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A TAT RESEARCH MEASURE FOR ASSESSING
ADULT CORRELATES OF EARLY CHILDHOOD
SEPARATION-INDIVIDUATION DYNAMICS

presented by

Deborah Kay Berry

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

M.A. degree in Psychology

Major professor
Donald L. Grummon

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A TAT RESEARCH MEASURE FOR ASSESSING
ADULT CORRELATES OF EARLY CHILDHOOD
SEPARATION-INDIVIDUATION DYNAMICS

By

Deborah Kay Berry

A THESIS

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

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Psychology

1985

This is dedicated
with love and gratitude
to my family and friends

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ABSTRACT

A TAT RESEARCH MEASURE FOR ASSESSING ADULT CORRELATES OF EARLY CHILDHOOD SEPARATION-INDIVIDUATION DYNAMICS

By

Deborah Kay Berry

This study developed a TAT measure that will be used to test a theory of gender development. Nancy Chodorow theorizes that a prolonged close relationship with mother in early childhood results in a 'self' organization that is defined largely in relation to others, and is relatively undifferentiated--and that this produces feminine personality traits. Chodorow proposes that a more distant relationship with mother, and early separation-individuation leads to a highly differentiated and insulated self-organization that produces masculine personality traits.

A TAT measure was developed for these mediating object relations and psychodynamic constructs. The TAT measure was assessed with: 1) TAT stories provided by women psychotherapy clients; 2) Therapists' ratings of subjects early mother-child relationships.

The findings indicate that the therapists' ratings were significantly associated with the predicted differences in projected object relations representations, and that the

measure has good reliability. Thus convergent validity suggests support for the theory that separation-individuation development is associated with differences in object relations configurations. The measure was refined for future research use.

INTRODUCTION

Statement of Purpose

This study focuses on the development of an interpretive scoring system designed for the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT). The scoring system was constructed by the investigator to assess a theory that predicts relationships between timing of individuation from mother in early childhood, and the qualities of mental constructs for interpersonal relations (or object relations among women). An instrument which reliably measures these object relations constructs is desired for further research.

In an innovative theory of gender development, Nancy Chodorow (1974, 1978) asserts that feminine and masculine personality traits are derived from the nature and timing of separation-individuation from mother in early childhood. Chodorow hypothesizes that differences in the experience of the separation-individuation process between mother and her female or male child lead to relatively enduring differences in the structural and qualitative aspects of internalized object relations representations, and that these intrapsychic structures then mediate and produce gender-linked personality attributes.

The researcher's interest in testing Chodorow's theory required the development of a measure for assessing the object relations constructs which Chodorow describes. An interpretive scoring system was designed for the TAT to measure proposed differences in the relevant structural and thematic qualities of projected object relations representations. Subjects' scores on the TAT measure were examined on the basis of an independent assessment of the nature and timing of differentiation from mother in early childhood, and the reliability and validity of the scoring system were examined.

Theoretical Background

In what amounts to a revolution in psychoanalytic thought, Freud's structural model of the psyche is, in recent decades being supplanted by object relations theory. Beginning with the works of Melanie Klein and Margaret Mahler, psychoanalytic thinkers have increasingly adopted object relations constructs to understand and explain personality development and functioning.

Althea Horner (1981) defines object relations as follows:

The term 'object relations' refers to specific intrapsychic structures, to an aspect of ego organization, and not to external interpersonal relationships. However, these intrapsychic structures, the mental representations of self and other (the object), do become manifest in the interpersonal situation. That is, "the inner world of object relations determines in

a fundamental way the individual's relations with people in the external world. This world ...is basically the residue of the individual's relations with people upon whom he was dependent for the satisfaction of primitive needs in infancy and during the early stages of maturation (Phillipson, 1955, p. 7). (p. 3)

She goes on to summarize development as follows:

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

Many object relations theorists (for example, Horner, Jacobson and Mahler) have focused on the development process in which the infant and toddler internalize and organize personal and interpersonal experiences. Margaret Mahler in her book The Psychological Birth of the Human Infant (1980), provides a clear explication of this process which she calls Separation-Individuation. Mahler's theory is a stage theory of earliest intrapsychic and interpersonal personality development; it is derived from her extensive empirical observations. Described briefly, she asserts that the infant begins life in a stage she refers to as autism, where experience is largely undifferentiated. As cognitive maturation ensues, the infant attaches to the mother and experiences self and mother as one, this second

stage is variously referred to as 'dual unity', 'primary identification', or for Mahler, 'normal symbiosis'. In the third stage the separation-individuation process begins. This process is viewed as consisting of two distinct though intertwined aspects. Separation refers to the achieving of a sense of separateness, an independent sense of self and identity. Individuation in this framework represents the acquisition of individual characteristics, capacities and components of personality and ego functioning. (Though the use of terminology in the literature is inconsistent, 'differentiation' refers essentially to both aspects of separation-individuation.)

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

Though Mahler does not address gender development in the context of her theory, Nancy Chodorow does. Chodorow has taken early childhood differentiation from mother as her point of departure and proposed a theory to explain the etiology of gender differentiation. Chodorow's theory relies on an object relations developmental framework, and asserts that feminine and masculine personality attributes

are derived from the differing qualities of the early separation-individuation process experienced by girls and boys.

Chodorow's theory is complex and broad in scope. In her various publications, her views and emphases vary. This study focuses on the predominant and central area of her theory, that of preoedipal development.

Chodorow hypothesizes that feminine and masculine personality traits are mediated by the nature of intrapsychic self and other object representations. Specifically, she asserts that identity is object-dependent for women and object-independent for men; and that affective merging, mutuality, and interdependence characterize feminine object-relations while masculine object-relations are affectively insulated. The object-dependence and affective mutuality of feminine ego-structure leads to personality attributes such as compassion, empathy, dependency, emotionality, and subordination to others. The affectively insulated and object-independent identity of males produces masculine characteristics such as dominance, independence, assertiveness, and emotional constriction and inhibition.

In Chodorow's theory these differing structures of internal object relations originate in the separation-individuation developmental process. For girls, the source for learning feminine traits is mother, thus, the 'model' for the internalization of 'self' object representation is the primary person with whom the young

girl has had a real, affective relationship. Because mother is internalized as both the primary other, and a 'model' for identification, self and other internal object representations are characterized by identification with the other, and affective interdependence. For females, gender identity formation is continuous with the earlier experience of primary identification, in which the infant experiences her/himself as merged with, as one with mother. The mother-child relationship itself is internalized as feminine ego-structure; intrapsychic object relations are interpersonal in nature and replicate the dynamic qualities of the mother-child relationship.

Two key external factors are critical in this process. First, it is women, females who mother. Second, mothers respond differently to their female and male children. Mothers reward, foster, and encourage in multiple ways, differing behaviors from their daughters and sons, with concomitantly differing ramifications for the child's interpersonal, psychodynamic, and intrapsychic experience and development. Mothers thus reward and foster the emulation and imitation of themselves, i.e., of feminine and maternal traits, in their daughters, and (also characteristic of femininity) allow their daughters greater expression of their spontaneous experiences as a child qua child in allowing them to be emotional, vulnerable, dependent, etc...As such, prolonged dependency characterizes the early childhood of girls as opposed to

boys. The mother continues to respond to and gratify the young girls dependency needs, maintaining her daughter's dependency and the potency of the maternal union.

The young boy too begins with a primary identification with mother, which is later supplanted by a masculine gender identification. The sources of masculine identity for internalization are father, and other salient males, but in early life children have very little actual contact with males. Masculinity socialization therefore occurs largely within the context of the mother-child relationship, because fathers spend so little time with their children especially during the early years. Masculinity develops, according to Chodorow, because "Mother treats son in a manner which emphasizes his differentness (masculinity) in opposition to herself" (Chodorow, 1974, p. 48). The behaviors and traits which are fostered in the young boy are a set of prescribed principles and behaviors, and amount essentially to role learning because there is no real person available to internalize and identify with. Consequently 'self' object representation for the boy involves a denial of what is known emotionally and relationally--i.e., mother and femininity. The structure of internalized object relations involves a greater degree of self-other differentiation, and the attenuation of emotional relatedness. In multiple ways, mothers push their sons to separate-individuate earlier and more radically. Mothers are less apt to gratify their sons

dependency needs, more apt to encourage the inhibition of emotional expression, and in general foster independence and self-reliance in their sons. Chodorow proposes that an object-independent, highly differentiated, and affectively insulated self-representation results, and then leads to the personality attributes characteristic of masculinity, e.g., dominance, independence, assertiveness, aggression, etc.

Male infants, like their female counterparts begin development in the feminine mode--merged with a female mother. The disidentification which constitutes the forming of masculine traits involves a repression and dissociation of the early interpersonal experience of enmeshment with a feminine mother. Thus where feminine gender identification is continuous and personal, masculine development is layered. The feminine interpersonal core remains for the male dissociated, and as such it is characterized by undifferentiated and merged object relations.

Overview

The modes of separation-individuation which Chodorow posits as determinants of feminine and masculine personality traits are different in complex and variegated ways. We identify several major parameters that are key hypothetical factors which she uses to distinguish these two modes of development. The first, and primary causal variable is the nature and level of maternal involvement. Two additional

parameters, which are predicated upon the nature and level of maternal involvement are timing and degree of separation-individuation, and identification vs. disidentification with mother.¹ These parameters may be viewed as antecedent variables that describe the rich constellation of mother-child experiences which constitute the hypothetically important factors in the etiology of gender development.

Thus little girls are said to experience high levels of close, prolonged maternal involvement. They remain enmeshed and merged through their extended dependency and continued identification with mother. Separation-individuation occurs late, and is less radical and less complete. Boys, in contrast are seen to experience earlier and greater separation-individuation via the socialization for masculinity imposed by mother. The masculine gender traits fostered in the male toddler are oppositional to the feminine traits of mother and therefore represent a disidentification. The fostering of independence and self-reliance render maternal involvement comparatively low.

This theory postulates two distinctly different modes of development, each of which is composed of multiple factors which covary and are distinguished by virtue of representing the polarities of the dimensions addressed.

Both empirical research and common sense indicate that many of the inter- and intrapersonal factors addressed

¹Chodorow describes these factors as causally linked and covarying. However, they may be empirically independent.

in the theory are highly complex and varied. For example, the feminine and masculine personality traits which Chodorow seeks to explain are not unitary phenomena, but multifactored and highly variable both within and across biological sex. Thus while Chodorow's conceptualizations are dichotomous and polarized, the phenomena she describes are better viewed as multivariate factors which vary along continuous dimensions.

To recapitulate, the theory postulates:

1. That mothers respond differently to their female and male infants.
2. That these differences in maternal behavior produce differing intrapsychic structures in the child.
3. And that these intrapsychic structures, in turn, produce gender personality attributes.

Implicit in this first postulate is the assumption that, universally, the biological sex of the child is the major and key determinant and organizer of mother's behavior toward her child. Empirical research to date provides some support for this general assumption; indicating that a substantial degree of variation in maternal behavior is linked to the biological sex of the child. (For reviews of this literature see Donelson & Gullahorn, 1977; Hyde & Rosenberg, 1980; & Unger, 1979.) However, multiple other factors impact on the early mother-child relationship, including the personality traits of the mother, infant

temperment, mother-child interaction, and many others. These factors lead to substantial differences in maternal behavior and mother-child interactions. If the second and third tenets of Chodorow's theory are correct, then it is maternal behavior and interaction with child, regardless of origin or precipitator, which ultimately produces variation in psychological femininity and masculinity. In this regard the processes Chodorow describes should account for the variation in both the mediating intrapsychic object relations and psychological femininity/masculinity, both within and across biological sex.

While Chodorow addresses only the relative development of females vs. males, this writer reasons that her theory can be extended to the relative differences in development among women alone. Hence varying levels of maternal involvement and concomitant timing of separation-individuation should correspond to differences in object relations and feminine/masculine traits in women. In fact, the empirical examination of Chodorow's theory using only women subjects serves to isolate the theoretically important antecedent variables in the mother-child differentiation process from numerous other potentially confounding factors, including possible biological sex-linked determinants and the influence of other socialization forces. It serves as a control for the multiplicity of socialization forces such as peers, the media, and other adults, which differ for girls and boys.

The present study seeks to develop a method of measuring the intrapsychic constructs of Chodorow's theory, and to assess whether proposed differences in these constructs correspond to the differences in the early childhood separation-individuation experience which Chodorow asserts are causal factors. Thus it is the relationship between the antecedent variables in the separation-individuation developmental process (#1 above), and the object relations configurations (#2 above) which is the focus of this study. The desired goal is to devise a method of measuring these intrapsychic variables in a manner which can reliably and validly distinguish subjects from differing modes of separation-individuation development.

Object Relations Assessment, Literature Review

Attempts to develop methods to measure object relations constructs are just beginning to receive attention. Projective techniques are perhaps the most appropriate devices for measuring these intrapsychic structures. Projective techniques are instruments which reveal the content and structure of an individual's existing mental organization.

Only three measures which utilize projective methods to assess object relations constructs have been reported in the literature to date. Ryan (cited in Spear & Lapidus, 1981) developed a measure to assess thematic qualities of interpersonal interactions in self-reported early memories.

He found a significant relationship between the qualities of interpersonal descriptions and the capacity to engage in a psychotherapeutic relationship. Triman and Ryan (cited in Spear & Lapidus, 1981) demonstrated a correlation between this measure and Loevinger's descriptive stratification of level of ego-development.

Krohn and Mayman (1974) using a shortened modification of Ryan's Object Relations Scale studied dreams, early memories, and Rorschach protocols. They found that the thematic level of object-representation correlated with therapist's and supervisor's judgments of client's overt interpersonal functioning. The Krohn and Mayman scale describes eight classifications of object relations which correspond to Mahler's stages of development and concomitant levels of adult psychopathology (i.e., psychotic, borderline, narcissistic, neurotic, and normal).

The most elaborate system formulated to assess object relations constructs was developed by Blatt, Brenneis, Schimek, and Glick (1976) as a Rorschach scoring measure. This scoring system is based on dimensions outlined by Werner of articulation, differentiation, and integration. Research findings on normal subjects with this scale indicate that there is a positive correlation between age and developmental level of object-representations as defined by the scale. In research with psychotic patients, Blatt et al. found that certain patients display a range of both developmentally regressed and advanced object-representations,

while as a group psychotic patients score significantly lower than normal controls.

These studies indicate that projective techniques can be utilized to validly assess object-relations paradigms that correspond to meaningful dimensions of manifest personality.

METHODOLOGY

Research Design

A scoring system for TAT stories was developed by the researcher. This scoring system was designed to measure differences in object relations representations, that Chodorow theorizes are the intrapsychic products resulting from differences in the early childhood experience of separation-individuation from mother. To test the scoring system (or TAT measure), this study sought volunteers who were clients in psychotherapy as subjects, and their therapists as participants. The psychotherapy clients submitted written TAT response stories, while their therapists provided an independent assessment of the subjects' early childhood separation-individuation development. The independent variable consists of the therapists' classification of their clients into one of three possible groups of varying early childhood separation-individuation experiences. Subjects' scores on the TAT measure constitute the dependent variable. The subjects' TAT stories were scored on the research measure by two independent and trained clinical judges. Using the therapists' classification of subjects, the subjects' scores were

assessed for group differences. As an exploratory and pilot study, the research measure was revised as provided by the findings.

The choice of psychotherapy clients and their therapists as subjects and participants was based on the need for a psychologically sophisticated and informed judgment about the subjects' early childhood. It was reasoned that psychotherapists are both psychologically astute with regard to the factors relevant to the individuation process, and are additionally most likely to have an in-depth knowledge and understanding of the subjects' childhood history.

All participants in the study were volunteers, the method of obtaining data and the maintenance of confidentiality are outlined in the Procedure section.

Subjects were classified into one of three groups reflecting variation in the nature and timing of differentiation from mother. These include varying levels of maternal involvement (high, medium, and low), and concomitant differences in the timing and degree of separation-individuation (for individuation-timing: early, middle, and late).¹

Group 1 subjects are those who were classified by their therapists as having experienced high maternal involvement and late separation-individuation. The

¹A three group classification of subjects along these dimensions was based on the rationale that these factors vary--at least--on a continuum.

researcher hypothesized that their TAT stories would show the qualities of object relations that Chodorow asserts are the correlates of this mode of separation-individuation development.

Group 3 subjects were classified by their therapists as having experienced early separation-individuation and low levels of maternal involvement. Their scores on the TAT measure were predicted to reflect the correlates of object relations representations which Chodorow describes for this mode of development.

Predictions for Group 2 subjects were deduced from Chodorow's theory wherever possible, and, were more broadly derived from general psychological theory of early childhood development. The rationale and deductions for this and other groups are explained fully in the outline of the TAT measure.

The Research Instruments

The Therapist Questionnaire

The questionnaire completed by therapists consists of six items relevant to the phenomena under investigation. The research design calls for therapists to classify their clients into one of three groups. Item four requests this classification, and is posed as follows:

- 4) The following categories describe mother-child relationships. Based on your knowledge of the client, please check the one--only one--which most closely characterizes the client's early childhood

relationship with her mother. Choose according to the client's experience of her mothering figure when the client was 1 to 5 years old.

