
26. \_\_\_ I am happy-go-lucky, content with "here today, gone tomorrow."

- 27. ☐ I protect myself, take constructive steps on my own behalf.
- 28. ☐ I drift with the moment, have no particular internal directions, standards.
- 29. ☐ I put a lot of energy into getting myself absolutely everything I need or want.
- 30. ☐ By just letting myself do what flows naturally and easily I do everything well enough to suit myself.
- 31. ☐ I feel solid, integrated, "together," acceptant of my inner core.
- 32. ☐ I am comfortable letting my basic nature unfold as it will.
- 33. ☐ I am reckless, carelessly end up in self-destructive situations.
- 34. ☐ I seek, try to find situations which will be very pleasant and good for me.
- 35. ☐ I tell myself to be unsure, that I am inadequate because others are better than me.
- 36. ☐ I approach myself with a negative, destructive attitude; I am my own worst enemy.

## APPENDIX B

## MARLOWE-CROWNE SOCIAL DESIRABILITY SCALE (SDS)

Listed below are a number of statements concerning personal attitudes and traits. Read each item and decide whether the statement is true or false as it pertains to you personally. Circle T (true) or F (false) for each item.

- T F 1. Before voting I thoroughly investigate the qualifications of all candidates.
- T F 2. I never hesitate to go out of my way to help someone in trouble.
- T F 3. It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged.
- T F 4. I have never intensely disliked anyone.
- T F 5. On occasion I have had doubts about my ability to succeed in life.
- T F 6. I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way.
- T F 7. I am always careful about my manner of dress.
- T F 8. My table manners at home are as good as when I eat out in a restaurant.
- T F 9. If I could get into a movie without paying and be sure I was not seen I would probably do it.
- T F 10. On a few occasions, I have given up doing something because I thought too little of my ability.
- T F 11. I like to gossip at times.
- T F 12. There have been times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority even though I knew they were right.
- T F 13. No matter who I'm talking to, I'm always a good listener.
- T F 14. I can remember "playing sick" to get out of something.
- T F 15. There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone.
- T F 16. I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake.
- T F 17. I always try to practice what I preach.
- T F 18. I don't find it particularly difficult to get along with loud-mouthed, obnoxious people.
- T F 19. I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget.
- T F 20. When I don't know something I don't at all mind admitting it.
- T F 21. I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable.
- T F 22. At times I have really insisted on having things my own way.
- T F 23. There have been occasions when I felt like smashing things.
- T F 24. I would never think of letting someone else be punished for my wrong-doings.
- T F 25. I never resent being asked to return a favor.
- T F 26. I have never been irked when people expressed ideas very different from my own.
- T F 27. I never make a long trip without checking the safety of my car.
- T F 28. There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others.

- T F 29. I have almost never felt the urge to tell someone off.
- T F 30. I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me.
- T F 31. I have never felt that I was punished without cause.
- T F 32. I sometimes think when people have a misfortune they only got what they deserved.
- T F 33. I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone's feelings.

## APPENDIX C

## COVER LETTER TO MOTHERS

November 10, 1979

Dear

I am a graduate student in psychology at Michigan State University. Currently, I'm working on a research project that focuses on the relationship between mothers and daughters. Your daughter has agreed to participate in this research and has filled out the same forms that I'm sending to you. I'm wondering if you would please take the time (one hour or less) in the next few days to complete the enclosed questionnaires and return them to me.

Your daughter received extra credit in her introductory psychology course as a result of her participation in my study. Unfortunately, I have no similar concrete reward to offer you! I'm hoping that you'll agree to participate because of your good will, the knowledge that I'll only be able to use the information that I have if both the mother and daughter respond, and your curiosity about the fascinating relationship you and your daughter are involved in. (By the way, if you are curious about it and would like to have a copy of the general results of my study, please check the appropriate box on the enclosed consent form.)

Now, let me describe specifically what I'd like you to do. The first thing is to read and sign the enclosed consent form. Then, it's time for the questionnaires themselves. These can be filled out in pen or pencil. The first three pages take the most time and require a little explanation here. They are basically the same questionnaire, but you're being asked to complete it from different points of view. The first page (both sides) is your view of your daughter in relationship to you. The second page (both sides) is your view of yourself in relationship to your daughter. The first side of the third page asks for your view of yourself. The second side of the third page focuses on what you believe to be your daughter's view of herself. It's a little complicated, but I think it will make sense when you start.

