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**FATHERS AND DAUGHTERS:
PATERNAL PRESENCE AND GENDER IDENTITY**

by

Mara L. Silverman

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City
University of New York

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ABSTRACT**Fathers and Daughters: Paternal Presence and Gender Identity****By Mara L. Silverman****Adviser: Professor Steven Tuber**

The purpose of the present study was to use psychoanalytic methods of inquiry on a non-clinical population to empirically evaluate the role of the father in female development. Specifically, the study focuses on how the father's availability as an object of identification impacts the development of his daughter's gender and self identity. It was proposed that daughters with emotionally available fathers will have a less restricted self and gender identity than daughters with emotionally unavailable fathers. A number of components of self and gender identity were explored, including sex-role identity, complexity of the self and gendered self, richness of the self and gendered self, agency of the self and gendered self, and level of self-other differentiation. The tools used in this study were the Object Representation Inventory, the Assessment of Self Descriptions, a modified version of the Assessment of Self Descriptions designed to measure gender identity, the Bem Sex-Role Inventory, and the Separation-Individuation Scale which is applied to Rorschach responses.

Results from the study indicate that women with emotionally available fathers have more "androgynous" sex-role identities than women with emotionally unavailable fathers. This suggests that the father influences the type of sex-role behavior his daughter attributes to herself. Women with

emotionally available fathers were also found to have a rich self identity, but not a rich gendered self identity. The study further suggests that the ability to articulate and integrate multidimensional aspects of the father's personality, the amount of contact with the father, and the amount of contact with the mother also influence aspects of self and gender development. Finally, other noteworthy results indicate that the more therapy women have had, the more articulated and complex their female self representations, but the less they experience their fathers as emotionally available.

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This project is lovingly dedicated to the memory of my father, Lloyd Silverman, who was the inspiration behind this study.

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CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

In the 1960s, women undertook a critical reexamination of the dominant conception of "woman's place" in society. This development grew primarily out of their experience in the civil rights and New Left movements, where women's contributions were typically undervalued by the men with whom they worked. This situation became the catalyst for a new feminist movement - a movement aspiring to liberate women by first isolating and then analyzing the distinctive features of women's experience. When these feminists began to enter the academy, they discovered that many of the paradigms guiding research in the human sciences were as indifferent to women's issues as were their male colleagues in the decade's social movements. The field of psychology provides a sharp example. Prior to the 1960s, psychoanalytic models of development either focused exclusively on male development or, when they dealt with female experience, subsumed it under universal (male) categories. The feminist commitment to articulating the distinct experience of women, therefore, demanded a radical reconceptualization of psychoanalytic models. My project seeks to further this reconceptualization.

Of the many areas of female psychology that have recently undergone reexamination, one that has sparked interest and controversy is the formation of gender identity - the process by which one develops a sense of femaleness (or maleness). Although the debate is often quite theoretical, the way one

conceptualizes this process both affects research and clinical work and has far-reaching social and political implications. That is, how one understands what it means to be female (or male) is linked with the range of possibilities one is able to conceive for the attitudes and behaviors of women (and men) in society.

Where a "narrow" view of gender identity might limit one's possibilities as regards sense of self, family structure, work experience, and social relationships, a "broad" view can multiply one's options. By expanding our ideals of femaleness (and maleness), we also widen the real life possibilities for women and men.

In general, psychoanalysts approach female gender identity formation in one of two ways: with an emphasis upon genital apperception and what girls make of the differences between theirs and boys genitalia, or as a primary outgrowth of the organization and appropriation of the experiences of self and self with other. There are a number of explanations for these divergent points of view, but perhaps the most important one stems from the different ways in which gender has been defined.

Prior to the 1960s, the word gender was rarely seen in the psychoanalytic literature. Money, Hampson, and Hampson (1955, cited in Silverstein, 1996) first used the term to distinguish sex-role (gender identity) from genitalia, but in general when analysts discussed female development they used the terms "sex," "sexuality," and "sexual identity." With the emergence of the feminist movement in the 1960s, a reexamination of the relationships

between men and women began to take place. This movement, unlike prior feminisms, sought to bring under scrutiny the cultural rules and conventions prescribing male and female behavior, a commitment that led participants to elaborate a distinct concept of "gender." Psychoanalysts began to incorporate this new concept into their discussions of female development, but they tended to do so without sufficiently distinguishing between gender and sexuality. In fact, in much of the literature these concepts were (and still are) used interchangeably. In order to avoid making these same mistakes in my dissertation, I will define these terms before examining their manifestation in the psychoanalytic literature.

Freud used the word "sexuality" throughout much of his writings. While he clearly believed it played an important role in the development and mental life of each person, the connotation of the term has shifted in subtle ways over the years. Still, there is some consensus over its general meaning. According to Laplanche and Pontalis (1973), authors of a dictionary of Freudian concepts, sexuality is

not only the activities and pleasure which depend on the functioning of the genital apparatus: it also embraces a whole range of excitations and activities which may be observed from infancy onwards and which procure a pleasure that cannot be adequately explained in terms of the satisfaction of a basic physiological need (respiration, hunger, excretory function, etc.); these reemerge as component factors in the so-called normal form of sexual love (p. 418).

By postulating that sexuality exists from the beginning of life, Freud viewed it as an instinct - a predetermined behavior that is rooted in the body - which follows a certain course of development throughout one's life. Although he did not reduce the sexual to the genital it is clear that in his theoretical framework they are intimately connected.

Given this link, it follows that those analysts since Freud who continue to emphasize the importance of drives in human development also tend to locate the vicissitudes of sexual identity development in the body, specifically the genital area. For these analysts, sexual identity is the conception of the self as female or male - a conception which develops out of the child's genital experiences and the extension of these experiences into his/her relationships with others. In this model, children's awareness of genital differences is an important organizer of genital experience and impacts on the development of sexual identity. Mothers and fathers are then seen as important in the sense that "true" (in this case usually meaning heterosexual) sexual identity can only be experienced in relation to people of the opposite sex. In an attempt to summarize female sexual development, Machtlinger (1981) states: the girl needs a "... loving tie to a responsive father who can act as a foil to her emerging femininity. This would be ideally a relationship in which the girl would 'discover' and experience the first extensions of her femininity in a 'safe' relationship with an admiring and responsive father" (p. 139). What Machtlinger here calls "femininity" (sexual identity, as defined above) is shaped

by the father and his attitude toward his daughter. Without the father or a comparable male figure, girls will be unable to develop a "normal," "feminine" (sexual) identity. The course of sexual development, in this model of female development, is influenced by significant people in a child's environment, but the link between sexual identity and the body/genitals is unmistakable.

Thus, when analysts began using the term gender identity interchangeably with sexual identity, they seemed to be misunderstanding this "new" concept. That is, while one's gender identity does seem to incorporate feelings about one's sex and sexual identity, gender also needs to be understood in terms of socio-cultural influences. Gender is not primarily determined by biology but instead is an outgrowth of socially, historically, psychologically and culturally imposed categories of masculine and feminine. By collapsing the distinction between sex, sexuality and gender, psychoanalysts tend to cloud the important differences between them. While one is born with a particular biological sex, the appropriation of this sex into one's identity is influenced by factors that take place "outside" of the body.

Although there are some psychoanalysts who uphold the argument that gender is socially constructed, there is much disagreement over how it is subjectively experienced. While some believe that in "healthy" development children develop a sense of themselves as unalterably male or female (a core gender identity) (Stoller, 1964, 1968), others feel that a stable gender identity can be potentially pathological because it requires disowning or displacing any

impulse, thought, act, feeling or characteristic that is gender "incongruent." As

Harris (1991) summarizes,

... gender can be as core and coherent an experience as any structure of self and subjectivity. But gender can also mutate, dissolve, and prove irrelevant or insubstantial. In short, gender can be as fragile, as unreliable, or as tenacious as any structure of defense or layer of the self (p. 197).