--Symbiotic / Late-Individuation

In this mother-child dyad the mother is highly invested in, and involved with her daughter. Maternal behavior is highly nurturing and warm, perhaps emotionally enmeshed. The mother is highly responsive to the child's needs and affect, in a manner which reinforces and prolongs daughter's dependency. Mother encourages either or both the imitation and emulation of maternal behaviors and characteristics, or 'little girl' characteristics including dependency and vulnerability. Daughter may be characterized as 'Mommy's little girl.' The mother may be seen as overprotective, and not allowing of, or facilitating daughter's independence, separateness, and autonomy. Either overinvolved or highly involved, mother may be viewed as having loose ego-boundaries, being merged or enmeshed with her daughter. Daughter does not individuate from the mother-child matrix till late childhood.

--Disengaged / Early-Individuation

This mother is underinvolved, frustrating her daughter's dependency needs. In either active or passive ways her behavior reinforces and necessitates the early development of self-reliance and independence in the child. Especially with regards to the child's dependency needs, she is distant and detached, and may be seen as 'pushing her daughter away.' Disengaged from her role as mother to the child qua child, she forces an adult-like role onto the child. Hostility, rejection, and neglect represent the extreme ends of this continuum, though separateness is the common dimension. This mother is not sincerely empathic, but emotionally detached from the child's experiencing. She treats her daughter in a manner which emphasizes their differentness, and may be overly demanding. The mother has firm-rigid ego-boundaries, and facilitates the early individuation and sense of separateness in the child.

--Interactive / Middle-Individuation

This mother's behavior lies between the first two. The mother is moderately nurturing and involved. She is sensitive to her daughter and is able to respond to her dependency needs while not encouraging them. She allows for and fosters the child's self-reliance.

independence, and separateness. This mother has flexible but intact ego-boundaries, she allows the child both dependency and independence. She is a separate person who is able to share in her daughter's experiencing while maintaining her separateness. The child develops a sense of separate self and ego-boundaries slowly, and according to the inherent unfolding of this maturational process. This mother-child relationship is not necessarily without conflict, but is in general interactive as opposed to symbiotic-and-merged or disengaged.

The next item on the questionnaire, #5, asks therapists to evaluate the certainty of the judgment made on #4. This questionnaire item was included in order to exclude data for any subject whose therapist did not feel adequately certain and secure of their capacity to classify the subject. The question reads as follows:

- 5) With what degree of certainty do you feel that the judgment made in item #4 is relatively informed and sophisticated, i.e., based on direct information from the client, and a substantially secure clinical sense of the client?

Quite certain _____
 Fairly certain _____
 Mildly certain _____
 Not at all certain _____

The remaining items on the therapist questionnaire request brief family background and demographical information which is potentially relevant to the research. These questions ask: 1) if the biological mother was the primary caretaker, 2) if there was a separation from mother during early childhood, and if so for how long, 3) the ages and gender of siblings, 6) the client's age, and educational background. (The questionnaire is included in Appendix A.)

The TAT Measure

Choice of the TAT

The TAT is a projective device which requires subjects to tell a story to a stimulus picture. In employing the TAT as a projective, the researcher or clinician selects cards which are designed to elicit themes of interest. Three cards were selected for use in this study based on their stimulus properties and capacity to elicit relevant projections of object relations constructs.

The Family Scene Card "FSC" was developed by Bernice Neutgarten and published in her 1958 monograph. This card depicts and elicits dynamics of adult-age family relationships. Stories told to this card typically reflect themes of differentiation from family. Murray card 7GF depicts a mother and daughter, and evokes themes relevant to separation-individuation from mother during childhood. Murray card 10 portrays a couple embraced. This picture is somewhat ambiguous with regards to the ages and gender of the two people pictured. This card usually elicits themes of intimacy, separateness, and relatedness. While the "Mother-Daughter" Card (MDC) more directly evokes dynamics of the mother-child differentiation process, the Family Scene Card and "Couple" Card (CC) also elicit potent dynamics involving self and other differentiation and relatedness. Photocopies of the three cards are included in Appendix B.

Development of the TAT Measure

With the goal of developing a measure for the intrapsychic constructs of Chodorow's theory, the researcher examined 60 TAT protocols obtained from a previously conducted study.¹ These protocols represented a sample population of adult-age women and men, 30 of each, ages 20 to 30. The sample was heterogenous for other demographic factors. Working within the framework of the trends, variety, and commonalities of stories told to the three cards selected, a scoring system was designed which would hypothetically measure differences which are consistent with Chodorow's theory.

Within the constraints of the range of story form and content elicited by each card, an attempt was made to focus on, define and measure variations which might predictably derive from the pertinent developmental and intrapsychic constructs. It was not always possible to measure factors which are directly described by Chodorow. Many of the constructs measured are directly derived from Chodorow. However, to make optimal use of the data, some of the factors measured are related, deduced, or exploratory with respect to Chodorow's theory.

In examining these 60 pre-study protocols, the researcher discerned numerous sex-linked differences, and a range of content patterns which are consistent with the

¹These protocols were obtained from a Ph.D. dissertation study conducted by Radin, J., 1978.

parameters of psychological femininity and masculinity as described by Chodorow. For example, in stories told to the FSC, women were more likely to depict relationships as close, harmonious and enmeshed. Males were more apt to describe themes including independence, conflict, defensiveness, and deprivation. Most of the dimensions developed for the measure were reflective of observed gender-linked trends and differences which are congruent with Chodorow's theory.

Description of the TAT Measure and Scoring Properties

The research measure is an interpretive scoring system for stories told to the three cards chosen. The measure was revised at various stages of the research procedure, the revisions will be noted where they apply. The measure is contained in Appendix C.

The original scoring system constructed by the investigator consisted of 16 dimensions, seven additional dimensions were constructed later.¹ Each dimension assesses general psychodynamic or interpersonal constructs in the thematic and structural content of the stories. The dimensions are scored on a choice of three to eight different levels or categories. The different levels or

¹Four of these dimensions were constructed post-hoc, after the data had been examined. The other three are a single dimension which had originally been designed to be scored once for each story. During the training of the raters this dimension was altered to be scored twice for each story, once for self-representation, and once for representation of others.

categories of the dimensions correspond to the various correlates of the different separation-individuation modes of development. Thus each dimension taps a specific area, and the range of categories represent the hypothesized correlates and ramifications of varying individuation-timing.

Seventeen of the dimensions are specific to stories told to a particular stimulus card, two are for use with all three cards ($2 \times 3 = 6$ dimensions). Of the 23 dimensions, 20 are scored by selecting one choice from several mutually exclusive categories; the remaining three can be scored on any number of the possible non-exclusive alternatives.

For the purposes of statistical analysis, the categories were rank ordered to correspond, as much as possible, to the ranking of subject groups. Thus, low values represent the predicted responses of subjects in Group 1, the late-individuators; intermediary values represent the predictions for Group 2, the middle-individuators; and high values consist of the predictions for Group 3, the early-individuators. A perfectly linear rank correspondence was not always possible, thus the order of categories on some dimensions are not consistently congruent with all predictions, but represent optimal probabilities. These issues are given careful consideration in the data analysis.

TAT Dimensions and Rationale

Level of differentiation. This dimension is the most significant and important research dimension, and a primary focus of the study. It is intended to assess the structural qualities of object representations. The remaining TAT dimensions are, generally speaking, thematic in nature. This dimension is scored independently for 'Self' (the heroine of the story) and 'Other' or object representations for each of the stories told to all three cards. (On the scoring scale it comprises six of the scoring dimensions, these are numbers 8, 9, 13, 14, 18, and 19.)

The theoretical rationale underlying this dimension is central to the focus of this research. Object relations development is conceptualized to proceed from a state of global undifferentiation, through the process of internalization to greater differentiation. For both Mahler and Chodorow this process of differentiation is viewed as consisting of two distinct though interrelated aspects. Thus Mahler's term 'Separation' refers essentially to self-other differentiation, to the range of relatedness and separateness of self and other. Mahler's 'Individuation' refers to the degrees of intrapersonal or individual differentiation; or in other words, the extent to which individual personality characteristics are developed and expressed.

In general theoretical terms, greater separateness and hence differentiation from others occurs with and is prompted by the development of more differentiated internal structures, or individuation. This framework is a systems theory view of the evolution of independent entities; increasing internal complexity and structuralization gives rise to increased autonomy and independence. Thus separation, or self-other differentiation is dependent upon individuation, or intrapersonal differentiation.

This scale seeks to measure three different levels of these two constructs (interrelatedness, individuation) in tandem. The three levels of interrelatedness are designated as 'merged', 'interrelated', and 'isolated.' The three levels of individuation are referred to as 'merged', 'superficially individuated', and 'fully individuated.' The first level, 'Merged' represents the coalescence of the two constructs. The five levels are arranged to reflect a continuum which moves from lesser differentiation on both constructs to greater differentiation, with intrapersonal differentiation as primary and interpersonal differentiation as secondary. The dimension is presented as follows:

Level of Differentiation:

1. Merged
2. Superficial Individuation, Interrelated
3. Superficial Individuation, Isolated

4. Full Individuation, Interrelated

5. Full Individuation, Isolated

Level 1 refers to an absence of self-other differentiation, and simultaneous lack of differentiation of self. Here projected object representations are merged and undifferentiated. Theoretically this reflects an extreme form of the object-dependence which Chodorow proposed as constituting the intrapsychic structure that results from a close prolonged relationship with mother and a delayed and less developed individuation. Instructions for coding this level are illustrative:

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

Instructions to coders continue as follows:

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

The interrelatedness and individuation components were described separately in the instructions given to coders:

Interrelatedness

This factor refers to interpersonal relatedness, the nature and degree to which characters respond

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

Individuation

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

Chodorow's theory proposes that high maternal involvement will lead to an intrapsychic object configuration characterized by object-dependence. This entails lesser separateness (greater interrelatedness) and lesser individuation. Low levels of maternal involvement and concomitant early and more radical separation-individuation development is hypothesized to lead to greater differentiation of both self, and self-other representations. Research hypotheses predict

that: 1) High maternal involvement/Late-individuators will project merged, interrelated, and superficially individuated object representations; 2) Medium maternal involvement/Middle-individuators will project interrelated, and fully individuated object representations; 3) Low maternal involvement/Early-individuators will project isolated and fully individuated object representations.

Family scene card dimensions. The first nine dimensions on the research measure are designed to be scored for stories told to the Family Scene Card. Dimensions 1 - 7 are presented below, followed by the theoretical rationale and the hypothesized predictions. Dimensions 8 and 9 are the Level of Differentiation, for Self--8, and Other--9, as described above. Unless otherwise noted, all dimensions are scored by choosing only one of the levels or categories.

1. Separation-Individuation Themes:

- 1) No separation-individuation, the family members portrayed in this story are merged.
- 2) There is a sense of separateness of members, which is harmoniously accepted.
- 3) There is sadness with acceptance of separateness.
- 4) There is a struggle to separate, the parents cling while the child distances.
- 5) There is a struggle to separate, the young person desires greater closeness.

This dimension assesses themes of separation and individuation from family. It is based on the general assumption that patterns of family interactions are indicative of modes of self-other differentiation which originate in the early mother-child relationship. In the context of Chodorow's theory, high maternal involvement and late separation-individuation is linked to undifferentiated object relations representations. Hence the primary hypothesis for Group 1 subjects asserts that these subjects' stories will portray family members as merged, level 1. Chodorow also addresses the potential conflict these daughters may experience, though she views it as less potent than the conflicts experienced by early-individuators. As a secondary hypothesis, Group 1 women were predicted to describe a struggle to separate while parents cling, 4. For Group 3 women, who were judged by therapists as having experienced detached mothers and an early-individuation, Chodorow stresses the conflict and struggle in the differentiation process; these subjects were predicted as most likely to project themes involving a struggle to separate, 4 and 5. For Group 2 women who were judged to have experienced intermediary and perhaps optimal levels of maternal involvement, a broad based developmental paradigm predicts an absence of problematic struggle and conflict, with concomitant acceptance of separateness, levels 2 and 3. ('Acceptance

of separateness' was included as two levels with either 'harmony' or 'sadness' for exploratory reasons.)

2. Major themes of the story:

1. Repeating the family life-cycle.
2. Focus on something external, failing to address the interpersonal relationships.
3. Longing for closeness.
4. Loss or deprivation.
5. Rebellion and defiance.

Chodorow asserts that a strong close relationship with mother is the source for and perpetuates maternal personality traits in women; hence it is hypothesized that Group 1 women's stories will involve a focus on themes of 'repeating the family life-cycle', level 1. Chodorow emphasizes the roles of loss, deprivation and defensiveness in her explication of the ramifications of a too early psychological separation from mother. As such it is predicted that Group 3 women will tell stories with these themes, levels 4 and 5, and perhaps level 3. For the intermediary group, a focus on something external or repeating the family life-cycle are deemed reflective of optimal development, levels 1 and 2. This dimension could be scored on any number of the categories.

3. Quality of Affective interaction:

1. Harmonious, without difficulty.
2. Acceptance of interpersonal difficulties or differences.

3. Covert conflict.

4. Overt conflict.

Following from the first dimension, the quality of the emotional interactions between family members would hypothetically involve conflict for early-individuators who had experienced the greatest amount of frustration in early childhood (levels 3 and 4). Further, these women are hypothesized to be most apt to portray conflict overtly. Late-individuators are hypothesized as most likely to project harmonious family interactions, or secondarily to depict covert conflict (levels 1 and 3). Covert conflict is deemed to reflect a compromise formation in which frustration is expressed without threatening the semblance and degree of actual enmeshment. Those from the middle group are predicted to portray family interactions which are either accepting of interpersonal difference, level 2, or harmonious, level 1.

4. Portrayal of Mother: Mother is depicted as:

1. Submissive.

2. Supportive.

3. Self-absorbed.

4. Depriving.

5. Missing, she is not acknowledged.

This dimension assesses the projected qualities of the maternal figure in the stories, and was chosen to ascertain whether the subject's projection of mother would correspond

to the therapist's judgment of the qualities of the mother's relatedness to the subject in early childhood. If so, the subject's projection would directly converge with the therapist's judgment. It was hypothesized that Group 1 women would portray mother in an either submissive or supportive fashion in family interactions. The designation of submissive was reasoned to reflect the more traditionally feminine maternal role which Chodorow asserts that women experience and then internalize in traditional families. Group 3 women who were judged by therapists to have detached and distant mothers were hypothesized to portray the maternal figure as self-absorbed, depriving, or (psychologically) missing. It was hypothesized that Group 2 women should project supportive maternal figures.

5. Affect toward Mother: Based on this story, how would you characterize this subject's feelings toward mother?

1. Ambivalent
2. Positive
3. Hostile

Given the hypotheses above, it is predicted that the stories of Group 2 women will convey a positive emotional tone toward the maternal figure; subjects from Group 3 will express hostile feelings, and those from Group 1 will be expressive of ambivalent feelings.

6. Portrayal of Father: Father is depicted as:

1. Overprotective.
2. Supportive.
3. Self-absorbed.
4. Depriving.
5. Missing, he is not acknowledged.

Chodorow's theory views the mother-child relationship as the predominant determinant in gender development. She does not elaborate on the differing roles fathers may play in their relationships with their daughters and sons. Thus this dimension was included primarily for exploratory purposes, to discern what if any differences might characterize subjects' projections of a paternal figure in a family setting. Predictions for group differences are derived from assumptions about the type of family system which corresponds to the relational style of the subjects' mothers as classified by therapists. The traditional gender role of Group 1 mothers would implicate a father who is overprotective, level 1. Group 2 subjects are hypothesized to portray father as supportive, level 2, while the stories of Group 3 women are hypothesized to reflect fathers who are also disengaged, categories 3, 4, and 5.

7. Affect toward Father: Based on this story, how would you characterize this subject's feelings toward father?

1. Ambivalent.

2. Positive.

3. Hostile.

Consistent with the above predictions, it is hypothesized that Group 1 women will project ambivalent affect toward father, Group 2 women will project positive feelings, and the feelings of Group 3 women will belie hostility.

Mother-daughter card dimensions. Dimensions 10 - 14 and 20 - 23 are designed for stories told to the Mother-Daughter Card (MDC). The first of these, numbers 10 - 14, were constructed as a part of the preliminary measure prior to data collection. Dimensions 20 - 23 were developed post-hoc, as will be explained. The Level of Differentiation dimensions for this card are numbers 13 and 14, all others are presented and discussed here.

This card directly evokes themes of separation and individuation from mother in early childhood. In many cases, women, regardless of age, identify with the daughter figure in their stories to this card. Stimulus properties of the picture show the daughter figure full-face and centered, while the maternal figure is in profile and less salient. The following dimensions assume that subjects identify with the daughter in their stories and project themes and dynamics relevant to their childhood relationships with their mothers.

10. Mother-Daughter Theme: How would you characterize the main theme of the story?
1. Desire for autonomy eschewing of maternal identification.
 2. Acceptance of mothering without a sense of deprivation or separation.
 3. Longing for emotional closeness, nurturance, predicated upon a sense of abandonment, loss or deprivation.

The three themes categorized here are reflective of three modes of responding on the part of the daughter. It is hypothesized that Group 1 women who had experienced an overly involved mother would portray the daughter as either desiring of autonomy, level 1, or accepting of mothering, level 2. Group 2 women were predicted to be most likely to express an acceptance of mothering, level 2. Women whose mothers were judged to have been disengaged were predicted to express a longing for closeness, level 3.