Some additional details:

1. A few times in the questionnaire, you'll see "mother/daughter." For you, the choice is always "daughter."

2. If you have more than one daughter, fill out these questionnaires on the basis of the relationship between yourself and your daughter who is a freshman at MSU only.

3. Please do not talk with your daughter about the questionnaires until you've completed them.

4. If you are like your daughters, you can expect to get tired of the questions about halfway through. Please continue anyway! After page 3, it goes very quickly.

5. Don't spend too much time wondering about any one question. Your first response is usually the most accurate.

6. Be sure you answer every question, even if the answer is only your best guess.

7. Return the consent form and questionnaire to me in the enclosed envelope.

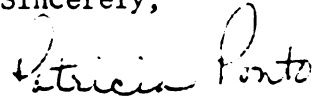
One last thing--the results of this study will only have merit in helping us learn about this very important relationship between mothers and daughters if the questionnaires are filled out very honestly. I would like to encourage you, then, to give as accurate a picture of yourself and your relationship to your daughter as possible. I want to assure you that the confidentiality of your responses will be strictly maintained. (Your daughter will not, then, ever know anything about your responses.) My procedure for collecting the questionnaires has, by the way, been approved by the University committee concerned with ethical issues in research.

Thank you very much in advance for your cooperation. If you have any questions at this time or after you receive the general results, please feel free to contact me at this address and phone.

Department of Psychology  
Snyder Hall  
Michigan State University  
East Lansing, MI 48824

1 - 517 - 355 - 9564

Sincerely,



Patricia Ponto

Faculty Supervision by  
Elaine Donelson, Ph.D.

Important P.S. If at all possible, would you please complete the forms before your daughter comes home for Thanksgiving. Thank you!!!

\_\_\_\_\_ much more loving than most others  
somewhat more loving than most others

- \_\_\_\_\_ slightly more loving than most others
- \_\_\_\_\_ about the same as most others
- \_\_\_\_\_ slightly less loving than most others
- \_\_\_\_\_ somewhat less loving than most others
- \_\_\_\_\_ much less loving than most others

4. ON THE REVERSE, PLEASE WRITE A FEW SENTENCES DESCRIBING WHAT YOUR DAUGHTER'S LEAVING HOME TO GO TO MSU HAS BEEN LIKE FOR YOU.

## APPENDIX E

## BEHAVIORAL INVENTORY FOR DAUGHTERS

1. How far is your parents' home from M.S.U.? (Check one.)
  - ☐ 0-20 miles
  - ☐ 20-50 miles
  - ☐ 50-100 miles
  - ☐ 100-200 miles
  - ☐ 200-500 miles
  - ☐ more than 500 miles
  
2. Have you visited home since college started? ☐ yes ☐ no  
 If yes, how many times? \_\_\_\_\_  
 If no, when do you plan to make your first visit home? \_\_\_\_\_
  
3. Have you spoken with your mother on the phone since you left home for college? ☐ yes ☐ no  
 If yes, how often?
  - ☐ every day
  - ☐ more than once a week, but not every day
  - ☐ once a week
  - ☐ every two weeks
  - ☐ once a month
  - ☐ less than once a month
  
4. Did your mother work before she was married? ☐ yes ☐ no  
 If yes, for how long? \_\_\_\_\_  
 At what occupation(s)? \_\_\_\_\_  
  
 Has your mother worked outside the home since marriage? ☐ yes ☐ no  
 If yes, for which years of your life has she worked? (for example-- age 7 to present) \_\_\_\_\_  
 At what occupation(s)? \_\_\_\_\_  
 What is your mother's age? \_\_\_\_\_
  
5. How many siblings do you have? \_\_\_\_\_ brothers \_\_\_\_\_ sisters  
 How many of your siblings are older than you are? \_\_\_\_\_ brothers  
 \_\_\_\_\_ sisters
  
6. How similar are you and your mother?
  - ☐ very dissimilar
  - ☐ moderately dissimilar
  - ☐ slightly dissimilar
  - ☐ slightly similar
  - ☐ moderately similar
  - ☐ very similar  
 How accurate is your mother's view of you?
  - ☐ very accurate
  - ☐ moderately accurate
  - ☐ slightly accurate

- ☐ slightly inaccurate
- ☐ moderately inaccurate
- ☐ very inaccurate

How would you describe the relationship between you and your mother?