This debate is interesting theoretically, but for the purpose of this dissertation a working definition of gender also needs to be elucidated. By gender identity I will mean one's experience of being a woman or a man, an experience that stems from the appropriation of socially imposed categories of masculine and feminine. While it does include one's sex and sexual identity, the roots of it are not primarily located in the body but in the society in which one develops. Because relationships are the primary vehicle through which societal values (in this case attitudes toward masculinity and femininity) are transmitted, it seems useful to study the development of gender identity by examining significant relationships in a girl's/woman's life. I am most interested in examining the father/daughter relationship. While my focus will be a dyadic one, I am aware that in "reality" relationships do not develop in a vacuum. On the contrary, they develop out of a family matrix and are thus profoundly influenced by the other relationships within that matrix - mother/father, mother/daughter, father/sibling, mother/sibling, etc. I think that this systemic model of psychological development is an important one, but it will not be my orientation for this project. Despite the numerous factors that

influence gender development, I think it can be fruitful to try to examine the unique contributions the father makes in its development. Thus my project will be limited to the study and discussion of the father-daughter dyad.

Specifically, I would like to explore the father's role in the development of the female gendered self, focusing in particular upon how his availability as an object of identification impacts the development of his daughter's gender and self identity. I am choosing to emphasize the father for two reasons. First, while the mother-child relationship has been a primary focus of psychoanalytically-oriented research and clinical work, the father-child, and in particular the father-daughter relationship, has been severely underrepresented. Second, when the father is discussed in relation to his daughter it is usually in terms of his presence as a libidinal object and not as an identificatory one. It thus seems legitimate to try to give the father his fair place in his daughter's development.

CHAPTER II. LITERATURE REVIEW

A. Female Development

In order to understand the father's role in gender formation, several different literature domains need to be reviewed. The first comprises theories on gender identity development. I will present this section by outlining the historical development of theories on female development. I begin with classical psychoanalytic theories because they have made important contributions to our understanding of female development, despite their emphasis on sexuality and sexual identity.

Sigmund Freud: girls are "made" and not "born"

Freud was one of the first people to address issues relating to female sexual development (1925, 1931, 1933). He, together with a number of other early analysts (Lampl-de Groot, 1927; Brunswick, 1940), believed that preoedipal development was congruent for boys and girls and that the development of femininity did not take place until the phallic (now often referred to as genital) stage. During this stage, he asserted, the little girl will inevitably make the "momentous" discovery that boys have penises while girls do not. Because of the penis' apparent visibility and size, the girl immediately thinks it is superior to her own genital organs and begins to envy it.

Freud believed this discovery is experienced as a major narcissistic injury and causes the girl to develop a sense of inferiority. Since she has felt disappointment and frustration toward the mother during the preoedipal stage (due to the mother's inevitable inability to fully gratify her child's various needs), she holds her mother responsible for her anatomical "misfortune" and experiences hostility towards her after this phallic phase "discovery." This results in a subsequent loosening of her tie to her mother, the original love object, and a turning toward her father. In time the little girl realizes that not only she, but all women (including her mother) are "castrated," which causes her to completely relinquish her mother as a love object and turn fully toward her father. At first she wishes her father to give her the penis she feels her mother denied her. However, according to Freud, the "feminine situation" is not established until the wish for a penis is replaced by a wish for a baby - a baby from her father. At this point the girl has entered the oedipal complex and her mother becomes the object of her jealousy. Thus, for Freud, penis envy was at the core of the female psyche and that femininity grew out of a thwarted masculinity - i.e., femininity was not a primary phenomenon according to Freud but developed only after the girl discovered her lack of a penis. Thus in Freud's framework, femininity development was specifically linked to a particular developmental time period - the awareness of genital differences and the outcome of the Oedipus complex.

Freud's early dissenters: the move toward a "primary femininity"

Although Freud held steadfastly to his view that a woman is "made" and not "born," there were a number of early analysts who disagreed with this assertion from the onset. Horney (1924, 1926) was one of the first analysts to challenge Freud's view. She believed that during the preoedipal stage the little girl becomes aware of her genital organs and feminine libidinal wishes. Thus she saw femininity as a primary phenomenon and unresolved penis envy as a secondary formation that needed to be explained. She argued that girls with unresolved penis envy did try to master the oedipal situation normally - that is, they went through a stage where they took their fathers as love objects and identified with their mothers. However, their attachments to their fathers are so intense that they become convinced that their fathers are their actual (as opposed to fantasied) lovers. When the "reality" of the situation sets in, they suffer severe disappointment with the father and guilt for the incestuous fantasies they have concerning him. As a result of the disappointment and guilt, the girl backs off from her father as love object and identifies with him instead. Thus for Horney, the girl's wish to be a "man" (i.e., to have a penis) is a defense maneuver that occurs in reaction to her oedipal desires and fears.

Jones (1927, 1935) echoed Horney's views on the formation of a primary femininity prior to the discovery of the anatomical distinction between the sexes during the phallic stage. He also asserted that girls have an early awareness of genital sensations and that feelings of penis envy during the phallic

stage are a secondary formation and not the "bedrock" of the female psyche as Freud argued. However, where Horney stressed the impact of socio-cultural factors in contributing to penis envy in women, Jones, while sympathetic to this view, tended to focus primarily on intrapsychic factors. Both Horney and Jones, unlike Freud, linked gender development to the preoedipal (as opposed to oedipal) phase, but like Freud they believed that feminine development was tied to a specific, albeit earlier, developmental period.

The contemporary thinkers

a. Sexual identity and the impact of early genital awareness

Although Jones and Horney, like Freud, focused on the development of female sexuality, they proved to be influential in shaping contemporary views on the formation of female gender identity. However, it was not until the mid-1960s that active debates around feminine development reemerged. Until that time, the topic was kept alive indirectly through clinical case discussions, but active theoretical and empirical debates disappeared. In the main, following the ideas of Jones and Horney, most contemporary analysts uphold the idea of a primary femininity and assert that female development hinges on genital awareness - an awareness that is obtained prior to the discovery of the anatomical distinction between the sexes (that is, during the preoedipal stage). Frankel and Sherick (1979) support the idea of primary femininity by citing data from longitudinal observations of pre-school children. They argue that prior to

oedipal stage behavior girls choose to play with other females, participate in group play with females, and choose activities that are quite different than those chosen by same-aged boys.

A belief in primary femininity notwithstanding, what is important for these contemporary theorists is what girls make of their own genitals and genital differences. These theorists often use the term gender identity when discussing female identity development, but their focus on the body and the role of the genitals suggests that they are primarily referring to sexual identity development. Nevertheless, since some of their premises were eventually appropriated by analysts more specifically concerned with gender, their viewpoints seem to be a relevant topic of discussion.

There are two positions within this particular analytic camp. The first is held by writers such as Galenson and Roiphe (Galenson and Roiphe, 1976; Roiphe and Galenson, 1981). While they agree with the existence of early genital awareness in the preoedipal stage, they, like Freud, argue that the presence or absence of the penis is what really matters and that female development is primarily organized around penis envy and castration anxiety. In their view, the recognition of genital difference is the driving force behind the development of gender and sexual identity. The second position, while also stressing early genital schematization and its role in the formation of gender (sexual) identity, tends to give primacy to the female genitalia in psychic formation. That is, proponents of this position emphasize what the girl has as

opposed to what she does not have. Kestenberg (1968), for example, argued that girls not only have knowledge of their inner and outer genitalia but that they develop a positive conception of the role of their genitalia in the preoedipal stage. Although these analytic camps differ in many ways, they share with their predecessors a belief that gender (sexual) development is linked to a specific developmental period.

b. Gender identity: the move away from a "bodily" theory

By the early 1960s, a second strand of contemporary psychoanalytic thinking began to emerge. These theorists distinguished more carefully between gender identity and female sexuality/sexual identity. They argued that gender identity is primarily an outgrowth of interpersonal and cognitive factors and that genital experience and awareness is secondary. Stoller (1964, 1968, 1979), for example, proposed the concept of "core gender identity" - an early sense of femaleness (or maleness) that is established by age two or three - as a way of understanding the process by which a gendered self develops. He argues that core gender identity is the sense that one is unalterably "female" or "male." He asserts that core gender identity is a result of five factors: 1) "biological forces" - a genetic component originating during prenatal development; 2) the sex assignment at birth; 3) parents' attitudes about the infant's sex and the infant's perceptions of these attitudes; 4) family dynamics; and 5) the developing body ego - the sensations, especially genital ones, that help the

infant define his or her sex.