11. Mother's Behavior: How would you characterize the behavior and feelings of mother toward daughter?
1. Overprotective and clingy.
 2. Maternal, nurturing, caring, and consoling.
 3. Rejecting and "pushing away."
 4. Abandonment and/or depriving.

This dimension again attempts to assess whether subjects' projections are consistent with their therapists

characterizations of their mothers behavior in early childhood. Hence, Group 1 women were expected to depict the maternal figure as 'overprotective and clingy', level 1; Group 2 women are expected to portray the maternal figure as maternal and nurturing, level 2; and Group 3 women are expected to project maternal figures who are rejecting or depriving, categories 3 and 4.

12. Mother-Daughter Separation-Individuation Theme:

Is there mother-daughter emotional separation involving:

1. No emotional separation.
2. Daughter's anticipation of future motherhood, with or without emotional separation from mother.
3. Daughter's desire for affiliation with a man or father.
4. Daughter's desire for simple autonomy.
5. Daughter's desire for affiliation with peers.
6. Maternal distance.
7. Daughter's desire for achievement.

The method of scoring this dimension was changed during the pre-study training of raters. The revision enabled raters to score the dimension on any number of categories. Based on Chodorow's theory, the stories of Group 1 women are hypothesized to reflect either the absence of emotional separation from mother, identification with mother in the

anticipation of future motherhood, or desire for affiliation with a man or father. The stories of Group 2 women are predicted to reflect daughter's desire for simple autonomy or affiliation with peers. Group 3 women's stories were hypothesized to depict maternal distance or daughter's desire for achievement.

Post-hoc mother-daughter card dimensions. The following dimensions were constructed for the Mother-Daughter Card stories after the data had been obtained. The preliminary thematic dimensions developed for this card failed to show significant associations with individuation-timing, yet the researcher found that subjects' stories did vary considerably in relevant areas. Further examination indicated that the construction and phrasing of the first dimensions was too vague to distinguish group differences. These next four dimensions were then constructed and scored for subjects' stories in the same manner that the earlier dimensions were scored.

20. Rate the quality of the maternal figure's emotional involvement and behavior toward the daughter.
 1. The mother's primary focus is on nurturing or relating to her daughter (regardless of whether she succeeds or fails).
 2. A mixture of relating, nurturing, and being her own person. The mother's behavior involves both her desire to relate and her

own independent personality characteristics, interests, thoughts, etc.

3. The mother is unavailable to her daughter through her indifference.
4. There is a semblance of nurturing which is either obligatory or ambivalent.
5. This mother is basically hostile, in either an actively aggressive or passively aggressive way.

This dimension again seeks to ascertain whether subjects' projections of a mothering figure correspond to the therapists assessment of the qualities and attributes of the subject's mother in early childhood. The hypotheses are: Group 1 women will score on levels 1 or 2; Group 2 women will score on level 2; and Group 3 women will score on levels 3, 4, or 5.

21. Relatedness/Separateness Theme: For the daughter, the predominant theme and focus of the story is upon:

1. Sharing an experience with mother, there is no separating theme.
2. A desire for involvement with others, or another.
3. A passive evaluation of the situation.
4. Some substantial though not complete separateness achieved by an internal focus or independent initiative, e.g., dreams or fantasies which are not fully elaborated.

5. Strong separateness achieved through independence in internal or external planning, action, dreams, fantasies, adventures; which are elaborate and well articulated.

Themes and modes of relating or being separate are examined with this dimension. Group 1 women are hypothesized to focus on sharing an experience, or desire for involvement with others, levels 1 and 2, given Chodorow's theory of feminine development. The stories of Group 2 women are hypothesized to reflect categories 2, 3, or 4. Group 3 women will focus internally to achieve separateness or actualize strong separateness, levels 4 and 5.

22. Rate the level of the daughter's dependency/independence and level of maturity.

1. Very, 'little girl' dependent.
2. Essentially a 'little girl' but with the beginnings of independence, autonomy, and separateness.
3. Highly independent, self-reliant, and quite mature and adult-like.

This dimension asks raters to infer the level of maturity of the daughter figure in subjects' stories linked to the dependency vs. independence of the daughter vis a vis the mother figure. Group 1 subjects who had experienced prolonged dependency are predicted to project

a dependent daughter. Group 2 women whose separation-individuation was intermediary are hypothesized to project a childlike daughter who shows the beginnings of independence and autonomy. Early-individuators are hypothesized as most likely to portray daughters who are independent, mature, and adult-like.

23. Degree of daughter's Relatedness/Separateness:

1. Complete relatedness. The daughter is basically involved in the shared experience.
2. Predominately related, as a baseline, with a mild degree of separateness. Perhaps a sense of having been strongly connected in the past, and just beginning to experience separateness.
3. There are equal degrees of both a sense of connectedness, and real separateness.
4. Predominantly separate, but there is a mild semblance of relatedness. Here the daughter's experience of relatedness or connection to the maternal figure seems quite shallow.
5. This daughter is largely separate, isolated, and independent from the maternal figure. There is little or no sense of connection, but a strong sense of separateness.

The construct assessed here is also assessed on the Level of Differentiation dimensions. This dimension was

utilized to discern whether a 5-point scale would yield more sensitive distinctions in degrees of separateness and relationship.

Couple card dimensions. Dimensions 15 - 19 are scored for stories told to the Couple Card. Dimensions 15 - 17 are described below; dimensions 18 and 19 were presented in a previous section.

15. Who is depicted: Observed characters are:

1. Parent and child.
2. Two adults.

While most subjects perceive the couple depicted on this card as two adults. Some perceive a parent and child. Based on the assumption that Group 2 subjects experienced a sound differentiation, these women are predicted to be most likely to perceive two adults. It was reasoned that a strong maternal identification in Group 1 women, and the unmet dependency needs of Group 3 women might lead these subjects to perceive a parent and child in the picture.

16. Relationship modality:

1. Maternal, support is one-way.
2. Merged mutuality.
3. Complimentary mutuality.
4. The two are in conflict, overt or covert.

Group 1 subjects are predicted to project a relationship characterized as either maternal or merged, levels 1 and 2. Middle-individuators are hypothesized to project a

relationship characterized by complementarity, and early-individuators are hypothesized to portray conflict.

17. Couple Theme: How would you characterize the main theme of the story?
1. Separation.
 2. Loss.
 3. Reunion occurs.
 4. Simple intimacy.
 5. Grief and sadness are accepted.
 6. Loss or separation is tragic.
 7. Great relief and gratitude accompany reunion.
 8. Emphasis upon achieving mastery and autonomy.

This dimension could be scored on any number of the categories. The themes represented in the categories here had been found to differentiate men and women in a prior study.¹ The stories of men had frequently involved tragic loss or separation, followed by a striving for mastery and then reunion accompanied by great relief and gratitude. Women's stories reflected less tragic portrayals of separation and loss, simple intimacy, and greater acceptance of grief and sadness. These thematic patterns are hypothesized to be linked to the early developmental experiences of differentiation from mother as Chodorow characterizes them as differing for men and women. Thus,

¹Radin, J., 1978.

the predictions are: Group 1 women will score on levels 1, 2, 3, and 4; Group 2 on 4 and 5; and Group 3 on levels 6, 7, and 8.

PROCEDURE

Data Collection

Psychotherapists who had private practices in the local county were contacted by the researcher by phone. The purpose and procedure of the study was explained, and participation invited. Therapists who agreed to participate were told that they should select in any manner they choose from among their female outpatient clients those to whom they would distribute the introductory letter (Appendix D) inviting clients to participate. The researcher conveyed to the therapists both by phone and in a letter (Appendix E) the factors they should consider in making this decision. These factors included the possibility that some clients may experience the procedures of the study as an intrusion into the therapy relationship, and the therapists' knowledge about the client which is relevant to the judgment the therapists were requested to make on the questionnaire.

Area therapists who agreed to participate were given all necessary research forms. They distributed the introductory letter to their clients; the letter briefly describes the purpose and procedure of the study, and

invited potential subjects to participate. Clients who volunteered signed a release form (Appendix D) giving the therapist permission to complete the Therapist Questionnaire, and return it to the investigator. Volunteers were given an envelope by the therapist which contained the research instrument and instructions. No identifying information was requested from the client or the therapist. A code number, uniformly assigned to the therapists' and subjects' measures was used to match the two.

The research forms given to clients included photocopies of the three TAT cards chosen for the study and instructions (Appendix B), and a brief letter (Appendix F). Subjects were instructed to write their response stories on paper provided, spending 10-15 minutes on each story. Subjects were then to mail their stories to the investigator in a stamped, addressed envelope provided.

Training of Coders

Two upper level undergraduate students served as clinical judges to score the stories on the scoring system developed. These judges were blind to the hypotheses of the study and to the therapists' classification of subjects. This insured the systematic independence of the data observation.

The investigator trained the judges to code the TAT stories on the research dimensions. A practice set

of 45 TAT protocols containing each of the three stories were utilized during the training period. The raters were instructed on the clinical principles of the TAT as a projective device, and asked to make the appropriate clinical inferences. Training involved several group meetings that the investigator used to devise a set of instructions defining the important criteria for scoring (see Appendix G).

After coding the practice protocols, a high degree of consensus was reached. Each rater then independently scored the actual data for this study. These two sets of independently derived scores were utilized to assess the reliability of the TAT research measure. A single set of scores was needed for use in all other forms of data analysis. Thus raters were instructed to discuss items for which their scores differed, and achieve a consensus. Where their original scores were discrepant, this consensus score was utilized in the final data analysis.

Data Analysis

The raw data for each subject consists of three TAT stories and their therapists' questionnaire. The research data includes the therapists' classification of subjects into one of three separation-individuation groups as the independent variable, and the dependent variables consisting of the raters scorings of subjects' stories on the TAT measure.

The reliability of the TAT measure is assessed with interrater percent agreement. The percentage computed is derived from the number of perfect agreements out of all possible comparisons on the trained raters independently scored data sets. The percentage of agreement is calculated for the entire measure, and for each of the dimensions separately. Dimensions which yield low reliability will be omitted. For all other forms of data analysis the raters consensually agreed upon scores will be utilized where their independent scores had differed.

Before proceeding to a description of the procedures used to assess group differences, a significant problem inherent in the scoring system warrants attention. The numerical ordering of the dimensions posed problems for data analysis. The rank ordering of categories on the dimensions reflects an optimal ranking based largely on the primary hypotheses, or first-order predictions for each of the individuation-timing groups. However, as outlined above, some of the dimensions have secondary hypotheses which are not always consistent with the rank ordering. For example, on the first dimension Group 1 subjects are predicted to be most likely to tell stories reflecting the theme in category 1, while a secondary prediction holds that they may also tell stories reflective of category 4. However the theme of category 4 is more

consistent with primary predictions for Group 3 subjects, hence it was placed at the higher value on the dimension. The researcher attempted to rank the categories in a manner which was reflective of optimal probabilities of the hypothetical group differences. While the primary hypotheses for all groups are consistent with the rank ordering of the scoring categories, the secondary hypotheses in some instances are inconsistent with the rank ordering decided upon. This was unavoidable given the constraints imposed by the theory, and the nature of the data, i.e., the range of story content.

Given this drawback, methods of data analysis which rely on the rank ordering of dimensions to assess group differences are not sensitive to, or comprehensive with regard to the secondary predictions. Thus the numerical ordering is deemed to broadly, though not comprehensively, correspond to predictions.

Overall group differences on the TAT measure were assessed with subjects' total scores computed by summing the numerical scores on all the dimensions. Thus each subject achieves a total score which represents the sum of her scores on all the dimensions. A one-way analysis of variance was then computed to examine group differences of subjects' total scores. Two sets of total scores were calculated, the first, Total 1, includes the original dimensions, while the second, Total 2 consists of subjects'

scores on all of the original dimensions plus the four post-hoc dimensions.

Group differences on each of the dimensions separately were examined with two different statistical techniques. First, Kendall's Tau-C, a rank order correlation coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between individuation-timing and the primary predictions reflected in the rank ordering. As explained above this technique is not comprehensive with respect to all predictions for some of the dimensions.

For those dimensions where second-order predictions are not reflected in the rank ordering, a binomial probability was calculated as a second, more comprehensive statistic. This statistic gives the probability of observed successes, or accurate predictions (hits) based on the binomial distribution where the sample population as a whole determines the expected random probability or distribution. This procedure utilized all predictions (primary and secondary) for each group in calculating the observed frequency of successes. The use of proportions corrects for unequal N in the research groups. The probability statistic for each dimension is based on the conjoint probabilities of hits--accurate predictions--vs. misses for all three groups on that dimension.

Finally, as a pilot study, a revised scoring system was developed to increase the discriminant ability of the measure.

Sample Characteristics

Subjects for this research were volunteers recruited through psychotherapists. Though the researcher had desired a larger sample size, data proved difficult to obtain. A total of 17 subjects volunteered and provided the data used in this study.

On the independent variable, the therapists classified eight of the subjects in Group 3 as early-individuators; five of the subjects were classified in Group 2 as middle-individuators; and four subjects were classified as late-individuators in Group 1.

Subjects' therapists also provided general demographic information on the client-subjects. The sample ranged in age from 20 to 52 years old, with a mean age of 36 and a median of 34 years. Three subjects were in their twenties, eight in their thirties, five in their forties, while one was in her fifties. Seven subjects of the sample were first born children, eight were second born, and the remaining women were third or fourth born. The majority came from two children families. All but one of the women in this sample had been mothered by their biological mothers as the primary caretaker during early childhood, one subject had been mothered by her grandmother, who is equated with "mother" for this study. None of the subjects had experienced any substantial period of separation from her primary caretaker before the age of six. Information on

educational background indicates that ten subjects have had professional or graduate training, four have had some college, and three have high school educations. The relationships between these demographic factors and the research variables were examined. (Results are discussed in Appendix J.)

RESULTS

Summary of Main Results

Statistical analysis of the data indicate that:

1) The TAT measure has good reliability as assessed by the percent agreement of scores across two independent and trained raters; 2) Seven of the 19 original and two of the four post-hoc dimensions constructed for the measure were significantly associated with the nature and timing of separation-individuation from mother in early childhood as appraised by psychotherapists; 3) One-way ANOVA's computed to assess group differences on total scores on the measure, and on composite scores of the most significant dimensions yielded significant group differences in the predicted direction.

Reliability of the Scoring System

The reliability of the TAT measure was assessed with the percentage of interrater agreement. The reliability data consists of the two sets of raters' scores for 17 subjects on the 23 dimensions of the measure. The raters were in perfect agreement on 85% of all comparisons. The percent agreement on each of the separate dimensions

varied from 100% to 77%. The number of disagreements and corresponding percentage of agreement for the dimensions are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Percentage of Raters Agreements on TAT Dimensions

Number of Dimensions	Number of Disagreements	Percentage of Agreement
1	0	100%
6	1	94
5	2	88
5	3	82
5	4	77
1	6	77

Three of the dimensions which yielded the lowest reliabilities were those three that could be scored by the raters any number of times. The pattern of variability indicates that while raters often agreed on one or two of their scores on these dimensions, there was a trend for one of the raters to score on more categories than the other rater did. When these three dimensions are omitted, the percent agreement for the measure on the remaining 20 dimensions increases to 87%. Given their low reliability, and the problems posed by the multiple scores on these dimensions, they were omitted from forms of data analysis which relied on summed scores across dimensions. On the

remaining dimensions, this high level of agreement indicates that the measure has good reliability.

Group Differences on the TAT Measure

The Total Scores

One-way analysis of variance indicates that the early, middle, and late individuation-timing groups achieved significantly different total scores on the TAT measure. Total scores represent the sum of each subjects numerical scores across the dimensions. Two differing sets of total scores were calculated and submitted to ANOVA's. The first ANOVA was performed prior to the addition of four post-hoc dimensions. Thus 'Total 1' scores are those which included the 16 original dimensions (the three multiple scoring dimensions were omitted from these summed scores), while 'Total 2' scores represent the sum of these 16 plus the four dimensions which were constructed and scored after examining the data.

Results of the one-way ANOVA on groups' Total 1 scores yielded an F value of 3.91 (2, 14), significant at $p < .05$ with a one-tail test of significance. The one-way ANOVA for Total 2 scores by group produced an F value of 4.59, (2, 14), also significant at $p < .05$ with a one-tail test. The three groups of subjects' total scores were distributed as predicted, with late-individuators (Group 1) achieving the lowest scores while the early-individuators (Group 3)

achieved the highest. Thus overall, the primary ranked predictions do correspond to empirically validated group differences. Group means and standard deviations are presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Individuation-Timing Group Means and Standard Deviations for Total 1 and Total 2 Scores

	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Total 1 Scores			
Mean	34.75	38.60	45.00
S.D.	4.44	8.50	3.84
Total 2 Scores			
Mean	44.50	48.00	58.00
S.D.	7.50	9.25	5.80

Group Differences in the Distribution of Total Scores

The group distributions of subjects' scores on the two sets of Total scores, are presented in Figure 1. As is evident, the sample as a whole has a distribution which resembles a normally distributed population. The patterns evident in these summed scores are in general consistent with manifest patterns of group differences on each of the separate dimensions.