- ☐ very interdependent (both people are dependent or one is dominant and one submissive)
- ☐ moderately interdependent
- ☐ slightly interdependent
- ☐ slightly autonomous
- ☐ moderately autonomous
- ☐ very autonomous (both people are very independent)

How would you rate your relationship to your mother in comparison to other mother-daughter relationships you've seen?

- ☐ much more loving than most others
- ☐ somewhat more loving than most others
- ☐ slightly more loving than most others
- ☐ about the same as most others
- ☐ slightly less loving than most others
- ☐ somewhat less loving than most others
- ☐ much less loving than most others

7. During your high school years, would you say you spent the largest amount of your free time with your family, with your friends, or alone? (Please rank 1, 2, 3 with 1 indicating the largest part of free time.)

- ☐ with family
- ☐ with friends
- ☐ alone

8. What has leaving home to come to college been like for you? (Please write a few sentences.)

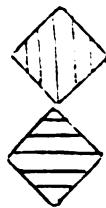
APPENDIX F  
DIAGRAMS OF HYPOTHESES

It is rather difficult to picture how the SASB is used because of the complexity involved with the three series of the questionnaire and the three foci of the model. For clarification, each of the five hypotheses is presented in a diagram on the following pages. The general diagram to be employed is shown as Figure 4 on the next page.

It is important to note that each diamond in Figure 4 results in one weighted autonomy score. For each mother and daughter, then, five measures of autonomy were made. Basically, the four diamonds that go across the top of the diagram (focus on other) represent ability to give or encourage autonomy with reference to mother or daughter. The middle four diamonds (focus on self) measure the ability to take or receive autonomy from mother or daughter. The fifth diamond is an introjected autonomy score, which represents a sense of one's own autonomy without a specific reference to another person.

For each hypothesis, both the means used to group the subjects and the comparison made are identified. The score used to group the subjects is indicated by vertical lines through the diamond. Horizontal lines through the diamonds indicate the scores used in comparisons. The correlations involved are represented by segmented lines.