Once core gender identity is formed, gender identity - a child's conscious and unconscious conviction of belonging to one sex or the other (a sense of masculinity or femininity) - is able to develop. Thus, for Stoller, the development of femininity in girls involves two processes. The first (core gender identity) is primarily free of conflict and ego-syntonic. It comprises attributes, behaviors, and fantasies that evolve out of identification, imitation, and conditioning. In this sense it is primarily socially and cognitively constructed. The second (gender identity) results from conflict and envy in the oedipal situation, and produces a more complete sense of femininity. From Stoller's viewpoint, core gender identity is not a final achievement of femininity (or masculinity). Rather, the sense of "belonging to a sex" is complicated and grows out of oedipally related conflicts, anxieties, fantasies, and defenses.

Person and Ovesey (1983) expand upon Stoller's views. They refer to Stoller's second stage as "gender role identity" - masculine or feminine self-images - a psychological achievement that occurs during separation-individuation. For these authors, gender differentiation is an outgrowth of separation-individuation identifications and conflicts. It is during this separation-individuation phase that the awareness of genital differences emerges. In this way, and in contrast to the views of Galenson and Roiphe, gender precedes, shapes, and organizes sexuality, not the reverse (Person, 1993). Stoller, Person, and Ovesey clearly depart from earlier theorists in that

they believe that gender identity grows out of cognitive labeling and object relationships. Genital awareness, while contributing to gender development, is not, in their view, the primary determining factor in gender identity development. However, like their predecessors, their understanding of gender development evolves out of a linear developmental framework.

Expanding on Stoller's theory, Fast (1984) developed a differentiation model of gender identity that emphasizes the role of social factors in the process by which boys and girls develop gendered selves. Like Stoller, she argues that at birth girls are biologically female and boys male. Although she feels that these biological factors influence gender-related experiences, they tend to be overridden by social influences - i.e., the different ways caretakers treat boys and girls. She asserts that while girls and boys tend to develop in gender "appropriate" directions due to the combination of these biological and social influences, they do not categorize their experiences in gender terms. In fact she believes that their early experiences are undifferentiated and overinclusive - children assume that they have characteristics of both sexes and are not aware of inherent sexual limitations. Thus, the girl, although her genital organization is objectively female, does not categorize her genital experience as either male or female at this time. Because she does not exclude any attribute for being inappropriate to her sex and gender, the girl is able to internalize a broad range of characteristics from various people in her environment.

According to Fast, it is not until sex differences have been recognized

(during the oedipal stage) that girls begin the process of gender differentiation - categorizing their experiences in gender terms. Although she, like Freud, argues that the realization that boys have penises and girls do not is experienced as a great loss for the girl, she interprets this experience quite differently. Where Freud felt that this experience made the little girl feel castrated, Fast argues that the feeling of loss stems from the recognition that she is not unlimited in terms of her sex and gender. Her wish, therefore, is not to be male instead of female, but to be unlimited in terms of her sex and gender possibilities.

At this point, Fast argues, a specific gender differentiation process ensues involving, for the girl, a recategorization of her experience in gender terms. Ideas of femininity and masculinity become further articulated and, while both have validity, femininity is attributed to the self while masculinity is in relation to but independent of the self. Furthermore, her female genitalia are now subjectively experienced as female and integrated into her body image and gender identity, while male genitalia are attributed to boys. It is at this point in the differentiation process that the role of the parents becomes crucial. The child's developing notions of masculinity and femininity are now expressed and developed in relation to the parents, now seen in gender terms. While the girl begins to develop a same-sex relationship to her mother as feminine, a cross-sex relationship to her father as masculine is simultaneously being developed:

The differentiation framework suggests that as the girl recategorizes her experience in gender terms changes occur in her relations to each parent. She now learns to relate to each parent in specifically gender terms. She learns to relate to her mother as a same-sex person, to identify with her without losing self-other differentiation, to maintain an object relationship without the intrusion of notions of narcissistic unity. She must learn to relate to the father now as specifically male in relation to her own self as female. These new orientations provide contexts within which she practices and elaborates the differentiated notions of femininity and of masculinity she is developing (p. 42).

This model is a useful one because it explicitly addresses the father's role in fostering his daughter's gender identity development. In interactions with her father, the little girl begins to define herself as female and "feminine" in relation to a male, "masculine" father. Fast departs from her predecessors in that she believes that identifications with both the mother and the father are important components of gender development. Like the theorists discussed above, however, Fast places the development of gender within a linear developmental framework.

Feminist psychoanalysts: the appropriation of relational theory

The final group of contemporary psychoanalysts interested in female gender identity development call themselves feminist psychoanalysts (Benjamin, 1986, 1991; Chodorow, 1989; Dinnerstein, 1976; Elliot 1990). Following British object relations theory, these theorists believe that self-other relations and the development of the self through these relations is at the center of

development. Although they acknowledge that the object relations school has not dealt with gender differences, they argue that the theory can be expanded to address these differences. While agreeing with the contemporary psychoanalysts cited above that the preoedipal period is crucial to gender development, they argue that the central component of gender identity formation is not genital awareness and what girls make of genital difference but the experience of self with other and how that becomes organized and appropriated. In instances when sexuality and feminine development are seen as somehow problematic, they look toward problems rooted in self and relational issues rather than in conflicts around genital schematization and awareness.

To explain the varied ways the self is constructed and the different ways in which men and women experience gender and gender identity, these theorists tend to focus on early parenting paradigms. That is, they argue that because both males and females are primarily parented by women, their construction of their sense of self and their experiences of gender and gender identity are quite different. While women's early relationships with their mothers allow them to develop a sense of self that is continuous with others, men - because of their need to disidentify with their mothers - tend to develop a sense of self that is based on a denial of relation and connection and is thus more "separate." Thus, for these theorists, gender identity formation is primarily an outgrowth of the early mother-child relationship and, in line with Stoller and his colleagues, genital awareness has an important but secondary impact.

In addition, to challenging the view that gender development is linked to genital awareness, some feminist psychoanalysts (Benjamin, 1986, 1991, 1995; Dimen, 1991; Goldner, 1991; Harris, 1991) have also begun to question the idea that gender is a fixed and static construct linked to a specific developmental period. Their theoretical framework is based instead on the idea that gender identity is fluid, flexible, and context-dependent.

More recently, Sweetnam (1996) has attempted to bridge the differences between the linear developmental perspective and the fluid and dynamic perspective of gender. She argues that gender should not be viewed in an either/or fashion but instead should incorporate both positions. She believes that "both fixed and fluid experiences occur and that they occur within the context of each other," and that gender is an "... aspect of experience that moves between qualities of greater rigidity and greater fluidity" (p.439). She bases her argument on the theoretical framework of Klein who conceptualizes development in terms of a back and forth movement between different psychological "positions" (i.e., the paranoid-schizoid position and the depressive position). Experiences, including those related to one's gender, will have a more fixed or fluid quality depending on the position. Sweetnam argues that unless one is willing to integrate both positions on gender development, the complexity of gender formation becomes inadvertently simplified.