The most salient and meaningful feature of subjects' scores is the disparity between the scores of Group 1 and Group 3. The overlap between these two groups is minimal,

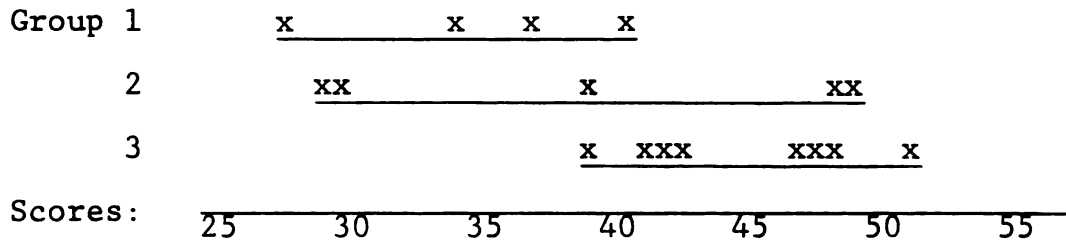
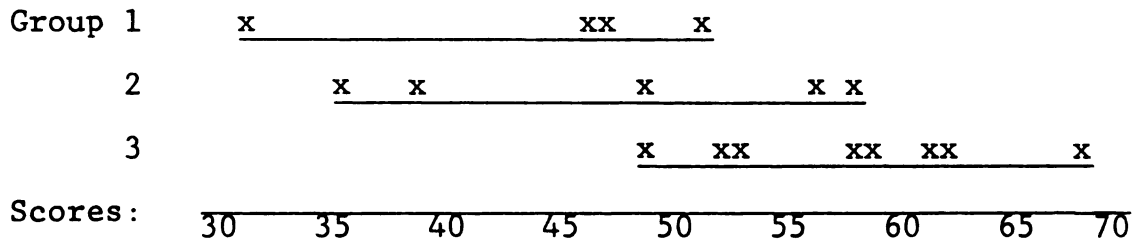
Total 1Total 2

Figure 1. Distribution of Subjects' Total 1 and Total 2 Scores by Individuation-Timing Group.

indicating that the early- and late-individuators were highly discrepant on the constructs measured by the research instrument. The strongest findings at each level of analysis are for Group 3 subjects. This group which had the largest N, was most homogeneous; both individually, and as a group, these subjects most consistently projected aspects of object representations that had been hypothesized for them.

The distribution of Group 1 subjects, the late-individuators reflects greater scatter despite the smaller N of this group. The subject who achieved the lowest score in this group displayed considerable consistency in projecting the hypothesized aspects of object representations predicted for late-individuators. The

remaining three subjects were more varied on the constructs measured. Yet all or most of these women consistently fall below both the sample means and the midpoint of the scoring range on each of these distributions reflecting various summed scores of the TAT dimensions.

While the scores of the early- and late-individuators reflect distinctly different groups, Group 2 subjects' scores overlap considerably with Group 1 and with Group 3. Statistically these middle-individuators have intermediary scores as predicted, yet the distribution indicates that two subjects achieved very low scores and two achieved very high scores. This wide range of scores for Group 2 women is evident on many of the separate dimensions. Examination indicates that the two high scorers frequently told stories which depicted object relations dynamics consistent with those hypothesized for early-individuators.

Analyses of the Individual TAT Dimensions

Each dimension was independently assessed for association with individuation-timing. Kendall's Tau-C, a rank order correlation coefficient examines the relationship between the rank ordering of categories on the dimension and the rank order of groups. Results are presented in Table 3. Six of the original and two of the post-hoc dimensions were significantly associated as hypothesized with individuation-timing at $p < .05$.

Table 3: Rank Correlations Between Individuation-Timing and TAT Dimensions

TAT Dimension	Kendall's Tau-C	p Value
1. S-I Theme	.37	.05*
2. Major Themes	.12	N.S.
3. Affect	.43	.03*
4. Portrayal of Mother	.39	.04*
5. Affect Toward Mother	.26	.07
6. Portrayal of Father	.47	.03*
7. Affect Toward Father	.04	.41
8. FSC Differentiation-Self	.47	.02*
9. FSC Differentiation-Others	-.32	.05*
10. Mother-Daughter Theme	.12	.27
11. Mother's Behavior	.19	.20
12. MD, S-I Theme	.03	N.S.
13. MD Differentiation-Self	.36	.05*
14. MD Differentiation-Mother	.29	.06
15. Depicted	-.08	N.S.
16. Relationship Modality	-.04	.42
17. Couple Theme	.01	N.S.
18. Couple Differentiation-Self	.06	.39
19. Couple Differentiation-Other	.17	.23
20. Maternal Affect	.26	.06
21. Relatedness Theme	.48	.02*
22. Maturity	.33	.05*
23. Degree of Relatedness	.22	.09

* Significant $p < .05$.

Another dimension was statistically significant but was inversely associated with the individuation-timing hypotheses. Significant trends in the predicted direction were evident on three further dimensions which had P values of less than .10.

As described earlier the rank order correlation coefficients assess the linear relationship between individuation-timing and the TAT dimensions. Where secondary predictions are not consistent with the ranking of the scoring categories, the Tau-C statistic is not comprehensive in assessing the predictions. To compensate for this, binomial probabilities were calculated for these dimensions. This statistic reflects the probability of observed accurate predictions (hits) in the binomial distribution where the sample as a whole determines the expected random probability distribution. The results of these analyses are presented in Table 4.

Six dimensions were submitted to an analysis of the binomial probabilities. Two of these were Level of Differentiation dimensions which were subdivided into the two factors measured in tandem on this dimension--interrelatedness and individuation--and the binomial probabilities for each factor were assessed independently. Of the eight probabilities calculated, only two achieved criterion significance of $p < .05$.

A comparison of the Tau-C's and the binomial probabilities indicates that the correlational analyses are

Table 4: Binomial Probabilities of Accurate Predictions
for Group Differences on TAT Dimensions

Dimension	Expected Probability	Observed Frequency	Probability P Value
1. S-I Themes	.46	12	$p < .05$
3. Affect	.58	13	$p < .07$
4. Portrayal-Mother	.38	9	$p < .10$
6. Portrayal-Father	.38	9	$p < .10$
8. FSC Dif.-Self on Relatedness	.49	13	$p < .02$
8. FSC Dif.-Self on Individuation	.42	10	$p < .10$
13. MDC Dif.-Self on Relatedness	.49	11	$p < .10$
13. MDC Dif.-Self on Individuation	.39	9	$p < .10$

statistically significant more often than the binomial probabilities. This difference indicates that the correlation between the ranking of groups and the ranking of categories on the dimensions is often significant while the more specific and delimited predictions for groups are not. Thus the assessment which is sensitive to linear variation shows a relationship between the variables, they do covary; however, the specific predictions for groups were not found in sufficient magnitude to infer statistical significance. For the purposes of this study, the use of correlational analyses are adequate and appropriate. As the stronger

findings on these analyses suggest, the independent and dependent variables are best viewed as varying along a continuum.

The dimensions which show a significant association with individuation-timing as measured by the Tau-C are: Family Scene Card dimensions: 1) Separation-Individuation Themes, 3) Affect, 4) Portrayal of Mother, 6) Portrayal of Father, 8) Level of Differentiation of Self Representation, 9) Level of Differentiation of Representation of Others. Mother-Daughter Card: 13) Level of Differentiation of Self Representation, 21) Relatedness Theme, and 22) Maturity. Dimensions which failed to attain criterion significance of $p < .05$, but are significant at $p < .10$ and thus are considered significant trends include: FSC: 5) Affect toward Mother; MDC: 14) Level of Differentiation of Other, 20) Maternal Affect, 23) Degree of Relatedness.

All of these dimensions that are most strongly associated with individuation-timing are for stories told to the Family Scene and Mother-Daughter Cards. None of those dimensions constructed for the Couple Card stories were found to show structural or thematic variation which corresponded to varying separation-individuation developmental experiences. Furthermore, contrasting the significant vs. nonsignificant dimensions--except for the Level of Differentiation dimensions--the significant

dimensions are those that most directly assess dynamics of the separation-individuation experience.

The nonsignificant dimensions were generally those that assessed aspects of object relations which did not directly involve differentiation from mother and family, but had been hypothesized to be related ramifications. This distinction indicates that the TAT Measure is only validly measuring differences in the realm of separation-individuation dynamics. For example, stories told to the Couple Card do not explicitly involve separation-individuation dynamics. The hypotheses that modes of separateness and relatedness in stories told to this card would be associated with individuation-timing were not supported.

Results for the dimensions which show significant relationships or trends will be presented here. The results for the nonsignificant dimensions are presented in Appendix H.

Level of Differentiation Dimensions

These six dimensions were designed to measure structural aspects of object relations constructs which are central to the focus of this study, and to the theory under investigation. The Level of Differentiation dimension is scored independently for 'Self' and 'Other' representations on each of the stories told to each of the three cards.

The hypothesized group differences for this dimension were: Group 1 women would project merged, superficially individuated and interrelated object relations

representations; Group 2 women would project fully individuated and interrelated representations; Group 3 women would project fully individuated and isolated representations.

Three of the six Level of Differentiation dimensions were significantly associated with individuation-timing at the $p < .05$ level of significance as assessed by the Tau-C. Two of these revealed the predicted differences, while one was inversely related to the independent variable. The two dimensions which were significant in the predicted direction were the Level of Differentiation of Self Representation for the stories told to the Family Scene Card, and for stories told to the Mother-Daughter Card. Tables 5 and 6 reveal the group distributions of scores on these two dimensions.

Level of Differentiation-Self, FSC (Tau-C = .47, $p < .02$)

1. Merged
2. Superficial Individuation, Interrelated
3. Superficial Individuation, Isolated
4. Full Individuation, Interrelated
5. Full Individuation, Isolated

Table 5: Group Percentages for Level of Differentiation-Self Representation in Stories Told to Family Scene Card

Group	N	1	2	3	4	5
1 - Late	4	25%	25%	50%	0	0
2 - Middle	5	20%	40%	0	20%	20%
3 - Early	8	0	0	50%	12.5%	37.5%

Level of Differentiation-Self, MDC (Tau-C = .36, p < .05)

1. Merged
2. Superficial Individuation, Interrelated
3. Superficial Individuation, Isolated
4. Full Individuation, Interrelated
5. Full Individuation, Isolated

Table 6: Group Percentages for Level of Differentiation-Self Representation in Stories Told to the Mother-Daughter Card

Group	N	1	2	3	4	5
1 - Late	4	0	50%	50%	0	0
2 - Middle	5	0	40%	20%	0	40%
3 - Early	8	0	0	62.5%	12.5%	25%

Group 3 women who had experienced an early separation-individuation and low maternal involvement according to therapists show the highest percentage of projected self representations characterized by isolation from others. Combining this factor from levels 3 and 5, 7/8 of these women, or 87.5% projected isolated self representations on both story dimensions. Group differences on the individuation factor are consistent with the hypotheses. No subjects from Group 1 depicted a self representation which was fully individuated, while subjects from both Groups 2 and 3 did so.

Thus the late-individuators who had experienced a prolonged and close relationship with mother (Group 1) were more frequently interrelated, and either merged or superficially individuated. Group 2 women are more

varied both within and across the two dimensions. Their self representations are less isolated than those of the early-individuators (i.e., more interrelated), and more highly individuated than those of the late-individuators.

Level of Differentiation-Others, FSC (Tau-C = $-.32$, $p < .05$)

1. Merged
2. Superficial Individuation, Interrelated
3. Superficial Individuation, Isolated
4. Full Individuation, Interrelated
5. Full Individuation, Isolated

Table 7: Group Percentages for Level of Differentiation-Others or Object Representations in Family Scene Card Stories

Group	N	1	2	3	4	5
1 - Late	4	0	25%	50%	0	25%
2 - Middle	5	0	20%	40%	20%	20%
3 - Late	8	50%	12.5%	12.5%	12.5%	12.5%

The group distributions of subjects' scores on the Level of Differentiation of representation of others in stories told to the Family Scene Card are presented in Table 7. This dimension was inversely related to individuation-timing. Further consideration of the theory under investigation suggests that this inverse relationship is both meaningful and consistent with the tenets of the conceptual framework. The most salient group difference involves the early-individuators, 50% of whom projected others as a merged and undifferentiated unit. In general,

the women who projected the most differentiated self representations projected the least differentiated representations of others. This is consistent with Chodorow's characterization of the 'masculine' internal object world as consisting of a highly differentiated self representation, which is independent, isolated, and not receptive to or dependent upon others. As such, others are essentially not perceived. In contrast, the late-individuators depicted others in a more highly differentiated manner, which is consistent with Chodorow's contention that a receptive, open and dependent position characterizes the self vis a vis others in the 'feminine' object world. Relative to the early-individuators, the stories told by late-individuators involve a greater focus on and development of the other characters, and a relatively less individuated self representation.

Observed group differences on the relatedness vs. isolation factor of this dimension were contrary to the predictions. While the isolation of self and interrelatedness of others in Group 3 women is explained by their failure to differentiate others, the tendency of Group 1 women to depict others as isolated is a negative finding with regard to the theory.

Group 2 women, the middle-individuators projected the highest percentage of fully individuated others, a finding which is consistent with a view of their development as

perhaps optimal. However contrary to the hypotheses, the majority of these women (60%) portrayed others as isolated.

The Level of Differentiation of Others on the Mother-Daughter Card was positively associated with individuation-timing, though group differences are negligible. As revealed in Table 8, the majority of subjects in all groups projected the maternal figure as superficially individuated.

Mother-Daughter Level of Differentiation-Mother (Tau-C = .29, $p < .10$)

1. Merged
2. Superficial Individuation, Interrelated
3. Superficial Individuation, Isolated
4. Full Individuation, Interrelated
5. Full Individuation, Isolated

Table 8: Group Percentages for Level of Differentiation-Other Representation in Stories Told to the Mother-Daughter Card

Group	N	1	2	3	4	5
1 - Late	4	0	50%	50%	0	0
2 - Middle	5	0	40%	20%	0	40%
3 - Early	8	0	0	75%	25%	0

The percentage of subjects who portray the maternal figure as interrelated was highest for Group 1 women, and lowest for Group 3 women. Only subjects in Groups 2 and 3 depicted a fully individuated maternal figure. Here, 40% of the middle-individuators projected an isolated and

fully individuated mother, while 25% of the early-individuators portrayed mother as fully individuated and interrelated.

Tables 9 and 10 show the group distributions of subjects' scores on the Level of Differentiation for self and other in stories told to the Couple Card.

Couple Card Level of Differentiation-Self (Tau-C = .06, p = .39)

1. Merged
2. Superficial Individuation, Interrelated
3. Superficial Individuation, Isolated
4. Full Individuation, Interrelated
5. Full Individuation, Isolated

Table 9: Group Percentages for Level of Differentiation of Self Representation for Stories Told to the Couple Card

Group	N	1	2	3	4	5
1 - Late	4	50%	25%	0	25%	0
2 - Middle	5	20%	40%	0	20%	20%
3 - Early ¹	8	43%	14.3%	14.3%	14.3%	14.3%

The majority of subjects in all groups portrayed both self and other as either merged or superficially individuated and interrelated. None of the women who had experienced highly involved mothers projected an isolated self-representation, while 20% of Group 2 women and 28.6% of Group 3 women did. A fully differentiated self-representation

¹One group 3 subject declined this card.

Couple Card Level of Differentiation-Other (Tau-C = .17,
p = .23)

1. Merged
2. Superficial Individuation, Interrelated
3. Superficial Individuation, Isolated
4. Full Individuation, Interrelated
5. Full Individuation, Isolated

Table 10: Group Percentages for Level of Differentiation of Object-Representation for Stories Told to the Couple Card

Group	N	1	2	3	4	5
1 - Late	4	50%	25%	0	25%	0
2 - Middle	5	20%	40%	20%	20%	0
3 - Early	8	43%	28.5%	28.5%	0	0

characterized 25% of stories told by late-individuators, 40% of those told by the intermediary group and 28.3% of those told of early-individuators.

Summarizing the findings of group differences and similarities across all these Level of Differentiation dimensions a number of patterns emerge. Intra- and intergroup differences suggest that Level of Differentiation varies with self or other, and with the social-relational context.

Across the stories, representations of self and others were similar for the CC and MDC stories, though very discrepant for the FSC stories. Additionally, group differences were greatest on the FSC dimensions, moderate on the MDC, and absent on the CC. Thus, subjects'

projections of self and of other representations vary with the nature of the social-relational stimuli.

In stories told to the Couple Card the majority of subjects from all groups were scored levels 1 and 2. Thus projections of self and projections of other in a social context defined by intimate relatedness are characterized by either merging or superficial individuation and interrelatedness. As such, the nature of the relationship--when it is intimacy--determined the Level of Differentiation of projected object relations representations. Differences in early childhood separation-individuation development are not significantly correlated with projections of self and other in intimate relatedness, and subjects who depict more highly differentiated object representations in other card-stories project less differentiated representations here. (Though minor, group differences which do occur are consistent with other findings.)