KEY



Score used to group

Score used in comparison

-----  
Correlation

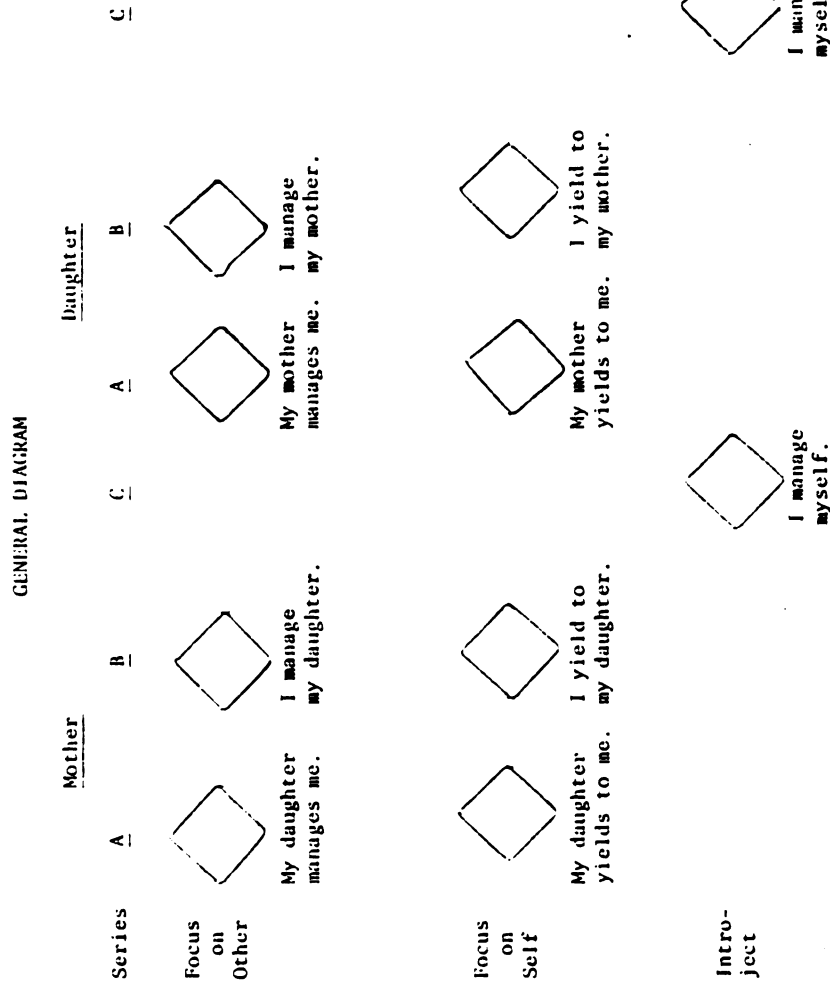


Figure 4. General diagram of SASB as used in this study. Note the three series and the three foci for mother and daughter. The phrases under the diamonds are given as an example of one item as it appears in each of the series with each focus.

HYPOTHESIS 1: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AUTONOMY AND IDENTIFICATION AS PERCEIVED SIMILARITY

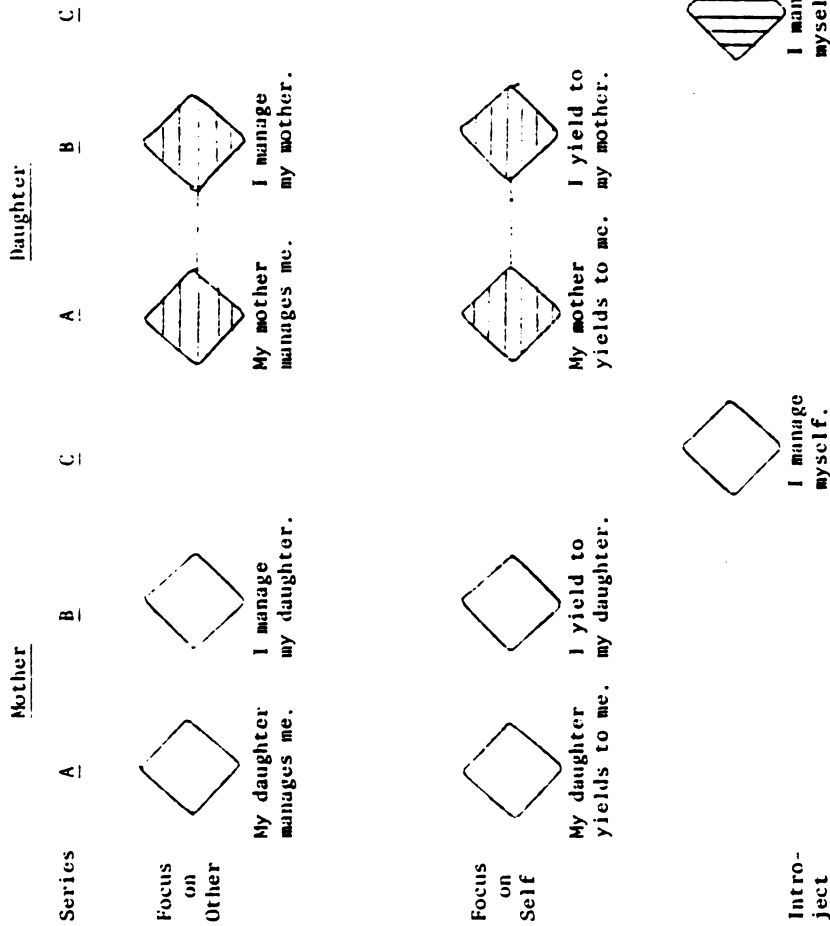


Figure 5. Identification as perceived similarity is measured as the correlation between the daughter's perception of her mother and her perception of herself as illustrated in this diagram. The daughters are divided into three groups on the basis of their introjected autonomy scores. The prediction is that those daughters low and high on autonomy will show greater identification with their mothers than those in the mid-range.