B. The Role of the Father

While psychoanalytic theories on gender identity development have clearly expanded over the years, much controversy still remains over the father's role in its development. To better understand this controversy, it seems necessary to explore the ways in which the father has been represented throughout the vicissitudes of analytic thinking.

The early analysts: sexual identity and the oedipal father

Freud (1923, 1924, 1925, 1933) and other classical analysts placed a great deal of emphasis on the role of the father in the development of female sexuality. For Freud, a girl takes a "masculine" stance vis-a-vis her parents (that is, as with the boy, the mother is considered the love object while the father is seen as the rival) until her discovery of the anatomical distinction between the sexes during the oedipal stage. With the discovery of the penis and her own "castration," the girl changes from a "masculine" to a "feminine" position - she denounces her mother and takes her father as love object. In addition to a change of love object, Freud argued that a change in sexual organ (from the clitoris to the vagina, allowing the girl to receive a baby passively from her father) needs to take place for "true" femininity to be consolidated. For Freud, femininity cannot be established without the presence of the father to whom the girl can turn. In fact, he believes that a girl's ongoing sexual development is contingent upon a father who is interested in and approving of

his daughter. The absence of this type of father can cause a girl to regress into a preoedipal relationship with her mother. While it is clear that, for Freud, the father plays an essential role in femininity establishment, his primary importance does not come into play until the oedipal period. Within this classical conceptualization, the preoedipal father has a minor role in a girl's development, and her identification with him is seen as a "passing" phenomenon that needs to be overcome in order for "healthy" development to take place. In Freud's view, "true" femininity is not consolidated until the girl develops an exclusive identification with her mother - an important outcome of the oedipus complex.

The contemporary view

a. Sexual identity and the preoedipal stage

Following Freud's lead, many contemporary analysts continue to focus on sexual (as opposed to gender) identity development, and emphasize the "oedipal father," and oedipal issues in general, as being important components of psychosexual development. However, unlike Freud, they feel that sexual identity formation begins in the preoedipal stage. Edgumbe et al. (1976), based on their detailed study of clinical case material of 27 girls in analysis, suggest that a girl does not move from a "masculine" to "feminine" position upon discovering the anatomical distinction during the oedipal stage but instead uses the knowledge of this discovery to further consolidate a sexual identity that

began developing during the preoedipal stage. In this model, while the preoedipal period has unmistakable importance for sexual identity formation, the parents' role in fostering this development does not primarily take place until the oedipal stage.

In the main, when these contemporary analysts do address the parents' role in helping their children acquire a differentiated sexual identity (Edgumbe and Burgner 1975, for example), they tend to speak about the child's capacity to identify with the parents of the same sex. In other words, for these analysts genital awareness is the main component of sexual identity, but this identity is fostered through identifications with the same sex parent. In this type of theoretical formulation, the father's role is to be available as a libidinal object not as an object with whom the girl identifies.

b. Sexual identity and the preoedipal father

There have been a handful of contemporary analysts who have been more directly interested in the effects of the father on female sexual identity formation. Burgner (1985) examines the impact of the father on development through his research on the effects of the loss of the father through parental separation or divorce during the first five years of life. He concludes that these children have difficulty moving from the preoedipal to oedipal stage of development. Without the father they have difficulty relinquishing the exclusive, yet ambivalent, dyadic tie to the original object - the mother -

because they fear that they might lose her too. In addition, he found that these children displayed deficits in their cognitive ego functioning, an over-strict superego, and damaged narcissistic and sexual identifications. For all the girls in his study, the loss of the father impacted negatively on their self-esteem and was also experienced as a confirmation of their inadequate bodies. Thus, for Burgner, father absence impacts on cognitive and emotional functioning as well as sexual identity.

Leonard (1966) believes that the father plays a large role in his daughter's sexual development. She states that it is important for the father to see his daughter as a young "budding" female in order to help her feel that other males will also accept her. Without paternal confirmation and attention (due to death, divorce, or the father's need to absent himself because of his own intrapsychic issues), the little girl will have difficulty giving up the preoedipal attachment to her mother. In addition, she will feel rejected by her father, causing her self-esteem and positive feelings about her femininity to diminish. Although Leonard clearly acknowledges the father's importance during early development, she seems to stress the father's ability to be available to his daughter as a love object, not as one with whom she can identify.

Rees (1987) believes that a girl's sense of self and identity grows out of a combination of experiences, feelings, ideas, and memories of her own body and affective states, in addition to exchanges with significant others - including identifications with both parents. She, like Fast, argues that in early

development there are no absolute categories such as gender, therefore identifications tend to shift and are not mutually exclusive. Girls (and boys) begin with a vague and undifferentiated view of gender which allows them to have wishes about the possibility of being both male and female. Although the little girl can temporarily shift back and forth between masculine and feminine identifications, she knows from early on that she is in the class of a girl - Stoller's concept of core gender identity. Despite these oscillating identifications, Rees believes that it is important for a girl to achieve oedipal identification with her mother before she begins to identify with aspects of the father's personality. If this does not happen there is a danger of her sexual identity being problematic. While a girl's identification with her father is important for Rees, this is only the case after her feminine identification has been secured. If secure, these paternal identifications can further foster and consolidate her feminine identity.

The father and the separation-individuation process

Many analysts who do give the father an important role in development are those who study and emphasize the separation-individuation process (Abelin, 1971, 1980; Burlingham, 1973; Jacobson, 1964; Mahler et al., 1975). Although their emphasis tends to be on the development of self, as opposed to gender identity, they nevertheless have made important contributions to our understanding of the father's role in development. Mahler et al. (1975) use in-

depth clinical observations to describe the separation-individuation process - the course by which the child gradually becomes aware that she is psychologically separate from her mother, thus allowing her to develop her own unique individuality. They postulate four consecutive yet overlapping subphases within the separation-individuation process: 1) the differentiation phase (5-9 months), where total bodily dependence on the mother begins to decrease and the beginning of a distinct yet primitive body image begins to emerge; 2) the practicing phase (9-14 months), where the child actively moves away from the mother to explore the environment; 3) the rapprochement phase (14-24 months), where the child "rediscovers" the mother who is now seen as a separate individual and experiences great conflict between the desire to be one with the mother and the wish to retain her newfound independence; and 4) consolidation of individuality and emotional object constancy (30 months and on), where the child establishes relatively stable self and object representations. Mahler suggests that the relationship with the father becomes particularly important during the practicing subphase. Because the relationship with father, unlike that with the mother, does not have its origins in the symbiotic phase, the father during the practicing period comes to represent the new and exciting "outside" world. In the practicing subphase, both boys and girls tend to use the mother as a "home base" and the father becomes the "other" or different parent - the one who helps explore reality. Even when the child is in an ambivalent relationship with the mother during the rapprochement subphase, the father tends not only to

remain the "uncontaminated" parent but his presence helps the child obtain intrapsychic separation and individuation from the "symbiotic" mother. Thus, in this model, the father's presence is a crucial component of "healthy" separation and individuation.

Abelin (1980), through his observations of infants and young children, came to similar conclusions as Mahler et al. about the role of the father during the separation-individuation process. He too believes that the father becomes a specific object when the infant is between 8 and 18 months of age, but also believes that boys and girls "use" the father in different ways, thus affecting their gender identity development. Specifically, he argues that the boy begins to identify with his father whom he experiences as his rival at an earlier stage than does the girl and it is this shift (prior to rapprochement) from mother to father that aids gender identity development in the boy. In contrast, the girl, according to Abelin, has her primary attachment to her mother and her father remains a peripheral figure until she has gone through rapprochement and entered the Oedipal stage. Thus, he concludes that the girl, unlike the boy, does not incorporate gender information into her identity until she replaces her wish for mommy with that for daddy, an event which does not occur until the oedipal stage. Thus while Abelin feels the father has an important role in the separation-individuation process he argues that, for girls, his presence is primarily important during the oedipal stage.