A number of patterns of group differences are consistent with the predictions. As hypothesized, Group 3 women show a larger percentage of Self representations characterized by isolation from others, Group 2 women are intermediary and Group 1 women display the smallest percentages of isolated Self representations. As the corollary, Group 1 women were most frequently interrelated or merged, while Group 3 women were least interrelated. This pattern is also evident on subjects' depictions of Others in stories told to the MDC and CC. Thus on five

of the six dimensions the group percentages indicate that interrelatedness is highest for Group 1 women, lowest for Group 3 women; and obversely isolation characterizes Group 3 women and is least frequent among Group 1 women. Group 2 women, again attain percentages which are intermediary. However, this relationship was reversed on the FSC-Others dimension.

The Level of Individuation of Self representation was also consistent with predicted group differences. Both the middle and late-individuators show a higher frequency of fully individuated Self representations on all three cards. Group differences in the Level of Individuation of Others shows a more complex pattern of findings. The most salient trend across all three stories involves Group 2 subjects who projected the highest frequency of fully individuated Others in all of their stories.

Family Scene Card Dimensions

As predicted, women whose mothers were disengaged, as judged by therapists, were most likely to tell stories characterized by a struggle to separate. Struggle to separate, levels 4 and 5, characterized 87.5% of the stories told by early-individuators, 50% of those told by late-individuators, and only 20% of the intermediary group. Obversely, 80% of women who experienced medium levels of maternal involvement did not project conflictual separation themes, and 60% of these projected an acceptance of

1. Separation-Individuation Themes (Tau-C = .37, p < .05)

1. No separation-individuation, the family members portrayed in this story are merged.
2. There is a sense of separateness of members, which is harmoniously accepted.
3. There is sadness with acceptance of separateness.
4. There is a struggle to separate, the parents cling while the child distances.
5. There is a struggle to separate, the young person desires greater closeness.

Table 11: Percentage of Subjects in Each of the Individuation-Timing Groups by Separation-Individuation Themes

Group	N	1	2	3	4	5
1 - Late	4	25%	25%	0	25%	25%
2 - Middle	5	20%	40%	20%	20%	0
3 - Early	8	12.5%	0	0	37.5%	50%

3. Quality of Affective Interaction (Tau-C = .43, p < .03)

1. Harmonious, without difficulty
2. Acceptance of interpersonal difficulties or differences
3. Covert conflict
4. Overt conflict

Table 12: Percentage of Subjects in Each of the Individuation-Timing Groups on Affective Interaction Dimension

Group	N	1	2	3	4
1 - Late	4	25%	25%	50%	0
2 - Middle	5	40%	0	40%	20%
3 - Early	8	0	0	62.5%	37.5%

separateness. As anticipated, there was a greater tendency for those who experienced maternal distance to express a desire for greater closeness with parents.

The quality of the affective interaction in the stories told to the Family Scene Card was positively associated with individuation-timing, achieving a Tau-C of .43, $p < .03$. All of the subjects in Group 3, the early-individuators, told stories which involved interpersonal conflict either overt or covert.

Additionally, these women were most likely to portray conflict overtly. In contrast, 50% of Group 1 subjects, the late-individuators, and 60% of Group 2 subjects were judged to project conflictual affective interactions.

4. Portrayal of Mother: Mother is depicted as: (Tau-C = .39, $p < .04$)

1. Submissive
2. Supportive
3. Self-absorbed
4. Depriving
5. Missing, she is not acknowledged

Table 13: Group Percentages for Portrayal of Mother Dimension

Group	N	1	2	3	4	5
1 - Late	4	75%	0	25%	0	0
2 - Middle	5	40%	0	20%	0	40%
3 - Early	8	12.5%	12.5%	25%	12.5%	37.5%

In general the late- and early-individuators displayed the expected trends while the middle group did not. Significant at the $p < .04$ level this dimension is positively associated with individuation-timing as predicted. Seventy-five percent of those from Group 1 portrayed mother as submissive, while 75% of Group 3 women portrayed mother as either missing, depriving or self-absorbed.

5. Affect toward Mother (Tau-C = .26, $p < .07$)

1. Ambivalent
2. Positive
3. Hostile

Table 14: Group Percentages for Affect Toward Mother Dimension

Group	N	Dimension Level		
		1	2	3
1 - Late	4	100%	0	0
2 - Middle	5	80%	20%	0
3 - Early	8	62.5%	12.5%	25%

This dimension did not achieve criterion significance of $p < .05$, though the Tau-C of .26 was significant at $p < .07$. The majority of subjects from all groups were judged to have ambivalent feelings toward the maternal figure. The hypothesized trend was evident, 100% of the late-individuators were coded ambivalent, 20% vs. 12.5%

of Groups 2 and 3, respectively, were coded positive, and only subjects from Group 3 displayed hostile feelings, here constituting 25% of the sample group.

6. Portrayal of Father: Father is depicted as: (Tau-C = .47, $p < .03$)

1. Overprotective
2. Supportive
3. Self-absorbed
4. Depriving
5. Missing, he is not acknowledge

Table 15: Group Percentages for Portrayal of Father Dimension

Group	N	1	2	3	4	5
1 - Late	4	0	0	75%	25%	0
2 - Middle	5	20%	20%	40%	20%	0
3 - Early	8	0	0	25%	25%	50%

This dimension was significantly associated with individuation-timing at the $p < .03$ level of chance. The correlation is in the predicted direction, and while women from the middle and early individuation-timing groups show the predicted trends, the late-individuators did not. Only women whose mothers had been moderately involved as assessed by psychotherapists portrayed the father figure in positive terms. Consistent with their portrayal of mother, the early-individuators projected fathers who were self-absorbed, depriving or unacknowledged. The majority

of subjects from Group 1 portrayed the father figure as self-absorbed. Examination of their stories suggests that this designation is consistent with a character who is dominant in a traditionally paternal manner in family interactions. This finding is not inconsistent with Chodorow's theory which is based on traditional gender roles in family interactions.

Mother-Daughter Card Dimensions (post-hoc dimensions)

20. Maternal Affect (Tau-C = .26, $p < .07$)

1. Nurturing and relating
2. Mixed nurturing and independence
3. Indifference
4. Obligatory or ambivalent involvement
5. Hostility, active or passive aggression

Table 16: Distribution of Subjects Scores on the Maternal Affect Dimension by Individuation-Timing Group

Group	N	Dimension Level				
		1	2	3	4	5
1 - Late	4	25%	50%	0	25%	0
2 - Middle	5	40%	40%	20%	0	0
3 - Early	8	25%	12.5%	12.5%	25%	25%

This dimension did not achieve criterion significance, though the distribution of subjects' scores show a trend in the predicted direction. The majority of Group 1 and 2 women portrayed the maternal figure as nurturing in some degree. Group 3 women, who had been classified by therapists

to have experienced disengaged mothers, tended to project maternal figures who were less nurturing and more rejecting in various forms.

21. Relatedness Theme (Tau-C = .48, $p < .02$)

The predominant theme and focus for the daughter is:

1. Sharing an experience
2. Desire for involvement with others
3. Passive evaluation of the situation
4. Substantial separateness/internal focus
5. Strong separateness/elaborate independence

Table 17: Distribution of Subjects' Scores on the Relatedness Theme by Individuation Group

Group	N	1	2	3	4	5
1 - Late	4	25%	25%	25%	25%	0
2 - Middle	5	0	40%	0	60%	0
3 - Early	8	12.5%	0	0	50%	37.5%

This dimension was significantly correlated with individuation-timing. The majority of Group 3 women told stories portraying the daughter figure as either strongly or substantially separate. The late- and early-individuators were more varied in their depictions of the relational theme, although they show a higher frequency of stories which focus on relatedness and interpersonal involvement.

22. Maturity (Tau-C = .33, p < .05)

1. "Little girl" dependent
2. Essentially a little girl but with the beginnings of independence, autonomy, and separateness
3. Highly independent, self-reliant, mature and adult-like

Table 18: Distribution of Subjects' Scores on the Maturity Dimension by Individuation-Timing Group

Group	N	1	2	3
1 - Late	4	25%	50%	25%
2 - Middle	5	0	100%	0
3 - Early	8	0	50%	50%

This dimension was significantly associated with individuation-timing in the predicted direction. Raters judged the portrayal of daughter as "little girl" dependent for one subject from Group 1, and no subjects from the other groups. All middle-individuators were scored level 2' as predicted, and a higher percentage of early-individuators were judged to depict independent, mature, and adult-like daughters.

23. Degree of Relatedness (Tau-C = .22, p < .10)

1. Complete relatedness
2. Predominantly related
3. Equal degrees of relatedness and separateness
4. Predominantly separate
5. Largely separate

Table 19: Distribution of Subjects' Scores on the Degree of Relatedness Dimension

Group	N	1	2	3	4	5
1 - Late	4	25%	0	25%	50%	0
2 - Middle	5	0	80%	0	20%	0
3 - Early	8	0	37.5%	0	37.5%	25%

The degree to which the daughter is related to and involved with the maternal figure in Mother-Daughter Card stories shows a nonsignificant trend in the predicted direction. The percentages indicate that Group 3 women project greater separateness while women from Groups 1 and 2 project daughters who are more related and involved with the maternal figure.

Revisions of the TAT Measure

As a pilot study designed to test and refine this scoring system, all dimensions which were not correlated with the independent variable at a $p < .10$ level of chance were omitted. Subjects' scores on the remaining dimensions were summed to provide a 'Composite Score.' Group

distributions of the composite scores were examined to determine whether these scores sufficiently differentiate subjects across groups. The group distributions of subjects' composite scores are revealed in Figure 2.

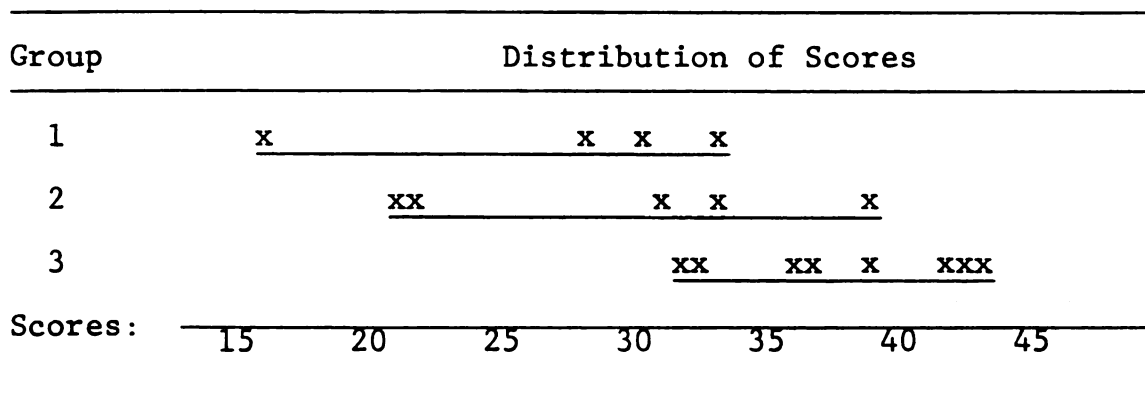


Figure 2. Distribution of Subjects' Composite Scores.

The group distributions of subjects' composite scores closely resembles the distributions of their total scores. Groups 1 and 3 remain highly discrepant while the scores of Group 2 subjects show considerable overlap with both. As expected, results of a one-way analysis of variance for these scores by group yields an F value of 6.21, significant at a $p = .025$ level of chance in a one-tail test. Maintaining the present scoring system even while limiting the measure to the strongest dimensions does not significantly improve the discriminant ability of the TAT measure.

A Proposed New Scoring System

Based on the findings of this pilot study, an alternative scoring system was developed for the TAT measure. This alternative scoring system is designed to maximize group differences, and thereby improve the discriminant ability of the TAT measure. The revised scoring system is derived from the 13 dimensions that correlated with individuation-timing at a $p = .10$ or less. These 13 dimensions all apply to stories told to the Family Scene Card and the Mother-Daughter Card. Thus the revised measure omits stories told to the Couple Card.

The new scoring system consists of three separate scales, each of which corresponds to one of the research groups. Thus Scale 1, Scale 2, and Scale 3 correspond respectively to Group 1, Group 2, and Group 3. Each scale contains the predicted scoring categories from the 13 retained dimensions that were associated with that particular group. Hence the categories--from each of the 13 dimensions--which characterize each group comprise a scale for that group. Scores for the categories were weighted (1 or 2 points) to improve group discrimination. All subjects receive a score on each of the three scales. Based on the data of this study, cutting scores were established for each scale which a subject must achieve or exceed to be assigned to that group. For example, a substantially high score on Scale 1 results in classification

in Group 1. This new scoring system provides a way to classify subjects in either the early, middle, or the late separation-individuation-timing groups, or as unclassifiable. These scoring scales are revealed in Table 20.

Two factors were taken into consideration in choosing both which categories are included on each scale, and in deciding how to weight each of these categories with a score of either 1 or 2 points. These factors were: 1) the guiding hypotheses derived from the theory, and 2) the findings of this study. Given the small sample size of this study, the positive support for the theory, and an allowance for error variance, a primary reliance upon the theoretical hypotheses is warranted, and was utilized. The weighting system will require cross validation.

Subjects' numerical scores on each of the three scales are presented below in Table 21. Figure 3 diagrams the pattern of group assignment with the use of these scales. The minimum value for inclusion on Scale 1 is 11 points, as the data indicates this value correctly classifies 3 of the 4 Group 1 subjects. Scale 3 has a minimum inclusion value of 10 points which correctly classifies 7 of the 8 Group 3 women. A minimum value of 10 points on Scale 2 correctly includes 3 of the 5 women from this group. A total of 13 subjects are correctly classified which constitutes 76% of the sample. However, one Group 3

Table 20: Revised Scoring Scales

Scale 1		
**	Family Scene Card Stories	Score
(1)	1. Separation-Individuation Themes:	
(1)	Family members are merged.	2
(4)	There is a struggle to separate, parents cling while the child distances.	1
(3)	2. Affective Interaction:	
(1)	Harmonious	2
(3)	Covert Conflict	1
(4)	3. Portrayal of Mother:	
(1)	Submissive	2
(2)	Supportive	1
(5)	4. Affect toward Mother:	
(1)	Ambivalent	1
(6)	5. Portrayal of Father:	
(3)	Self-absorbed	1
(8)	6. Level of Differentiation-Self:	
	Merged	2
	Superficial Individuation	1
	Interrelated	1
(9)	7. Level of Differentiation-Others:	
	Superficial Individuation	1
	Interrelated	1
**	Mother-Daughter Card Stories	Score
(13)	8. Level of Differentiation-Self:	
	Merged	2
	Superficial Individuation	1
	Interrelated	1
(14)	9. Level of Differentiation-Mother:	
	Superficial Individuation	1
	Interrelated	1
(20)	10. Maternal Affect:	
(1)	Primary Nurturance	2
(2)	Mixed Nurturance and Independence	1
(21)	11. Relatedness Theme:	
(1)	Sharing an experience	2
(2)	Desire for involvement with others	1
(3)	Passive evaluation	1
(23)	12. Maturity:	
(1)	Child-like, "little girl" dependent	1

(table continues)

** Original dimension and category numbers.

**	Mother-Daughter Card Stories	Score
(23)	13. Degree of Relatedness:	
(1)	Complete relatedness	2
(2)	Predominantly related	1
(3)	Equally related and separate	1

Scale 2

**	Family Scene Card Stories	Score
(1)	1. Separation-Individuation Themes:	
(2)	Harmonious acceptance of separateness	2
(3)	Sadness with acceptance of separateness	1
(3)	2. Affective Interaction:	
(1)	Harmonious	2
(2)	Acceptance of differences	1
(4)	3. Portrayal of Mother:	
(2)	Supportive	2
(1)	Submissive	1
(5)	4. Affect toward Mother:	
(2)	Positive	1
(6)	5. Portrayal of Father:	
(1)	Overprotective	1
(2)	Supportive	1
(8)	6. Level of Differentiation-Self:	
	Full individuation	1
	Interrelated	1
(9)	7. Level of Differentiation-Others:	
	Full individuation	1
	Interrelated	1

**	Mother-Daughter Card Stories	Score
(13)	8. Level of Differentiation-Self:	
	Full individuation	1
	Interrelated	1
(14)	9. Level of Differentiation-Others:	
	Full individuation	1
	Interrelated	1
(20)	10. Maternal Affect	
(2)	Mixed nurturance and independence	2
(1)	Primary nurturance	1

(table continues)

** Original dimension and category numbers.

**	Mother-Daughter Card Stories	Score
(21)	11. Relatedness Theme:	
(2)	Desire for involvement with others	2
(3)	Passive evaluation	2
(4)	Separateness in internal focus	1
(22)	12. Maturity:	
(2)	Child-like with initial autonomy	1
(23)	13. Degree of Relatedness:	
(2)	Predominantly related	2
(3)	Equally related and independent	1

Scale 3

**	Family Scene Card Stories	Score
(1)	1. Separation-Individuation Theme:	
(5)	There is a struggle to separate, the young person desires greater Closeness.	2
(4)	There is a struggle to separate, the parents cling while the child distances.	1
(3)	2. Affective Interaction:	
(4)	Overt conflict	2
(3)	Covert conflict	1
(4)	3. Portrayal of Mother:	
(5)	Missing, unacknowledged	2
(4)	Depriving	1
(5)	4. Affect toward Mother:	
(3)	Hostile	1
(6)	5. Portrayal of Father:	
(5)	Missing, unacknowledged	1
(4)	Depriving	1
(8)	6. Level of Differentiation-Self:	
	Isolation	1
	Full individuation	1
(9)	7. Level of Differentiation-Others:	
	Merged	2
	Superficial individuation	1
	Isolated	1

(table continues)

** Original dimension and category numbers.

**	Mother-Daughter Card Stories	Score
(13)	8. Level of Differentiation-Self: Isolation Full individuation	1 1
(14)	9. Level of Differentiation-Others: Isolation Superficial individuation	1 1
(20)	10. Maternal Affect:	
(5)	Hostile	2
(4)	Ambivalent	2
(3)	Indifferent	1
(21)	11. Relatedness Theme:	
(5)	Strong and elaborate separateness	2
(4)	Separateness in internal focus	1
(22)	12. Maturity:	
(3)	Adult-like	1
(23)	13. Degree of Relatedness:	
(5)	Separate, isolated and independent	2
(4)	Predominantly separate	1

** Original dimension and category numbers.

Table 21: Subjects' Scores on the Revised Scoring Scales

Scale 1: (Scale range is 3 to 22, cut off is 11 points)

Group 1: 7, 11, 13, 22

Group 2: 6, 7, 10, 11, 17

Group 3: 3, 4, 5, 5, 5, 9, 10, 10

Scale 2: (Scale range is 0 to 19, cut off is 10 points)

Group 1: 5, 6, 7, 9

Group 2: 7, 9, 10, 11, 19

Group 3: 0, 2, 2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 10

Scale 3: (Scale range is 1 to 17, cut off is 10 points)

Group 1: 1, 6, 7, 7

Group 2: 1, 2, 7, 9, 12

Group 3: 8, 11, 11, 11, 14, 17, 17, 17

Scale	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
1	+ + + -	- + - + -	- - - - - - - -
2	- - - -	- + - + +	- - + - - - - -
3	- - - -	- - - - +	+ + - + + + + +

Figure 3. Classification of Subjects with Revised Scoring Scales. (+ = classified on scale; - = not classified)

woman, and three Group 2 women achieve high scores on other scales, and three subjects do not achieve inclusion values on any scale.