HYPOTHESIS 2: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACCURACY OF PERCEPTION AND AUTONOMY

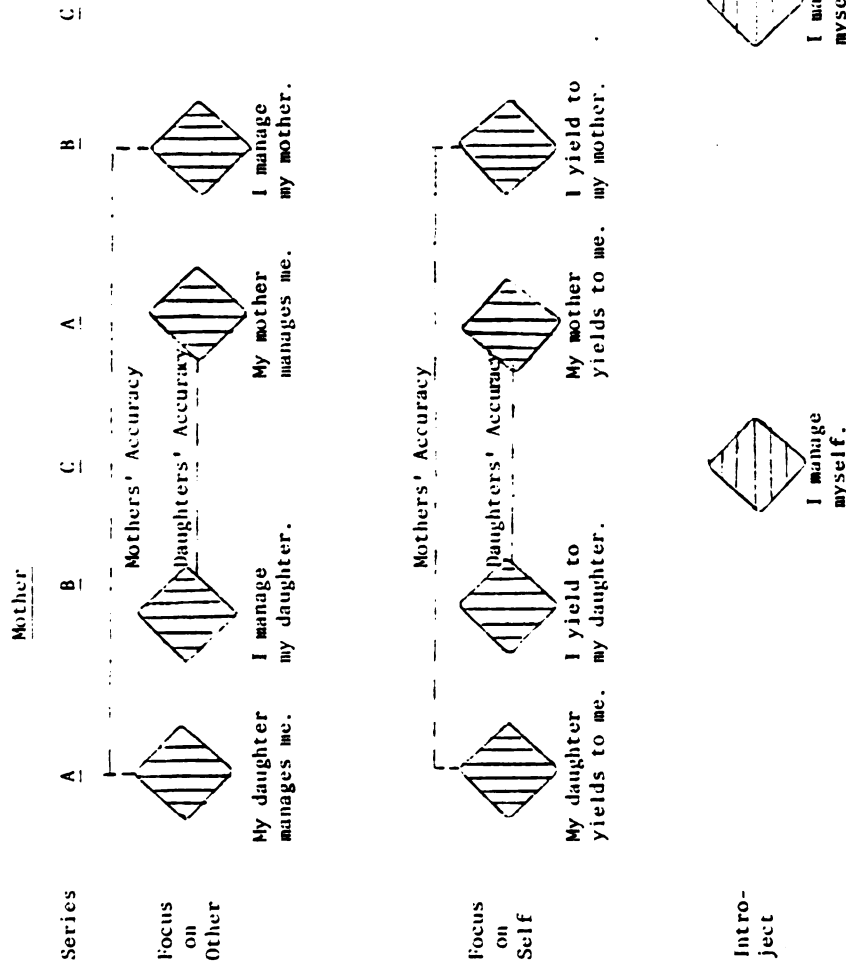


Figure 6. The accuracy of perception involved in this hypothesis is measured for both mothers and daughters through correlations. For the daughters' accuracy measure, their estimates of their mothers (Series A) are compared to the mothers' view of themselves (Series B). A similar comparison is made for mothers. Both are represented in the diagram above. Mothers and daughters are divided into three groups on the basis of their accuracy of perception scores. The predictions are that daughters who perceive their mothers most accurately and who are perceived most accurately by their mothers will show higher autonomy than the others.

HYPOTHESES 3: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MOTHERS' OWN AUTONOMY AND THEIR ABILITY TO GIVE AUTONOMY