The father beyond separation-individuation

In addition to the father's importance in helping his child through the separation-individuation process, some analysts believe he has other roles as well. Loewald (1951), for example, asserted that the father promotes the development of the sense of reality - that is, reality is felt to be an external force that is usually represented by the father figure. According to Pacella (1989), through the child's use of internalization and imitation processes, the father becomes an object who assists in the formation of the ego-ideal, the forerunners of the super-ego, self-esteem, and confidence. In addition, the father helps to modulate and regulate psychosexual development. Muir (1989) believes that the father, like the mother, is an important attachment figure and as a "real" object becomes internalized in and contributes to the child's internal relational world. Herzog (1984) echoes Abelin's ideas about the father's influence in helping the child differentiate from the mother, but also sees the father as an "intruder," one who interrupts the intimate, blissful, and empathically attuned relationship between the mother and child. He feels that the father's major role is organizing and modulating aggressive fantasies and drives. Therefore, the father's presence has both "regressive" and "progressive" determinants. Finally, Diamond (1995) argues that the father acts as the "protective agent" for the mother and the child. He believes that by providing a nurturing, "holding" environment for the mother-child dyad, the father is able to protect the intense and primary bond the mother and child share. He asserts that if a father is

unable to be the "protective agent" early in the child's development, he will also have difficulty being available to the child in other capacities as the child develops. He provides some evidence that fathers who are unable to be involved in the initial phases of fathering are more likely to be ineffective fathers or, in more extreme cases, abandon their children or engage in sexual abuse.

The father as research subject

While theoretical ideas and clinical observations of the father-daughter relationship certainly provide valuable information, empirical research needs to be undertaken as a way to further validate these psychoanalytic notions. In more recent years, psychologists have been studying the role of the father through various research paradigms. Pedersen (1981) reports on a number of studies which attempted to appraise the behavioral effects of the father on the interaction between the mother and the child. In general, rates of interaction between parent and child are consistently higher in the dyadic group compared to the three-person group. Additional findings indicate that behavior demanding relatively focused attention on the parent's part - smiling, talking, eye contact - were inhibited when active communication took place between the parents. Since fathers (especially those from more traditional families) tend to spend time with their children in the presence of mothers, even when they are interacting with their children the impact of this interaction is bound to be

diluted. Thus it is likely that the father's ability to be meaningfully responsive and available to his child will be limited. Since fathers tend to interact and play more with their male than female offspring (Lamb, 1986), this is especially a problematic issue for daughters.

The specific effects the father has on his children's development is somewhat controversial, but research indicates that fathers and mothers influence children in similar ways (Lamb, 1986). For example, paternal warmth and empathy have been found to have similar effects on children's development as maternal warmth and empathy (Lamb, 1986), and paternal psychopathology, like maternal psychopathology, is negatively related to developmental outcomes for children and adolescents (Phares & Compas, 1992). Pruett and Litzenberger (1992) also found that fathers, like mothers, have a profound effect on their children's development. They conducted a longitudinal study of 17 families where fathers were the primary caretakers. The children who participated in the study were between 2-22 months when the project began and were followed for eight years. The fathers in this study were able to form deep and nurturing attachments to their children - an attachment which remained throughout the eight years - and the children developed into competent, sociable, and highly communicative youngsters.

When specific characteristics of the father are studied, paternal involvement has repeatedly emerged as an important variable in the cognitive/motivational development (Belsky, 1980; Clarke-Stewart, 1978;

Pederson et al., 1979), and interpersonal adjustment (Baumrind and Black, 1967; Biller, 1981) of both sons and daughters. A few studies have demonstrated that when fathers are involved in at least 40% of the in-home child-care, their children exhibit higher cognitive competence, higher empathy toward their peers, less sex-stereotyped beliefs, and, for daughters in particular, more internal locus of control (Easterbrooks and Goldberg, 1984; Lamb, 1987; Radin, 1982). Other studies, however, indicate that it is the quality not the quantity of time that the father spends with his children that impacts their development (Wenk et al., 1994).

In addition to father involvement, paternal warmth and confidence have been shown to have an advantageous effect on children's psychosocial adjustment and achievement (Lamb, 1986), and paternal nurturance is associated with adjustment and happiness in later heterosexual relationships (Lozoff, 1974). Fish and Biller (1973) indicate that women who perceive their fathers as having been very nurturant and positively interested in them scored high on the Adjective Check List personal adjustment scale, but women who perceive their fathers as having been rejecting scored very low on the measure. Biller (1981) suggests that fathers who are not rigidly restrictive and who are able to encourage independence and achievement in their daughters help their daughters develop competence in physical and intellectual endeavors. In more recent years, there has also been an increase in research on father-infant attachment. Although few of these studies have looked at the father's role in

"attachment outcome," two that have examined this data (Main et al's, 1985; & Main and Weston, 1981) indicate that the father's ability to be responsive and sensitive to his infant's signals greatly contributes to the security of attachment and is also associated with sociability in the child.

Finally, there have also been a number of studies on the father's role in his offspring's sex-role development. Biller (1981), for example, argues that fathers have a major impact on their daughters' sex-role development. He believes that the father is the main transmitter of culturally-based notions of masculinity and femininity - femininity defined as " ... a positive feeling about being female and a particular patterning of interpersonal behavior" (p. 340). He quotes numerous studies that suggest that fathers influence their daughters sex role and femininity development more than mothers. He believes that feminine development is affected by how the father distinguishes his "masculine" role from the mother's "feminine" role and what kinds of behaviors he deems appropriate for his daughter. He states that the father's ability to accept and reinforce his daughter's femininity has an important influence on her self concept. Furthermore, he asserts, women who have pride in their femininity - a pride that is fostered through the father - are more likely to achieve interpersonal and creative fulfillment. While the father seems to have an important impact on his daughter's self-esteem, Biller (1981) points out that most frequently fathers are not able to be positively involved with their daughters and, as a result, they tend to have difficulty developing into "well-

rounded, secure, and competent adults" (p. 346).

Findings from other studies also indicate that the father has an important role in his daughter's sex-role development. Lozoff (1974), for example, suggests that when fathers are able to value and respect their daughters' femininity and encourage them to develop competencies, the daughters are able to have positive identifications with both of their parents and are successful in their heterosexual relationships as well as in their creative and professional endeavors. Data gathered by Hetherington, Cox, and Cox (1978), cited in Biller (1981) suggest that girls who display androgynous sex-role behaviors have fathers who are warm, encourage independence and achievement, and have a positive view about females. Jackson, Ialongo, and Stollak (1986) found that women who perceived more warmth and affection from their fathers are more likely to have an androgynous gender-role classification. Pruett and Litzenberger's (1992) longitudinal study mentioned above, also suggests that when the father is highly involved in child care, both sons and daughters develop a gender role flexibility such that they are able to comfortably move back and forth between masculine and feminine behavioral roles. They also found that daughters, through an identification with their fathers, were able to develop competence in their capacity to make demands on the external social world. Finally, Stevenson (1991) reports that women who rate themselves as highly instrumental also rate the quality of their relationship with their fathers as better than more traditional females.

Fathers and gender identity development

Over the past ten years there has been an increased interest in examining the impact of the father's emotional availability on his daughter's self and gender development. Tessman (1982, 1989), for example, feels that the quality of the father's emotional availability has a profound effect on the daughter's developing self. When discussing the father-daughter relationship, she stresses the importance of both the conscious and non-conscious elements in their interactions:

The quality of emotional engagement between father and daughter frequently remains as a powerful undercurrent giving direction to that particular vision of happiness which may become one guiding force in a woman's life and affects her perception of the value or futility of her own efforts in striving toward it. Emotional engagement is, of course, complex: it continually changes and occurs at many levels of consciousness, involving perception, fantasy, and overt interaction. The daughter responds to her perception of the father's attitudes and feelings about a complex of changing strivings within her. Some of her strivings are gender linked and some are not at all (1982, p. 220).