As earlier data analysis indicated, Group 2 women show wide variability in their scores. On these revised scoring scales only subjects from Group 2 achieve high scores on both the scale devised for their group and a second scale for one of the other groups. In contrast, the scores of subjects from Groups 1 and 3 remain more homogeneous and distinctive. No subjects from Group 1 achieved high scores on other scales, and only one subject from Group 3 was misclassified. These patterns warrant the application of the following decision rules for use of the scales to assign group membership: 1) Subjects achieving a criterion score for inclusion on only one scale will be assigned to that group; 2) Subjects who achieve criterion

values on both Scale 2 and another scale will be assigned to Group 2; 3) Subjects who do not achieve high scores on any scale are not assigned. Applied to this sample of subjects, these rules misclassify only one subject, while three subjects are not classified.

The assignment of a subject to a particular group will be deemed to reflect only the presence of the interpersonal separation-individuation dynamics assessed on the scales, and the inference that these are associated with variations in early childhood separation-individuation development.

DISCUSSION

Two primary goals were involved in the endeavor to devise and test a measure which would discriminate differences in early childhood separation-individuation on the theoretically hypothesized basis of object relations representations. For the first, the study sought initial empirical validation of Chodorow's theory with the use of a projective measure. This aspect of the research involves both an initial test of the theory and an assessment of the criterion validity of the TAT measure. Both aspects of this goal were supported by the findings. The second purpose of the study involved the attempt to assess and refine the TAT measure for future research use. A revised scoring system was developed for this purpose.

Methodological Considerations

The major drawback of this study is the small sample size. This factor limits the generalizability and the strength of the findings. Given the number of significant trends, it is possible that a larger sample size may have yielded stronger group differences.

A second methodological factor which may have implications for generalizability involves the use of psychotherapy clients as research subjects. It is conceivable that some of the research dimensions tap conflicts and concerns which are both common and salient for women in psychotherapy as distinct from those who are not. This may have led to findings which are different and perhaps less disparate than those from a more diverse sample population.

The differing mother-child matrices which determined the independent variable are not empirically assessed; they are postdictively assessed by subjects' psychotherapists. This judgment was made on the basis of the therapists' access to, and knowledge of, the subjects' early childhood history; and additionally the therapists' clinical inference. A variety of sources of potential bias and distortion are problematic here. Differing clinical and perceptual styles of the therapists may bias their judgments. Furthermore, it is conceivable that the clinical information given to therapists is influenced by retrospective distortion. For example, women who currently feel isolated from others may distort their early childhood experience of mother. This could possibly account for the significant findings of this study. However clinical sophistication should enable therapists to discern distortion in clinical material. And findings on the Level of Differentiation dimensions are not explainable

in this context. While the study is empirically cross-sectional and not longitudinal, the postdictive assessment made by therapists and significant findings support conclusions drawn from a developmental paradigm.

The reliability of the criterion variable, from which the validity of the dependent variables are derived, is based in part upon the ability of therapists to discriminate the pertinent factors of their clients' history to make the appropriate classification. The three groups were carefully and elaborately defined. The findings of the study show Groups 1 and 3 to be quite distinct from each other and relatively homogeneous as groups, while Group 2 subjects display wider variation in their scores both within and across dimensions indicating greater heterogeneity. The greater variation of Group 2 subjects might have resulted from limitations on the classification system. Two considerations are relevant here. First, Groups 1 and 3 were characterized by more radically defined early childhood relationships with mother. As such therapists may have been hesitant to classify some subjects into these groups and utilized the middle group when they were less certain of their judgment.¹ Secondly, the three group classification may not have

¹In response to item 5 on the Therapist Questionnaire, therapists appraised their classification of subjects as "quite certain" for 11 of the subjects; and "fairly certain" for the remaining six. Four of these six were indeed assigned to Group 2.

enabled therapists to make sufficiently sensitive discriminations. In this regard it is possible that the use of a five group classification or a continuous scale may have yielded stronger correlations between the independent and dependent variables.

Theoretical Implications

The results of this study do provide initial support for Chodorow's theory that different experiences of early childhood separation-individuation development may produce enduring differences in object relations representations. The parameters of the early childhood developmental experiences were not empirically examined; instead, we used psychotherapists to appraise this variable retrospectively. In this regard, the methodology of this study sought convergent validity on two independent measures of the nature and timing of subjects' early childhood separation-individuation development. Thus both the therapists' judgment and the TAT measure are independent assessments or predictors of the actualities of the mother-child differentiation experience. The validity of the TAT measure and the constructs of the theory are not empirically examined but are derived from convergent validity.

Given the exceedingly small sample size, the findings of this study are promising. The statistically significant group differences on the various summed scores computed

provide strong support for the existence of interrelated structural and thematic differences in object relations representations which are predictably and meaningfully related to early childhood differentiation development.

On those dimensions which were significantly associated with individuation-timing on the Tau-C analyses, the following patterns seem to characterize group differences. The early individuators, who according to their therapists had experienced mother as detached and relatively uninvolved; were most likely to tell stories characterized by highly differentiated and isolated self-representations, overt conflict, a struggle to separate from family with a desire for greater closeness, portrayal of maternal and paternal figures who are depriving or unacknowledged, and less differentiated depictions of others. On the Mother-Daughter Card these women were again more highly differentiated and isolated; they portrayed the maternal figure as ambivalent or hostile, and portrayed themselves as separate, independent, self-reliant and most mature.

The late-individuators, who had experienced prolonged dependency and a close and strong relationship with mother according to the therapists, show the highest frequency of FSC stories characterized by: interactions which are covertly conflictual or harmonious; a maternal figure portrayed as submissive; a paternal figure who is

self-absorbed and dominant; ambivalent feelings toward the maternal person; merged, or superficially individuated self representation; and superficially individuated representations of others. In stories told to the MDC these women projected the highest percentages of interrelated and superficially individuated representations of self and mother; and a daughter who is predominantly related to a nurturing mother in a child-like dependent manner.

The stories of Group 2 subjects who were judged to have experienced intermediary levels of maternal involvement are more varied on the constructs measured. Where they differ from Groups 1 and 3 the following patterns are evident: On FSC dimensions these women are most likely to depict family interactions as harmonious and without conflict; only subjects from this group portray the paternal figure in positive terms and convey positive affect toward the maternal person; representations of self and others are more individuated than those of Group 1 women, with interrelatedness characterizing self while isolation characterizes others. On the MDC dimensions middle-individuators show the highest frequency of interrelated and fully individuated mother and daughter figures, the maternal figure is depicted as nurturing and the daughter is involved and related in a child-like though not wholly dependent manner.

In essence, group differences in the thematic content of subjects' stories reflect their differing experiences in their early childhood relationships with mother.

The strongest and most direct support for Chodorow's theory involves the significant findings on the Level of Differentiation dimensions. Considered separately, the remaining dimensions are essentially direct projections of the dynamics which therapists judged subjects to have experienced. As such, the significant findings on these dimensions are not surprising. In contrast, the phenomena measured on the Level of Differentiation dimensions involve more complex intrapsychic operations. The findings of these dimensions provide strong initial support for Chodorow's theory that differences in early childhood differentiation from mother produce structural differences in the schema of object relations. Thus the findings are supportive of Chodorow's hypotheses that: 1) A prolonged close relationship with mother in early childhood leads to a relatively undifferentiated self-organization and self and other schema characterized by a high degree of interrelatedness, and 2) A more distant relationship with mother accompanied by early separation-individuation leads to a more differentiated self-organization which is insulated or isolated vis a vis others.

In her various publications Chodorow offers a very rich and complex description of the differing developmental experiences which she posits as determinants of gender

differentiation. This study focused on parameters which she views as central in preoedipal development. The two research groups which correspond to her hypothesized modes of feminine and masculine development were construed to represent the most strongly differentiating features of this developmental process. The description given to the therapists of the early mother-child relationship which characterized Group 1 women exactly corresponds with Chodorow's descriptions of early development for girls. However the development described for Group 3 women represents the radical extreme of the early childhood experience Chodorow describes for boys. For example, Chodorow does not characterize mothering of the male child as "disengaged" or "detached." Instead she asserts that maternal involvement emphasizes boundaries, differentiation, and separateness, an early end to the preoedipal mother-child closeness, and hence early separation-individuation. The fundamental differences in separateness, closeness, mutuality, identification, and the timing and degree of separation-individuation are accurately represented in the description given to the therapists; however, the Group 3 women in this study may be said to have experienced a more radically disengaged mother than Chodorow asserts as characterizing the typical mother-son relationship.

Object Relations Theory and Research

Object relations theory asserts that mental schema of object representations develop and then function to allow the individual to internally perceive, organize, comprehend and respond to the interpersonal world. Research and theory in the area of object relations focuses on superordinate and global features of these mental schema which are hypothesized to be stable, consistent and enduring structures. Characteristics of object representations are posited to delineate levels of object relations development which correspond to levels of psychosocial development, maturity, defensive organization and psychopathology. These characteristics are asserted to apply globally to all object representations, and many theorists do not even differentiate between the structure and organization of self representations and the structure and organization of representations of others. Where schemas for self and others are delineated, others are viewed as a single, generalized object. As of yet there is no systematic discussion of the range and variation in internal schema which allow for the range of experience determined by the specificity of interpersonal, relational, and situational factors.

Empirical research on object relations constructs has thus been limited to the measurement of generic differences in object representations which are assumed to subsume

specificity. Thus human figures in dreams, early memories, and Rorschach responses are the units of analysis and are deemed to signify a generic and invariate mental phenomenon. The results of these studies are often impressive, suggesting that meaningful distinctions in object representations are measurable and do correspond to manifest personality differences. However, the results of the current study highlight the range of variation in object representations and the importance of an interactional perspective, thereby including the role and nature of specific relational and other interpersonal factors.

This study found that levels of intra- and interpersonal differentiation of object representations vary with both a postdictive assessment of differences in early development, and the nature of the social-relational context in subjects' projections. This finding is not surprising. All psychological research which involves social and interpersonal phenomena is relevant to object relations theory and in most areas the interactional nature of these phenomena is well documented and discussed.

At the current time object relations research, and to a lesser extent theory, is concerned with the search for factors which constitute stable overriding structural and organizational variables. A comprehensive theory will need to integrate the patterns of variability and flexibility within these structures.

Future Research with the Revised TAT Measure

The authors' interest in testing a theory which asserts that differences in early childhood separation-individuation development produce enduring differences in object relations representations which then mediate feminine and masculine personality attributes was the impetus for this research study. To test this theory, the author needed a method which would access and measure the mediating variables of this theory--the object relations representations. This pilot study accomplished that goal.

Based on the findings of this study, scoring scales were developed for use with stories told to two TAT cards. The proposed scoring scales were constructed to measure manifest thematic and structural differences in subjects' TAT stories. These thematic and structural variables that the scoring scales measure were found to be predictably associated with differences in early childhood separation-individuation developmental experiences as postdictively assessed by psychotherapists.

Three scales were derived from the findings. Each scale measures a set of variables relevant to TAT stories that were positively associated with a specific mode of early childhood separation-individuation (as appraised by psychotherapists). Scale 1 measures themes and dynamics which are positively associated with a childhood history characterized by a strong, close and prolonged dependent

relationship with mother, and late separation-individuation from mother. Scale 2 measures themes and dynamics in TAT stories that were positively associated with a childhood history characterized by a relationship with mother that was intermediary in level of involvement, and separation-individuation from mother that was neither early nor late but intermediary. Scale 3 measures aspects of TAT stories which characterize subjects who had experienced a detached mother and had separated-individuated early according to the therapists.

In addition to the three scales, an unclassified category is used for those subjects whose TAT stories fail to manifest distinctive patterns of themes, dynamics and structure which are relevant to the constructs under investigation.

Future research will utilize these scales to differentiated separation-individuation dynamics in subjects' TAT stories. Differences in subjects' object relations representations of separation-individuation dynamics will be operationally defined by group assignment from the scales. The groups will then be examined to determine whether they manifest predicted differences on other measures, including measures of psychological femininity and masculinity.

Concluding Comment

A conservative interpretation of these findings holds that subjects do project themes and factors of object relations which are consistent with their developmental and psychosocial history as judged by therapists. The significant differences and trends in subjects' projections in the thematic content of stories is best interpreted as a direct derivative of the subjects' early developmental experience. However, the significant differences in subjects' level of differentiation of self and object representations involves a more complex phenomena--one which is not directly deduced from their history. Further research will attempt to discern whether these patterns of group differences are related to manifest personality differences in psychosexual and psychosocial realms.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
Therapist Questionnaire

APPENDIX A

Therapist Questionnaire

Therapist Questionnaire

Client number _____

Therapist number _____

Early separation-individuation from mother is a complex phenomenon, involving multiple interacting factors between mother and child. This research attempts to discern what, if any, differences characterize adult-age subjects who had differing experiences of separation-individuation. Based on your knowledge of this client, please answer the following questions. If you have any questions, please call me at 371-4979.

- 1) Was the client's biological mother the primary caretaker? _____ If not, who was the mothering figure?

- 2) Was there any break in the mother-child relationship due to either maternal absence/loss or childhood illness/absence before the client was 8 years old? _____
Age of client at time of break _____
Duration of separation _____
Reason for separation _____
- 3) If client has siblings, please indicate their ages relative to client (e.g., M or F, # or years older or younger).

- 4) The following categories describe mother-child relationships. Based on your knowledge of the client, please check the one--only one--which most closely characterizes the client's early childhood relationship with her mother. Choose according to the client's experience of her mothering figure when the client was 1 to 5 years old.

--Symbiotic / Late-Individuation

In this mother-child dyad the mother is highly invested in, and involved with her daughter. Maternal behavior is highly nurturing and warm, perhaps emotionally enmeshed. The mother is highly responsive to the child's needs and affect, in a manner which reinforces and prolongs daughter's dependency. Mother encourages either or both the imitation and emulation of maternal behaviors and characteristics, or 'little girl' characteristics, including dependency and vulnerability. Daughter may be

characterized as "mommy's little girl." The mother may be seen as overprotective, and not allowing of, or facilitating daughter's independence, separateness, and autonomy. Either overinvolved or highly involved, mother may be viewed as having loose ego-boundaries, being merged or enmeshed with her daughter. Daughter does not individuate from the mother-child matrix till late childhood.

--Disengaged / Early-Individuation

This mother is underinvolved, frustrating her daughter's dependency needs. In either active or passive ways her behavior reinforces and necessitates the early development of self-reliance and independence in the child. Especially with regards to the child's dependency needs, she is distant and detached, and may be seen as 'pushing her daughter away'. Disengaged from her role as mother to the child qua child, she forces an adult-like role onto the child. Hostility, rejection and neglect represent the extreme ends of this continuum, though separateness is the common dimension. This mother is not sincerely empathic, but emotionally detached from the child's experiencing. She treats her daughter in a manner which emphasizes their differentness, and may be overly demanding. The mother has firm-rigid ego boundaries, and facilitates the early individuation and sense of separateness in the child.