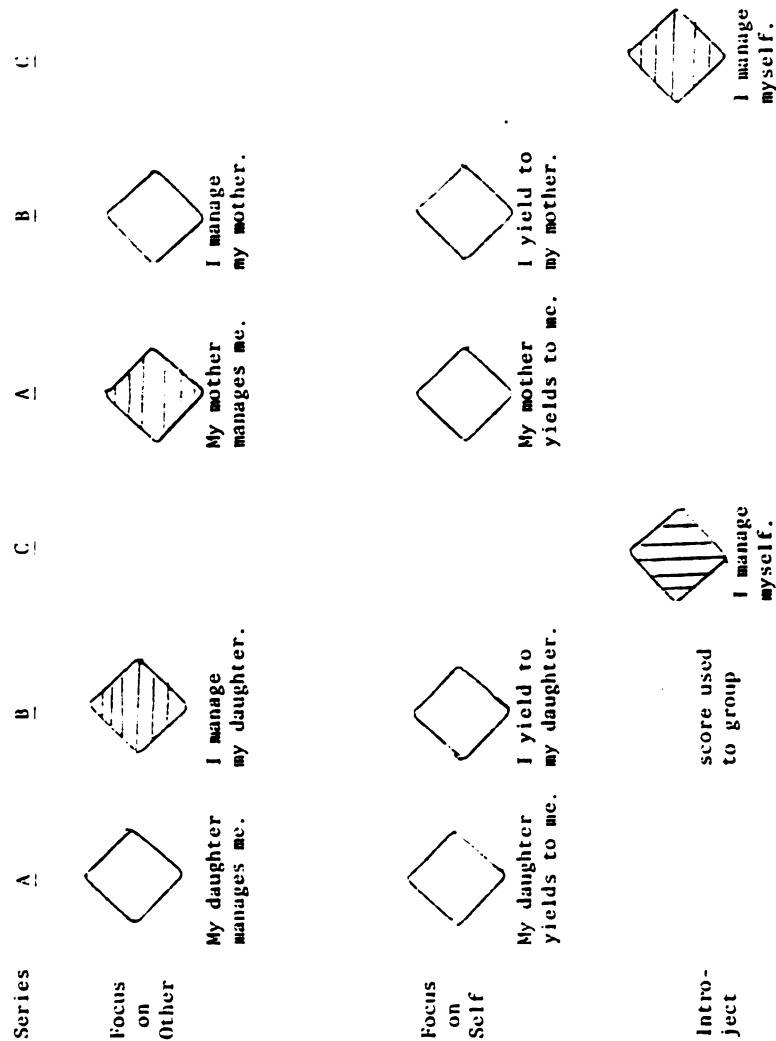


Figure 7. For this hypothesis, the mothers are divided into three groups on the basis of their introjected autonomy scores. The three groups are then compared with respect to: (1) their own Series B focus on other scores, (2) their daughters' Series A focus on other scores, and (3) the averages of their daughters' introjected autonomy scores. The predictions are that mothers who experience high autonomy will be able to give more autonomy to their daughters and, that their daughters will, therefore, demonstrate higher autonomy.