By using data from a research project studying the life narratives of former women students at M.I.T., Tessman (1989) was able to test some of her theoretical ideas. One piece of the project was an examination of levels of women's intentionality - "... the tendency to direct one's energies toward a goal which has evolved from inner motivation, rather than primarily as a reaction to the wishes and demands of others" (p. 202). She found that women who scored high on intentionality had fathers who were perceived as being able to guide

their lives in interesting and rewarding fashions, as creative, as displaying excitement about learning and mastery, and as taking risks when appropriate. These fathers involved their daughters in projects, showed trust in their growing capabilities, were stimulating and encouraging of their exploration, judgment, and curiosity, and could have a playful attitude toward them. These findings suggest that it is the combination of the daughter's identification with the father and the father's ability to positively respond to this need that had the most significant effect on the daughter's ability to be involved and engaged in the world in a meaningful and satisfying way.

Silverman (1981) uses Abelin's understanding of the role of the father in the separation-individuation process to further enhance his understanding of gender development. He believes that a girl's sense of herself as female, and the cognitive and emotional details that go along with that notion, begin to form as soon as her parents see her as female - i.e., at birth. During the rapprochement period in particular, girls receive a variety of cues from both parents about their feelings about her and women in general. He argues that how parents, and particularly fathers, view their daughters - i.e., with pleasure in her femininity or with disappointment and disapproval - impacts on their daughter's self-concept and her feelings about being a girl. Although Silverman seems to believe that the most crucial components of healthy female development are the girl's identification with her mother and her mother's own feelings about her femaleness, the father's responses to and expectations of his

daughter are also clearly important. Thus, in this model, as in Tessman's, the father's ability to be emotionally available to his daughter plays an important role in his daughter's capacity to develop a healthy gender identity.

Ogden (1987) explicitly addresses the important role of both parents. In his view, gender development grows out of a girl's ability to identify with both the mother and the father. Specifically, "... a healthy gender identity is a reflection of the creation of a dialectical interplay between masculine and feminine identities. This occurs when one does not have to choose between loving (and identifying with) one's mother and loving (and identifying with) one's father" (p. 496). Thus, for Ogden, gender development becomes problematic when a choice between mother and father (femaleness and maleness) has to be made.

The feminist psychoanalysts (Benjamin, 1986, 1991; Dimen, 1991; Goldner, 1991; Harris, 1991) also add an important theoretical framework to our understanding of the role of the father in female gender identity development. They argue that gender is not comprised of fixed identifications but instead should be viewed as dynamic and moving between different identifications. In this way, identifications with both the mother and the father are seen as important components of gender development.

Benjamin (1991, 1995), in particular, addresses the specific role the father plays in his daughter's development. She argues that the girl's ability to identify with her father is an important and necessary component of healthy self

and gender identity. She feels that this identification needs to take place during the preoedipal rapprochement period. It is at this time that the girl (and boy) actively struggles with the need to be recognized as independent from the very person she is dependent on (the mother). If the girl can identify with her father and get confirmation of independence from him, she will no longer need to work through this bind (the fear of separation and the desire for independence) with her mother.

According to Benjamin, identification plays a key role in love and desire. She argues that it is through identification that children begin to acknowledge the subjectivity of another person and begin to see themselves as subjects of desire. However, she emphasizes that the way in which the father responds to his child's need for identification is crucial. It is only through a strong recognition from the father - his ability to give her the message that yes, she can be like him - that the girl will be able to consolidate her identifications and feel like a subject of desire. Lack of recognition and the denial of the identificatory bond tends to damage the women's sense of being a sexual subject and leads her to look for her desire through a man. Thus, in Benjamin's view, the existence of the father as an object of identification has a large impact on his daughter's gender and self identity. Although her argument is theoretically compelling, empirical research needs to be undertaken to support her conceptualizations.

Statement of the problem

It is recognized that the process of gender identity development is complex and multi-determined, but the way this process is conceptualized differs depending on one's theoretical orientation. Within psychoanalytic psychology, the shift from a drive to a relational model of human development has already contributed to an expansion of theories of female gender identity development. The drive model, by emphasizing genital awareness and the perception of biological differences, tends to restrict the possibilities for gender development by locating this development in the body. The relational model, by highlighting instead the importance of interactions and relationships, broadens these possibilities by locating gender development "outside" the body. Where a drive model reduces "gender" to feelings about sex and sexual identity, a relational model broadens the concept to include socio-cultural influences.

I believe that the inclusion of socio-cultural influences is paramount if one is to fully comprehend the complexity of gender identity development. I am most interested in examining the father's role in this process. While there is consensus that mothers need to be emotionally available to their daughters in order to promote the development of healthy self and gender identity, few psychoanalysts examine the emotional availability of the father. The feminist psychoanalysts and the separation-individuation theorists come the closest to doing so. This former group, Benjamin (1991) in particular, believe that the father's emotional availability is crucial because it fosters the daughter's

identification with the father and thus expands gender possibilities for her.

There is, however, little empirical research to support this conceptualization.

Thus this study will examine the theoretical hypothesis that the emotional availability of the father positively affects his daughter's gender and self identity development.

In addition, this study will empirically explore the theoretical framework of the separation-individuation theorists. While these analysts believe that the father's presence is clearly a crucial component of "healthy" separation and individuation, they do not address how the father's emotional availability impacts on this process. I believe that the physical presence of the father is not sufficient to promote healthy separation-individuation. Instead, I think it is the emotional availability of the father that successfully enhances this process. Thus this project will test this supposition.

CHAPTER III. METHODOLOGY

Hypotheses:

This study seeks to explore the general premise that a woman's gender and self identity is positively affected by the emotional availability of her father. Although the main focus of this project is on the role of the father in the development of female gender identity, the role of the father in female self identity is also explored to better understand the father-daughter relationship in general, and to assess whether there are connections between the two variables. By emotional availability I refer to those fathers whose personality characteristics allow them to provide nurturance, warmth, and constructive involvement in a consistent and ongoing manner. I specifically propose that daughters with emotionally available fathers will have a less restricted self and gender identity (a sense of themselves as female) than daughters with emotionally unavailable fathers. This premise can be operationalized by testing the following five hypotheses:

HYPOTHESIS 1. SEX-ROLE IDENTITY

Women with emotionally available fathers will have "androgynous" sex-role identities. These women will incorporate high levels of "masculine" and "feminine" attributes into their sex-role identities.

HYPOTHESIS 2. COMPLEXITY OF THE SELF AND GENDERED SELF

Women with emotionally available fathers will describe their selves and female selves with high degrees of articulation, integration, and complexity. These women will incorporate a variety of internal dimensions (e.g. thoughts, values, and feelings) in their self and female self descriptions and, in addition, demonstrate a recognition of the contradictory aspects of their selves and gendered selves and how these have developed over time.

HYPOTHESIS 3. RICHNESS OF THE SELF AND GENDERED SELF

Women with emotionally available fathers will have a rich and broad view of their selves and female selves. These women will articulate multidimensional self and female self descriptions by integrating physical, behavioral, and personality traits in addition to incorporating inner feelings, values, and attitudes.

HYPOTHESIS 4. AGENCY OF THE SELF AND GENDERED SELF

Women with emotionally available fathers will have a clearly defined self and gender identity with particular goals and values conveying a sense of agency. Through an integration of past and present experiences, these women will be able to articulate their own values and define future objectives with a sense of purpose.