--Interactive / Middle-Individuation

This mother's behavior lies between the first two. The mother is moderately nurturing and involved. She is sensitive to her daughter and is able to respond to her dependency needs while not encouraging them. She allows for and fosters the child's self-reliance, independence, and separateness. This mother has flexible but intact ego-boundaries, she allows the child both dependency and independence. She is a separate person who is able to share in her daughter's experiencing while maintaining her separateness. The child develops a sense of separate self and ego-boundaries slowly, and according to the inherent unfolding of this maturational process. This mother-child relationship is not necessarily without conflict, but is in general interactive as opposed to symbiotic-and-merged or disengaged.

- 5) With what degree of certainty do you feel that the judgment made in item #4 is relatively informed and sophisticated, i.e., based on direct information from the client, and a substantially secure clinical sense of the client.

Quite certain _____
 Fairly certain _____
 Mildly certain _____
 Not at all certain _____

6) What is the client's current age? _____

Please indicate client's level of education.

- _____ Did not complete high school.
- _____ High school graduate.
- _____ 1-2 years of college.
- _____ 2-4 years of college.
- _____ Professional or graduate training.

APPENDIX B
TAT Instructions and Cards

APPENDIX B

TAT Instructions and Cards

Thematic Apperception Test

Please allow for a minimum of 30 minutes to complete this task. On the following pages you will find three pictures. You are to write a story for each picture separately. Your story should have a beginning, a middle, and an end. In other words, what is happening, what led up to the events you describe, and what is the outcome. Also include the thoughts and feelings of characters. Please write as you create your story, without formulating it beforehand. Your stories may be as long as you like, but spend at least 10 minutes, and not much more than 15 minutes on each story.

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







APPENDIX C
TAT Scoring System

APPENDIX C

TAT Scoring System

Score Sheet For TAT Stories

Family Scene Card

1. Separation-Individuation Themes:

- 1) No separation-individuation, the family members portrayed in this story are merged.
- 2) There is a sense of separateness of members, which is harmoniously accepted.
- 3) There is sadness with acceptance of separateness.
- 4) There is a struggle to separate, the parents cling while the child distances.
- 5) There is a struggle to separate, the young person desires greater closeness.

2. Major Themes of the Story:

- 1) Repeating the family life-cycle.
- 2) Focus on something external, failing to address the interpersonal relationships.
- 3) Longing for closeness.
- 4) Loss or deprivation.
- 5) Rebellion and defiance.

3. Quality of Affective Interaction:

- 1) Harmonious, without difficulty.
- 2) Acceptance of interpersonal difficulties or differences.
- 3) Covert conflict.
- 4) Overt conflict.

4. Portrayal of Mother: Mother is depicted as:

- 1) Submissive
- 2) Supportive
- 3) Self-absorbed
- 4) Depriving
- 5) Missing, she is not acknowledged.

5. Affect Toward Mother: Based on this story, how would you characterize this subject's feelings toward mother?
 - 1) Ambivalent
 - 2) Positive
 - 3) Hostile

6. Portrayal of Father: Father is depicted As:
 - 1) Overprotective
 - 2) Supportive
 - 3) Self-absorbed
 - 4) Depriving
 - 5) Missing, he is not acknowledged

7. Affect Toward Father: Based on this story, how would you characterize this subject's feelings toward father?
 - 1) Ambivalent
 - 2) Positive
 - 3) Hostile

8. Level of Differentiation: Self or Heroine.
 - 1) Merged: Family members are merged, a single unit.
 - 2) Superficial Individuation, Interrelated: There is superficial individuation, individuals are acknowledged but two dimensional, and interrelated.
 - 3) Superficial Individuation, Isolation: The protagonist is isolated from others, acknowledged but superficially individuated.
 - 4) Full Individuation, Interrelated: Thoughts and feelings are acknowledged, one has the sense that this is a real person, responding to others in a manner which indicates real relatedness.
 - 5) Full Individuation, Isolated: Thoughts, feelings, and other aspects of personality are acknowledged, the character is fully individuated but isolated from others.

9. Level of Differentiation: Objects or Others.
 - 1) Merged
 - 2) Superficial Individuation, Interrelated
 - 3) Superficial Individuation, Isolated
 - 4) Full Individuation, Interrelated
 - 5) Full Individuation, Isolated

Score Sheet For TAT StoriesMother-Daughter Card

10. Mother-Daughter Theme: How would you characterize the main theme of the story?
- 1) Desire for autonomy eschewing of maternal identification.
 - 2) Acceptance of mothering without a sense of deprivation or separation.
 - 3) Longing for emotional closeness, nurturance, predicated upon a sense of abandonment, loss or deprivation.
11. Mother's Behavior: How would you characterize the behavior and feelings of mother toward daughter?
- 1) Overprotective and clingy.
 - 2) Maternal, nurturing, caring and consoling.
 - 3) Rejecting and "pushing away."
 - 4) Abandonment and/or depriving.
12. Mother-Daughter Separation-Individuation Theme: Is there mother-daughter emotional separation involving:
- 1) No emotional separation.
 - 2) Daughter's anticipation of future motherhood, with or without emotional separation from mother.
 - 3) Daughter's desire for affiliation with a man or father.
 - 4) Daughter's desire for simple autonomy.
 - 5) Daughter's desire for affiliation with peers.
 - 6) Maternal distance.
 - 7) Daughter's desire for achievement.
13. Mother-Daughter Level of Differentiation-Self.
- 1) Merged
 - 2) Superficial Individuation, Interrelated
 - 3) Superficial Individuation, Isolated
 - 4) Full Individuation, Interrelated
 - 5) Full Individuation, Isolated

14. Mother-Daughter Level of Differentiation-Mother.

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

Score Sheet For TAT Stories

Couple Card

15. Depicted: Observed characters are:

- 1) Parent and child
- 2) Two adults

16. Relationship Modality:

- 1) Maternal, support is one-way
- 2) Merged mutuality
- 3) Complimentary mutuality
- 4) The two are in conflict, overt or covert

17. Couple Theme: How would you characterize the main theme of the story?

- 1) Separation
- 2) Loss
- 3) Reunion occurs
- 4) Simple intimacy
- 5) Grief and sadness are accepted
- 6) Loss or separation is tragic
- 7) Great relief and gratitude accompany reunion
- 8) Emphasis upon achieving mastery and autonomy

18. Level of Differentiation-Self

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

19. Level of Differentiation-Object

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

Mother-Daughter Card Stories

(Post-Hoc Dimensions)

20. Rate the quality of the maternal figure's emotional involvement and behavior toward the daughter.

- 1) The mother's primary focus is on nurturing or relating to her daughter (regardless of whether she succeeds or fails).
- 2) A mixture of relating, nurturing, and being her own person. The mother's behavior involves both her desire to relate and her own independent personality characteristics, interests, thoughts, etc.
- 3) The mother is unavailable to her daughter through her indifference.
- 4) There is a semblance of nurturing which is either obligatory or ambivalent.
- 5) This mother is basically hostile, in either an actively aggressive or passively aggressive way.

21. Relatedness/Separateness Theme: For the daughter, the predominant theme and focus of the story is upon:

- 1) Sharing an experience with mother, there is no separating theme.
- 2) A desire for involvement with others, or an other.
- 3) A passive evaluation of the situation.
- 4) Some substantial though not complete separateness achieved by an internal focus or independent initiative, e.g., dreams or fantasies which are not fully elaborated.
- 5) Strong separateness achieved through independence in internal or external planning, action, dreams fantasies, adventures; which are elaborate and well articulated.

22. Rate the level of the daughter's dependency/independence and level of maturity.

- 1) Very 'little girl' dependent.
- 2) Essentially a 'little girl' but with the beginnings of independence, autonomy and separateness.
- 3) Highly independent, self-reliant, and quite mature and adultlike.

23. Degree of Daughter's Relatedness/Separateness.

- 1) Complete relatedness. The daughter is basically involved in the shared experience.
- 2) Predominantly related, with a mild degree of separateness. There is an underlying sense of 'having a mother' that forms a baseline. Perhaps a sense of having been strongly connected in the past, and just beginning to experience separateness.
- 3) There are equal degrees of both a sense of connectedness and real separateness.
- 4) Predominantly separate, but there is a mild semblance of relatedness. Here the daughter's experience of relatedness or connection to the maternal figure seems quite shallow.
- 5) This daughter is largely separate, isolated and independent from the maternal figure. There is little or no sense of connection, but a strong sense of separateness.

APPENDIX D
Form to Invite Participation
and Consent Form

APPENDIX D

Form to Invite Participation
and Consent FormWomen Needed For Participation In A Research Study
On Women's Personality Development

I am conducting a research study of women's personality development and I need women to participate.

This research involves two parts. The first invites you to use your imagination, and will, I believe, prove enjoyable. About 30-45 minutes of your time will be needed. You will be given pictures for which you are to write stories, and then send to me in a stamped, addressed envelope provided.

For the second part, I need your therapist to respond to a 5-item questionnaire. The questionnaire items ask your therapist about some factors of your early childhood personality development. This research project, and the therapist questionnaire, do not examine therapy in any way. I have chosen to request the participation of women who are in therapy, and their therapists, simply because I need an independent observer to respond to the questionnaire items.

In order to assure anonymity, no identifying information is requested. Your responses, and those of your therapist, are strictly confidential and anonymous. A code number, uniformly assigned to each research instrument and therapist questionnaire, will be used to match the two.

Your participation is completely voluntary, you may choose to withdraw at any time. If you would like to take

part, your signature is needed on the following form, which gives your therapist permission to complete and submit the questionnaire about your early personality development. Again, no identifying information is requested on either measure.

I have distributed all of the research materials to a number of therapists in the community. If you would like to participate, your therapist will give you the research package. If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me. I am very willing to give feedback or information about the study. I hope you will consider volunteering, in an effort to increase our understanding of women's personality development.

Sincerely,

Deborah Berry
Graduate Student,
Psychology Dept. MSU

I, _____, hereby agree to permit my therapist, _____, to complete and submit a questionnaire which requests information about her/his perception of my early childhood personality development, for the purpose of thesis research conducted by Deborah K. Berry, graduate student in Clinical Psychology at Michigan State University. I understand that the confidentiality of the material submitted will be protected and that no identifying information is requested. I understand further that no person except the primary researcher and her committee members will have any possible claim to direct access to the information in the questionnaire. I hereby expressly waive any possible claim on my part for remuneration or damages in any form in connection therewith.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

Witness: _____

APPENDIX E

Letter to Therapists

APPENDIX E

Letter to Therapists

Dear Therapists:

With regards to our phone conversation, and your interest in participating in the research study I am conducting, I have enclosed the necessary research instruments. I want to thank you for your willingness to cooperate, and the time you have agreed to expend for this research.

As you know, I am requesting the participation of women in therapy, and their therapists, who will each complete a separate measure. Because there are a variety of potentially problematic issues in the use of therapy clients and their therapists as research subjects, careful consideration is warranted.

As a potential risk, it is possible that some facet of the research procedure will result in a disruption of the therapy relationship and process. With this consideration in mind, the procedures of the study have been designed to minimize this possibility.

You are free to select among your female outpatient clients those to whom you will distribute the initial form requesting client participation. Clients who are prone to feelings of mistrust, betrayal, or negativism are contraindicated. Also, clients who seek to please or overly dependent or conforming should not be considered. Choose clients who you feel would be amenable to participation without disruption to the therapy process. Consider both the client's possible feelings about being given the participation request form and their possible feelings about your sharing of personal information about them, albeit anonymously. It is likely that most clients will have sufficient psychological stability and integration, and not perceive the procedures of the study as threatening or intrusive. It is also likely that clients will be curious about the measure you will complete. Giving clients information about the therapist questionnaire before they complete the TAT stories would potentially bias their responses. Whether and how you discuss the questionnaire after the research materials have been submitted is, of course, up to you. I do not think that sharing this information would be problematic in the context of a good therapeutic alliance. I would not suggest reading the actual questionnaire to clients, but simply describing the items.

Confidentiality safeguards are outlined in the participation request form, and are highlighted on the next page which describes procedures. I have offered to provide feedback to clients about either their specific TAT stories,

or the research in general. Clients who contact me requesting feedback will meet with me in person for this purpose. For feedback on their TAT stories I will describe in lay terms the salient interpersonal theme of their stories. The feedback will be phrased in such a manner as to avoid any implications of evaluative psychological judgments. I will use clinical sensitivity in conveying feedback, and ask for their response, if any to such, but will not be doing therapy.

For feedback about the research project in general, lay and psychologically neutral (e.g., late-individuation as opposed to symbiosis) language will be used.

Procedure

- 1) You are to distribute the participation request form to those clients whom you have decided would be appropriate. Hopefully, at the end of a session, when you both have a few minutes.
- 2) Clients who volunteer must sign the attached consent form, which gives you permission to complete and submit the questionnaire, waives any possible claim to direct access to the data, and waives any possible claim for remuneration or damages in connection with the research project.
- 3) Please witness the consent form and keep it in a permanent file.
- 4) The research measure for each client and therapist dyad are in the large envelopes, stapled together to insure that the identifying code numbers are uniform. Keep the envelope that contains the therapist questionnaire and give the client the other envelope. Be sure to note in some fashion the therapist questionnaire which corresponds to the research packet you give to each particular client, e.g., put the client's initials on the envelope that you keep so that the code numbers which I will use to match the two instruments refer to the same person.
- 5) Complete the questionnaire, and return it to me in the stamped, addressed envelope provided.

The most important information requested of you in the questionnaire is the judgment you will make for item #4. Please read through this item, and if you choose, exclude clients whom you feel you do not know well enough to make the relevant judgment, with relative certainty.

Feel free to contact me if you have any questions.

Thank you for your cooperation,

Sincerely,

Deborah Berry
Phone:

APPENDIX F

Letter to Subjects

APPENDIX F

Letter to Subjects

Dear Participant:

Please complete the research task in one sitting. Therefore, allow yourself 45 minutes before you begin. You may write or type your stories, but follow the instructions carefully. I hope to collect all of the study responses by December 15--December 20 at the very latest. Your cooperation in returning them to me as soon as possible will be greatly appreciated. If you would like feedback about your specific responses, be sure to jot down the number on the upper left corner of these pages. It is the only way to identify your stories. You may keep this letter as it contains my name and phone number, but please return the rest of the contents of this envelope, including the pictures.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

If you have any questions or comments, you may write or call: Deborah K. Berry

APPENDIX G

Guidelines for TAT Interpretation

APPENDIX G

Guidelines for TAT Interpretation

General rules and guidelines

In scoring these dimensions rely heavily on your clinical impression. Where there are differing themes or elements in the story, weigh them according to the emotional strength they carry. If they appear equal, average the impressions.

Overt content vs. Latent content. Overt content refers to the actual details of the story. Use overt content to code unless either: 1) latent content is very, very strongly present, or 2) overt content is either unscorable or contradictory. Code for latent content only if these conditions are present. That is, if the story is ambiguous, or if you have a very strong sense of a latent theme.

Unusual content and content detail. In making interpretations, assume that unusual content which is accompanied by elaborate and accurate detail indicates that the story-teller has probably had this happen in their own life. Take this into account and then examine how they describe and respond to this event.

Dimensions to be sensitive to are:

How is the story told? Look for defensiveness, detachment, anxiety, spontaneity, fantasy vs. reality elements, childishness vs. maturity, willingness to 'get into the story,' attempts to organize, introduce or structure, coherence vs. disorganization, willingness to address feelings.

What kind of person told this story? Based on the above factors, who would tell a story like this? Think of friends, people you know, and yourself; what would be going on for you to say these things?

Guidelines for specific coding dimensionsLEVEL OF DIFFERENTIATION All three cards.

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

<u>Interrelatedness</u>	<u>Individuation</u>
Merged	Merged
Interrelated	Superficial
Isolated	Full

These are combined on the scoring dimension as follows:

Level of Differentiation:

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

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

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

Interrelatedness

This factor refers to interpersonal relatedness, the nature and degree to which characters respond to one another. People respond to others in a variety of ways. They may respond with sympathy, empathy and understanding, or an emotional reaction such as anger. Is there a sense of recognition, understanding, communication, reacting? Does the character perceive and react to others, or is there a sense of isolation and insulation from others. The quality of the emotional tone is an important consideration. Shallowness, defensiveness, and emotional distance may belie isolation. Anger and conflict do not necessarily entail isolation. The key consideration is: Is the character responding or reacting to others? If so, code Interrelated. Where the character does not respond to others, code Isolated.

Individuation

The individuation factor refers to the degree to which the numerous possible traits and aspects of an individual's personality are developed, expressed or implied. This is akin to the notion of 'character development' as we think of this in describing literature. Personalities are complex, people have thoughts, feelings, motives, intentions, attitudes,

values, beliefs, etc... A fully developed character is one that strikes us as having complexity, depth, integration, and reality. A superficially individuated character is one that seems shallow, narrow, and sketchy. The amount of description of a character does not necessarily constitute full individuation. Rely on your intuitive sense of the character, just a few descriptors may give an impression of a solid and unique individual.

An expanded description of the scoring categories is presented below. You may want to refer to this when scoring the stories.

1) Merged: Family members are merged, a single unit. Are different characters acknowledged? Are their experiences separate and different, or could they be essentially one person?