HYPOTHESIS 4: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MOTHERS' EMPLOYMENT AND THEIR ABILITY TO GIVE AUTONOMY

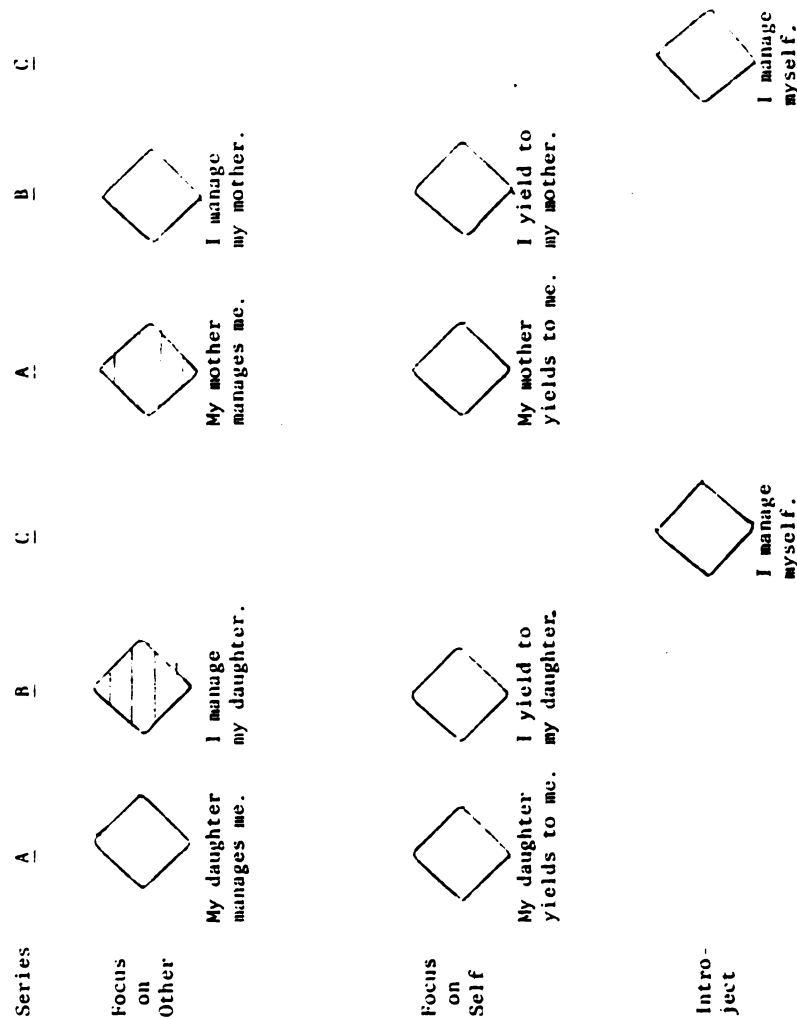


Figure 8. The groups for this hypothesis are determined by the answer to the question of employment outside the home. Two comparisons of autonomy scores are, then, made: the mothers' Series B focus on other score and the daughters' Series A focus on other score. The prediction is that those mothers employed outside the home will foster the growth of autonomy in their daughters more than the others.

# HYPOTHESIS 5: THE RELATIONSHIP OF WAYS OF SPENDING FREE TIME TO AUTONOMY

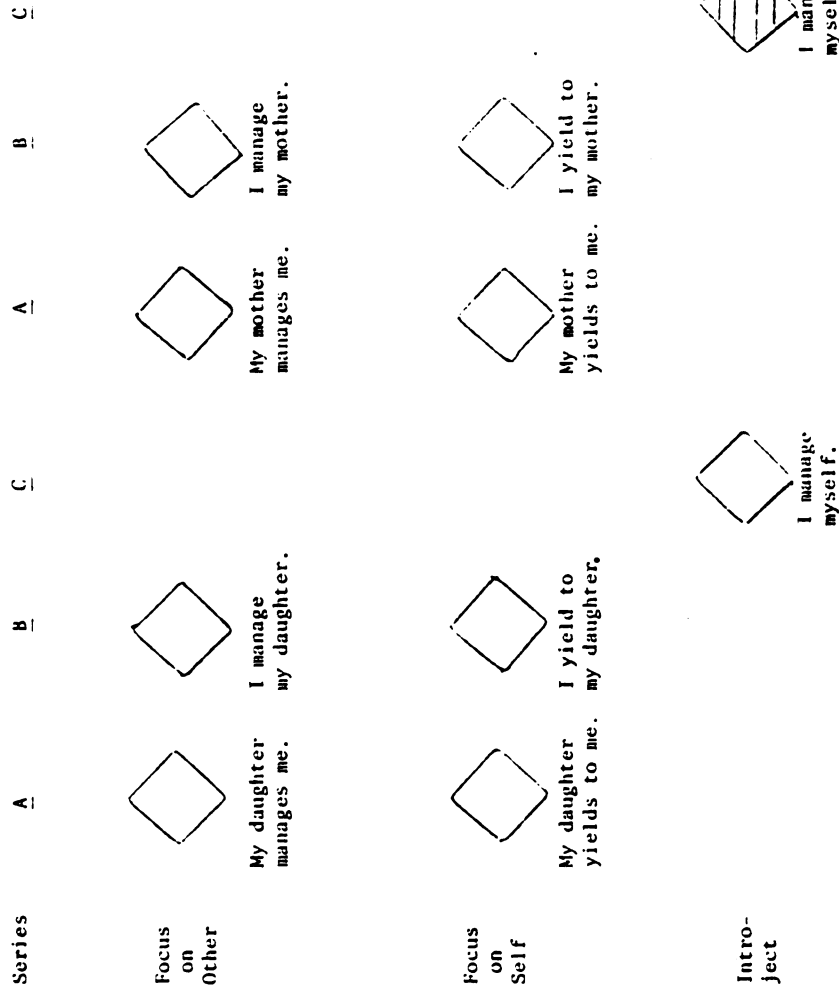


Figure 9. For the final hypothesis, daughters are grouped on the basis of their choices for spending free time. They are then compared on their introjected autonomy scores as illustrated above. The predictions are that those who spent the most time with peers will show greater autonomy than the others and that those who spent the most time with family will show less autonomy than the others. No prediction is made for those who spent the largest amount of free time alone.