HYPOTHESIS 5. LEVEL OF SELF-OTHER DIFFERENTIATION

Women with emotionally available fathers will be highly differentiated and have a secure sense self, while women with emotionally uninvolved fathers will be less differentiated and have an unstable sense of self.

Sample:

50 women from the New York Metropolitan and Riverside, California areas participated in the current study. The women were recruited by poster at the local university to solicit participation and through "word of mouth." Since these participants were, in effect, self-selected, there are some limitations to the conclusions I can draw about the general population. In addition, although the mother's emotional availability also plays a key role in the daughter's self and gender identity, I chose to focus on the father's contribution and did this by holding the mother "constant" in my study. That is, in my study I did not use women who "lost" their mother because of a psychiatric condition, physical illness or early death. Furthermore, in order to participate in the study, women had to meet the following criteria:

- 1) They are between the ages of 24 and 35 (in an attempt to limit my study to one developmental time period).
- 2) They have not been hospitalized for a psychiatric illness.

- 3) They grew up in an "intact" family (as a way to insure the "presence" of both parents in the household).
- 4) They do not have a parent who died before they turned 20 (if a parent died after the participant's 20th birthday, there must be at least a two-year lapse between that death and the woman's participation in the study).
- 5) They have at least a high school education.
- 6) They are not psychology graduate students or employed as psychologists or clinical social workers (since these groups might be too familiar with my instruments).
- 7) They are not pregnant or have any children under two years of age [since pregnancy, and the subsequent two years, is often experienced as a developmental phase, (Winnicott, 1965; and Leifer, 1980)].

Materials:

I utilized a number of measures in my research. First, I used the Object Representation Inventory (ORI) developed by Blatt (1974) and revised by Blatt, et al. (1988, 1992) to measure my independent variable (father's emotional availability). This is a self-administered instrument consisting of a two-page booklet. One page states "describe your mother," the other states "describe your father" and no other instructions are given to the participants. Each description is rated on a 7-point scale for the degree to which each of 12 traits or characteristics are ascribed to the person. The rated characteristics are:

affectionate, ambitious, benevolent, warm, constructively involved, intellectual, judgmental, positive ideal, nurturant, punitive, successful, and strong (see appendix A). Each description is also scored for the length (see appendix B), and the overall conceptual level of the representation (see appendix C).

Blatt et al. (1992) have found that four factors account for 71% of the total variance. One of these factors, accounting for 36% of the total variance, is derived from the 7 characteristics which represent positively valued aspects of the parental representation (benevolent, positive ideal, constructive involvement, warmth, success, nurturant, and strong). Blatt et al. (1992) have labeled this factor "benevolent" (see appendix D). Because I believe this factor incorporates characteristics that are also essential to parental emotional availability, women who scored high on this factor are considered to have emotionally available fathers, while women who scored low are considered to have emotionally unavailable fathers.

The ORI has been used with a variety of psychiatric and non-psychiatric populations and has been found to have sound psychometric properties.

Descriptions may be scored reliably for content and structural variables by both expert and inexperienced raters (Blatt et al., 1979, 1981, 1982). In his ORI studies, Blatt has reported interrater reliabilities (Pearson correlation coefficients) from .68 to .92 for the attribute dimensions, and reliabilities of .87 to .90 for the remaining variables, (Blatt et al., 1981, 1992). Blatt et al. (1991) have found average reliability correlations of .75 -.93.

Bornstein et al. (1986, 1988, 1991) also report similar interrater reliabilities. In their ORI studies they have obtained correlations greater than .80 for at least 8 of 12 attribute dimensions, with correlations greater than .70 for the remaining attributes. In combining these reliability coefficients, overall Pearson correlation coefficients of .82 -.87 have been obtained. In addition, parental descriptions are stable over time (Bornstein, Galley, Leone, and Kale, 1991), and ORI scores have been found to be unrelated to intelligence, years of education, socioeconomic or marital status (Blatt et al., 1979; Bornstein, Galley and Leone, 1986; Bornstein and O'Neill, 1992). Finally, Blatt et al. (1979, 1990) have found high correlations between the "benevolent" scale and the ratings of parents on all three dimensions of Osgood's Semantic Differential Scale, suggesting that the ORI has concurrent validity.

To measure my dependent variables, several instruments were utilized. To assess gender identity I used three measures. First, to assess sex-role identity (hypothesis 1), I used the short-form version of the Bem sex-role inventory (BSRI) (1981a). I chose this more traditional scale because it is a landmark measure for sex-role trait organization and I hoped it would give external validity to the ORI. This is a self-administered instrument that asks participants to use a seven-point scale to indicate how well each of 30 character traits describe them (see appendix E). Depending on how women rate themselves, their sex-role identity can be categorized.

For the purpose of this study, the participants' sex-role identities were

calculated by obtaining the product of their femininity and masculinity scores (FxM). I chose to use this FxM measure instead of classifying subjects into one of four categories that Bem proposes - feminine, masculine, undifferentiated, and androgynous - because these categories are based on the femininity and masculinity means of Stanford University undergraduate students in 1978, a population and a time period that does not seem comparable to my own.

In addition, because this study is interested in examining "androgynous" women (i.e., individuals who are able to incorporate both "feminine" and "masculine" attributes into their sex-role identities) the FxM measure, like the "androgynous" category, can identify these types of women by examining the individual scores. That is, high scores indicate that subjects rated themselves high on both femininity and masculinity attributes and can thus be called "androgynous," while low scores indicate that subjects did not rate themselves high on both of these attributes and cannot be labeled "androgynous".

Some prior studies (Lubinski et al., 1983; Harrington and Andersen, 1981) have already employed the Masculine X Feminine score as a measure of androgyny, and reviews of this method (Whitley, 1984; Taylor and Hall, 1982) have concluded that this is a superior way of assessing the androgynous individual. However, as a precautionary measure, in order to give validity to this alternate way of identifying the "androgynous" individual, each subject in this current study was classified into one of the four BSRI categories based on 1) the Stanford University means and 2) the means of my own sample. The

FxM mean was then calculated for each of the four categories and results of this analysis revealed that when either the Stanford University mean or the mean from this sample was used, women classified in the "androgynous" category had significantly higher FxM scores ($p < .05$) than women classified in the "feminine," "masculine," or "undifferentiated" categories. Furthermore, women classified as either "feminine" or "masculine" had significantly higher FxM scores ($p < .05$) than women classified as "undifferentiated." Thus, using the FxM scores to identify "androgynous" individuals seemed valid.

Women in this study who are characterized as "androgynous" will be considered to have a more flexible gender identity which can then be correlated with their ORI score. While there is controversy over whether "androgyny" is more advantageous than "masculinity" or "femininity" (Taylor and Hall, 1982), there is theoretical and empirical evidence suggesting that the androgynous individual demonstrates more cognitive, perceptual, and behavioral flexibility (Bem 1975, 1981b), is less socially conventional (Jones et al., 1978), is more creative (Harrington and Anderson, 1981), has higher self-esteem (Whitley, 1984), and shows more individualism and impulsivity and less dependence and intolerance of ambiguity (Andersen, 1986).

Psychometric analyses for the short-form version of the BEM have been performed on large samples of undergraduate students and showed: 1) a high degree of internal reliability (coefficient alpha scores were between .84 and .90); 2) high test-retest reliability (product-moment correlations were between

.76 and .91); 3) low social desirability response set (assessed by conducting product-moment correlations between the Femininity, Masculinity, and Difference Scores and the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale; 4) femininity and masculinity scores are empirically independent (assessed by performing correlations between femininity and masculinity scores; and 5) high degree of validity (assessed by a variety of studies that compared subjects BSRI scores with their actual behaviors in laboratory studies) (Bem, 1981a).