2) Superficial Individuation, Interrelated: There is superficial individuation, individuals are acknowledged but two dimensional and are interrelated to one another. Here the characters are lacking in depth or complexity. Their experiences are relatively shallow or simple. They are all either sharing the same experience or interacting with each other without a sense of an individual responding because of her/his unique personality.

3) Superficial Individuation, Isolated: The character is isolated from others, acknowledged but superficially individuated. Again the characters lack in depth or complexity. There may be some reaction to each other, but it is without interaction. They are aware of the experiences of others and focused on their own experience.

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

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

Other Scoring Dimensions

Most of the scoring dimensions are fairly self-explanatory. The following notes provide more elaborate explanations for some of the dimension categories which may be more difficult to interpret.

#1) Separation-Individuation Themes:

FSC stories often involve a theme relevant to separating and individuating from family. Moving away, getting married, rebellion and conflict are examples which implicate a form of separating from family.

2) Harmoniously accepted separateness:

Either the separation is worked through, or there is a strong indication that all characters will accept the separateness without problematic feelings.

3) Sadness with acceptance of separateness:

Here there is a sense of apathy or depression. Either there is no indication of recovering from the separation, or it is in the early stages and the sadness is most prominent in the experience of at least one character.

#2) Major Themes:

5) Rebellion is fairly strong, not just a minor difference of opinion. Some degree of differences between parent and child is natural and healthy, and does not necessarily imply rebellion.

#3) Affective Interaction:

4) To be overt, at least two characters must know that there is a conflict and communicate about it in some fashion.

Mother-Daughter Card Stories:

Stories usually refer to the older woman as the young girl's mother. If this is not the case, use "mother" if explicitly mentioned, and if not score the dimensions as though the older woman is the "mother."

#10) Main Theme:

2) Includes both an enmeshed relationship and a separate but mutual relationship.

Couple Card Stories:#16) Relationship Modality:

2) These two characters are feeling the same thing and relating to or providing for one another in the same form.

3) There is an equal interchange, but the two provide different things for each other, e.g., comfort and strength.

APPENDIX H

Results of the Nonsignificant Dimensions

APPENDIX H

Results of the Nonsignificant Dimensions

Family Scene CardMajor Themes

- 1) Repeating the family life-cycle.
- 2) Focus on something external, failing to address the interpersonal relationships.
- 3) Longing for closeness.
- 4) Loss or deprivation.
- 5) Rebellion and defiance.

Table 22: Group Frequencies of Major Themes

<u>Group</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
1 - Late	4	0	2	3	1	0
2 - Middle	5	2	1	3	3	0
3 - Early	8	1	2	3	4	2

The three groups did not display any significant differences in the major thematic content of their stories. The two most prevalent themes for the sample as a whole were "longing for closeness," and "loss or deprivation."¹

Affect Toward Father

Based on this story, how would you characterize the story-teller's feelings toward the paternal figure?

- 1) Ambivalent
- 2) Positive
- 3) Hostile

¹This dimension could be scored on any number of categories.

Table 23: Group Percentages for Affect Toward Father Dimension

Group	N	1	2	3
1 - Late	4	75%	0	25%
2 - Middle	5	60%	20%	20%
3 - Early	8	75%	0	25%

Not achieving significance, the majority of women from all groups were judged to display ambivalent feelings toward the father figure, roughly one quarter from each group displaying hostile feelings, and only one subject, from group 2 portrayed the father figure in a positive manner.

Mother-Daughter Card

Mother-Daughter Theme

How would you characterize the main theme of the story?

- 1) Desire for autonomy eschewing of maternal identification.
- 2) Acceptance of mothering without a sense of deprivation or separation.
- 3) Longing for emotional closeness, nurturance, predicated upon a sense of abandonment, loss or deprivation.

Table 24: Group Percentages on Mother-Daughter Theme for Stories Told to the Mother-Daughter Card.

Group	N	1	2	3
1 - Late	4	50%	25%	25%
2 - Middle	5	60%	0	40%
3 - Early	8	62.5%	0	37.5%

This dimension did not significantly differentiate the three groups. Between one-half and two-thirds of the women in each group told stories which reflected daughter's desire for autonomy. Only one subject from group 1 told a story

which was coded level 2, the remaining subjects told stories in which there was a longing for closeness on the part of the daughter.

Mother's Behavior

How would you characterize the behavior and feelings of mother toward daughter?

- 1) Overprotective and clingy.
- 2) Maternal, nurturing, caring and consoling.
- 3) Rejecting and "pushing away."
- 4) Abandonment and/or depriving.

Table 25: Group Percentages on Mother's Behavior Dimension For Stories Told to the Mother-Daughter Card.

Group	N	1	2	3	4
1 - Late	4	0	75%	25%	0
2 - Middle	5	40%	0	20%	40%
3 - Early	8	25%	12.5%	25%	25%

The projected quality of the behavior of the mothering figure toward daughter was not significantly associated with individuation-timing as measured by the Tau-C, though the results are generally congruent with the theory and predictions. Women who experienced highly involved mothers portrayed the mothering figure as maternal, nurturing, caring and consoling (75%). These women, however, did not portray her as overprotective and clingy as had been hypothesized. Women who were judged to have disengaged mothers told the following: 25%-abandonment or depriving, 25%-rejecting and 'pushing away,' 25%-overprotective and clingy, 12.5%-maternal, one subject's story could not be coded. Of the medium maternal involvement

group, 40% portrayed the mothering figure as abandoning and depriving, 20%-rejecting and pushing away, and 40%-overprotective and clingy. Thus women who had highly involved mothers were most likely to portray mother in positive terms and least likely to portray her in a negative manner.

Mother-Daughter Separation-Individuation Theme

- Is there mother-daughter emotional separation involving:
- 1) No emotional separation.
 - 2) Daughter's anticipation of future motherhood, with or without emotional separation.
 - 3) Daughter's desire for affiliation with a man or father.
 - 4) Daughter's desire for simple autonomy.
 - 5) Daughter's desire for affiliation with peers.
 - 6) Maternal distance.
 - 7) Daughter's desire for achievement.

Table 26: Group Frequencies of Mother-Daughter Separation-Individuation Themes

Group	N	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1 - Late	4	1	0	1	2	0	1	0
2 - Middle	5	0	0	0	2	1	2	0
3 - Early	8	1	1	0	5	0	3	0

This dimension could be scored on any number of the categories. Separation-individuation themes in subjects' stories as measured here showed no significant association with individuation-timing. Given the different N's in each of the research groups, differences in the frequencies in the table are negligible.

Couple CardDepicted:

Observed characters are:

- 1) Parent and child
- 2) Two adults

Only two subjects, one from group 2 and one from group 3 told a story to this card involving a parent and child. All other subjects told stories of two adults, thus there are no differences across groups.

Relationship Modality

- 1) Maternal, support is one-way
- 2) Merged mutuality
- 3) Complimentary mutuality
- 4) The two are in conflict, overt or covert

Table 27: Group Percentages for Relationship Modality in Stories Told to the Couple Card

Group	N	1	2	3	4
1 - Late	4	25%	50%	25%	0
2 - Middle	5	40%	40%	0	20%
3 - Early	8	28.5%	43%	0	28.5%

This dimension was not significantly associated with individuation timing. In general, the largest group from each of the subject groups portrayed the couple as merged in a mutual fashion. Only subjects from group 1 portrayed the couple in a complimentary manner, i.e., the two characters provide for each other in different and complimentary ways. Conflict characterized 20% of stories told by the medium maternal involvement group and 28.5% of those told by the

disengaged mother group. No subjects from the high maternal involvement group projected conflict.

17. Couple Theme: How would you characterize the main theme of the story?

- 1) Separation
- 2) Loss
- 3) Reunion occurs
- 4) Simple intimacy
- 5) Grief and sadness are accepted
- 6) Loss or separation is tragic
- 7) Great relief and gratitude accompany reunion
- 8) Emphasis upon achieving mastery and autonomy

Table 28: Group Frequencies of Couple Themes in Stories Told To The Couple Card

Group	N	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1 - Late	4	3	0	1	1	1	0	2	2
2 - Middle	5	2	0	0	1	1	0	1	0
3 - Early	8	3	0	1	2	1	3	1	1

Subjects from all groups told stories with widely varying themes. There were no significant group differences on this dimension. Only early individuator who had experienced mother as disengaged told stories involving tragic loss or separation. Only group 2 women did not include reunion or a striving for mastery and autonomy as themes in their stories.

APPENDIX I
Sample Stories

APPENDIX I

Sample Stories

The following stories are from the data of this study and serve as illustrative samples of the group differences in story form and content.

Family Scene Card StoriesGroup 1 Subject, A Late-Individuator

Dad is talking about some money that he has. His son and his son's wife have come over to Dad's house for Sunday dinner. They ate their dinner and are now talking about things that have happened in their lives. Dad is showing them the money and Mother is listening. After they talk about the money they start talking about family matters and gossip and politics. They are discussing the President's policy and the other people who represent them. They are angry about the way their tax money is spent. They usually get together on Sundays for dinner. So next Sunday they'll probably see each other again. The kids are outside playing and their cousins will be over later in the afternoon.

Group 2 Subject, A Middle-Individuator

The younger couple in the picture are telling the older couple of a serious event in their lives. Most likely the couple has decided to marry and the young man is telling the young girl's parents of their plans. All persons are apprehensive, especially the father. He is sobered by the thought and is thinking over his reaction before looking up at the couple with his reponse. The young man is trying to do some convincing. The daughter is anxiously searching her mother's face for her reaction and has a hopeful and excited expression on her face. She very much wants her parents to approve of her marriage plans. The young man is more confident and speaks directly to the father. All four persons are very caring and wish only the best for each other. After the discussion is completed, the father will look up, smile and reach out to shake the young man's hand and pat his daughter's face, saying, "Your mother and I wish you both much happiness together."

Group 3 Subject, An Early-Individuator

It was a sad day for everyone. The family had gotten together for dinner--the usual hustle and bustle of dinner preparations, because grandma and grandpa were coming and

dinner was expected promptly at 2:00. After the meal, the men retired into the living room to share some wine and hunting tales. The younger women performed the cleaning duties, one reluctant and a bit angry that there was a division of labor, and also anticipating the dreaded news--yet to be delivered. The men played cards--their usual routine when grandpa was there, and the women sat around drinking coffee, eating holiday cakes and talking about babies or their trials and tribulations with their microwaves--the one young woman sitting back and observing--again resenting the discussions--the small talk--could they ever discuss something important?--and feeling alone. Grandma and grandpa left, and the evening skies brought a quiet to the household. It was time to tell--to let Mom and Dad know that things were not working out. He began, slowly, deliberately; saying they had tried--and tried again, but it just wasn't working. He hung his head, slightly, his eyes lowered to the floor. He hated doing this, admitting the inevitable--he felt like a failure to his parents and to himself. His father's eyes also drifted downward, perhaps in disbelief or disappointment that his son and daughter-in-law were ending what "seemed" like the perfect marriage. His Mom looked sadly at him, wishing the whole scene, in fact, the last several years which she had known were difficult, would all disappear. She had always held him in such high regard and esteem. The young woman stood there listening and watching. Her body was physically present, but her 'self' stood apart from them, observing. She was alone, but a strange quiet and peace settled in. The decision had finally been made, the announcement had come. Now it was time for reality to take hold--to stop, once and for all, from living a fantasy they both had dreamed of, strove for, and failed at. It was time to end this....and maybe one day, to go on.

Group 3 Subject, An Early-Individuator (second example)

The three people, two standing and the male seated to the left, seem to be concerned about the person seated to the right. They are probably asking questions in regard to that person's health. The person seated to the right must feel like they are being smothered. I should hope that person would tell them to get away and leave them alone. No one needs people so close to them, regardless of the reason. Hopefully, they went away and left the person alone.

Mother-Daughter Card Stories

Group 1 Subject, A Late-Individuator

The little girl is upset because someone, probably one of her brothers, was playing with her doll and they were reckless. She is feeling sad because of this and went to

her Mom complaining angrily about what they did to her baby doll. She had now calmed down and Mom has helped her to sort out her feelings and told her that probably it was an accident. No one would want to hurt her doll on purpose.

She is still angry and doesn't talk to her brothers the rest of the day. Tomorrow she'll feel more forgiving and play with them again.

Group 1 Subject, A Late-Individuator (second example)

This picture shows a mother reading to her daughter. The daughter has a baby doll in her lap. The girl does not appear to be listening to the reading. It seems as if the mother is desperately trying to read so as to capture the attention of her daughter back to the book or story.

Possibly it is an evening in the summer and there is no one around to play with, so the mother has said she will play with the daughter and read to her. It does appear as if the girl is waiting for someone else to come home. Maybe her father is expected home and they are biding time until he arrives. The girl is looking so longingly in the distance for something or someone else to come into the picture. Maybe it is past the arrival time for her father to return from a trip he was on.

I hope the outcome will be one of joy. The father will arrive home and the girl will spring forward and smilingly run to her father's arms. The mother will be happy to see the father but possibly not as happy as the child will be. After the happy reunion the family will settle down into a tranquil atmosphere. The girl will be happy once more.

Group 2 Subject, a Middle-Individuator

"Mama, read me a story," the child asked. Mother obliged, but selected the story she wished to read and not what daughter wished to hear. Mother continues to read intently while daughter looks away and dreams; dreams of things to come, places to go and adventures to share in. Mother continues to read and draw closer to daughter. Daughter continues to only half listen, loosen her hold on her doll and dream on. She finds it impossible to share these dreams with Mother--... Mother wouldn't approve. She thinks girls should dress prettily and play with dolls. While that's okay some of the time, daughter longs for more. Mother reads on, not noticing the far away look in daughter's eyes. Daughter dreams on... Mother reads...

Group 3 Subject, An Early-Individuator

This little girl has been given a doll for a present and has been asked by this woman (doesn't feel like her mother to me) to come over so they can talk about and to the nice doll. The girl is not really interested in the doll and is even less

interested in the woman talking to the doll. She is off somewhere else in her thoughts and is waiting for this ordeal to be over so she can go into her own world of dreams--The situation is so awkward because of the forced proximity on the seat but there is no real closeness between any of the participants, including the doll. The girl has a peculiar mixture of sadness and dreaminess about her. I doubt that wherever she goes upon leaving the seat will produce a smile either.

Group 3 Subject, An Early-Individuator (second example)

This is a mother and daughter in about 1954. The mother has been reading aloud, but she got interested in the book and is reading to herself now. The daughter is uncharacteristically dressed up, and instead of setting comfortably into the wing-back chair (her favorite) is perched on the arm. She hears noises from outside the house and is trying to sort out what they are. They are ordinary neighborhood noises and she listens for an unfamiliar noise. Maybe a different noise would mean something unusual or exciting is happening.

The mother continues to read to herself. The girl's interest in the doll she is holding has waned. She gets up quietly, goes to her room and puts the doll to bed. She goes outside, still in her dress and goes to the park across the street. She walks by the river and then takes off her shoes and new white socks and wades to a small island. She hides in the bushes and watches people in the park. They don't know she is there. She wonders what she will be and what will happen to her when she is older. She knows that probably by now, her mother has noticed she is gone. She wades back across the water and carries her shoes and socks home. Her mother is gone and the house is empty. She hates the late afternoon light that comes into her bedroom, so she goes back outside. Her father comes home and sees her sitting under a tree. He asks her where everyone is and she says she doesn't know. He says she should change her clothes and why does she have river mud on her feet? She lies and says she was wading in puddles. They go into the house together. The mother has returned and starts yelling at the girl about her disappearance. The father remonstrates, but the mother continues. The girl slips out of the room (kitchen) during the gathering argument and waits for dinner.

APPENDIX J

The Relationship Between the Research
Variables and Demographic Factors

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Information about subjects' age, level of education, and the number and order of siblings was obtained on the Therapist Questionnaire. These variables were examined for association with both the independent variable (therapists' classification into one of the three separation-individuation groups), and the dependent variables (subjects' scores on the TAT measure).

A one-way ANOVA for unequal N was utilized to assess the relationships between these demographic factors and subjects Total Scores on the TAT measure. Tau-C correlations were computed for each pairing of these demographic factors with the individuation-timing groups, and the individual TAT dimensions. Subjects' age and education level were each represented by five classifications for these analyses.

The results of these data analyses show no meaningful patterns, and in fact surprisingly few significant associations given the probability that random chance will produce some associations. Two relationships were observed which are noteworthy.

Though the relationship between siborder and individuation-timing group was not statistically significant, all Group 2 subjects were second children. However not all second children were Group 2 subjects, and subjects in

Groups 1 and 3 show similar patterns of variation in siborder. Given the description of maternal behavior which therapists had used to classify Group 2 subjects it is not surprising that a large proportion of second children would be classified into this group.

The second noteworthy association was observed on the Family Scene Card Level of Differentiation of Others dimension. The four oldest subjects in the sample were Group 3 women, and on this dimension all four depicted others as Merged, level 1. Subjects' age was not significantly associated with the dimension as a whole, nor with any of the other 5 Level of Differentiation dimensions. However this relationship may indicate that in this particular instance life stage is associated with projections of others in a family scenario. In this regard the common experiences of middle-aged women might lead to their non-acknowledgement and non-differentiation of others in projections of family interactions.

A much larger sample size would be necessary to determine whether these two patterns are spurious or relevant to this area of study.

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