To assess the complexity, richness, and agency of the self, I used the Assessment of Self Descriptions developed by Blatt et al. (1991, 1993). This is a measure that asks participants to respond to the statement "describe yourself." I asked this question orally and tape recorded my participants' responses. If participants asked questions about the task, they were told to describe themselves in any way they wished. I asked them to elaborate on certain words or phrases if I felt that this would further clarify their descriptions.

To assess complexity, richness, and agency of the gendered self, I used an adapted form of Blatt et al.'s (1993) Self Description measure. For this task, I asked my participants to respond to the following question: "When you think of yourself as female, how would you describe yourself?" I also asked this question orally and tape recorded my participants' responses. I followed the same procedure that I outlined above for the Self Description measure.

The three different dimensions of self and gender identity (complexity, richness, and agency) were scored using scales developed by Blatt et al. (1991,

1993) to rate Self Descriptions. Blatt (1993) reported that inter-rater reliability between a clinical psychologist who was involved in the development of these scales and a trained undergraduate ranged from .74-.99. In addition, using scales from an earlier version of the self-description manual (Blatt et al., 1985), Blatt was able to establish validity and reliability for nonclinical samples and also found evidence for relationships between aspects of the self-descriptions and measures of depression (Blatt and Bers, 1993) and orality (Bornstein, Leone, and Galley, 1988). Furthermore, Bers, Blatt, Sayward and Johnston (1993) reported evidence of criterion validity by demonstrating significant differences between psychiatric patients and nonpatients on many of the scale variables. They also reported that changes in some self-description variables of psychiatric inpatients during long-term psychotherapy corresponded to changes that were independently reported in the patient's treatment reviews.

Each scale was applied to both the "self" description and the "female self" description. The complexity of the description (hypothesis 2) was scored by using the Conceptual Level Scale. This scale measures the conceptual level of the description by rating each description on one of five developmental levels - sensorimotor-preoperational (score 1), concrete-perceptual (score 3), external iconic (score 5), internal iconic (score 7), and conceptual representation (score 9) (see appendix F). A score of one is given to those descriptions that are global and amorphous and are based on need gratification and action sequences. A score of nine is give to highly integrated, articulated and complex forms of

descriptions which incorporate thoughts, values and feelings. A high score on this scale thus indicates a "complex" gender or self description and was then correlated with the "benevolent" (emotional availability) factor.

The richness of the narrative (hypothesis 3) was scored using the Substantiality Scale. This scale measures the extent to which four modes of representation - (1) physical and demographic, (2) behavioral, (3) external personality, and (4) internal feelings, thoughts, and values - are included in the description (see appendix G). A low score includes only one or two modes of representation, thus indicating a flat sense of self or gendered self. A high score indicates an integration of several dimensions and thus is considered a "rich" description. This score was correlated with the emotional availability score.

The sense of agency (hypothesis 4) was scored using the Level of Self-Definition Scale. This scale has five different levels reflecting the degree to which the participant has a clearly defined identity with specific values and goals conveying a sense of agency (see appendix H). At the lowest level (1) the descriptions are characterized by either a lack of articulation of a sense of a gendered self and/or by expression of fragmentation or annihilation. At the highest level (9) the participant has integrated many of her experiences into a self or gender identity that allows her to articulate her values and to address future goals and plans with a sense of purpose and dedication. Thus, women who score high on this scale are considered to have high degrees of self-agency

which was then correlated with their emotional availability score.

Finally, to assess levels of self-other differentiation (hypothesis 5) I used the Rorschach ink blot test -a projective device that is often used to assess different facets of internalized object relationships. I did this by employing the Separation-Individuation Theme Scale (SITS) developed by Coonerty (1986) and revised by Diamond et al. (1990). This scale was developed to identify Rorschach responses whose content reflects the developmental issues of the separation-individuation process as proposed by Mahler et al. (1975). This scale is applied to each Rorschach response (including main and additional responses) and evaluated on one of four dimension of the separation-individuation process: preseparation-individuation, separation-individuation, object constancy, and intersubjectivity (see appendix I).

According to Coonerty (1986), the internal reliability of the scale was established with a standard Alpha coefficient of .85 and there is 96% reliability agreement between two raters. For this study, a linear scoring model was used to calculate each separation-individuation score. Specifically, each separation/individuation response was given a linear score (e.g., autistic = -3, symbiotic = -2, early differentiation = -1, narcissism = 0, rapprochement = + 1, object constancy = +2, and intersubjectivity = +3). These numbers were then totaled and divided by the total number of responses. By correlating this score with the "benevolent" factor, I was able to assess the relationship between father's emotional availability and daughter's level of self-other

differentiation.

It should be noted that, except for the Rorschach, all the measures used in this study are derived from the women's conscious perceptions of themselves and their fathers. Thus, although the data obtained is "accurate," it is not complete because it does not include independent measures of the women's behaviors and psychic representations.

Procedure:

I had an initial phone contact with each woman explaining the nature of, and criteria for, their participation. If the woman met the above mentioned criteria for participation and remained interested in my study, I met once with her at a place of her convenience. Each meeting was approximately 90-120 minutes long. Before administering my measures, I asked each woman to sign an informed consent statement (see appendix J). Next, she filled out the demographic/background information (see appendix K). Because there was no compelling reason why one measure should precede or follow another, I administered them randomly. Specifically, I put the name of each of my five measures (BSRI, ORI, Self Description, Female Self Description, and Rorschach) on a different piece of paper and before each meeting blindly selected the order for administration. The "describe your father" and "describe your mother" narratives were administered as a single measure, but I counterbalanced the order of the two narratives. Participants were given five

minutes to complete each description. For the "describe yourself" measure and the "when you think of yourself as female how would you describe yourself" measure, participants were given up to ten minutes for each description. They had an unlimited amount of time for the Rorschach and the BSRI. I allowed time at the end of each interview for a debriefing period. Participants were given my telephone number and encouraged to contact me if any questions or concerns arose in the future.

Scoring of Father, Self, and Gender Descriptions, and Rorschach Responses

The ORI and self/gender descriptions were scored by a trained, expert rater, according to the guidelines outlined by Blatt and his colleagues. Reliability was established by having a expert second rater score a sample of 10 (20%) of the protocols. Both raters were blind to all information regarding the nature of the current study. Prior to establishing inter-rater reliability, the two raters discussed the various scoring systems and scored practice narratives - a combination of narratives which had been collected for the purpose of the present study but failed to meet the criteria for admission, and narratives which were obtained for practice purposes only. When a sufficient level of agreement was reached between the two raters on the practice protocols, a sub-sample of the protocols was independently scored by each rater. Pearson r coefficients were calculated separately for each variable. Table 1 summarizes the reliabilities attained.

TABLE 1. PEARSON r RELIABILITIES**ORI Reliabilities**

Affectionate	.89
Ambitious	.82
Malevolent/Benevolent	.89
Cold/Warm	.73
Constructive Involvement	.78
Intellectual	.86
Judgmental	.83
Negative/Positive Ideal	.93
Nurturant	.62
Punitive	.85
Successful	.81
Weak/Strong	.91
Length	1.00
Conceptual Level	.59

Self Description Reliabilities

Conceptual Level	.88
Substantiality	.86
Level of Self Definition	.96

Female Self Description Reliabilities

Conceptual Level	.84
Substantiality	.87
Level of Self Definition	.96

Overall correlation coefficients are as follows: .83 for the 12 trait ratings, .90 for the self scores, and .89 for the female self scores. These are comparable to the reliabilities reported by Blatt et al. (1979, 1981) and Bornstein et al. (1986, 1989).

The Rorschach protocols were also scored by an expert rater, according to the guidelines outlined by Coonerty and her colleagues. Reliability was established by having an expert second rater score a sample of 10 (20%) of the protocols. Both raters were blind to all information regarding the nature of the current study. As with the parental and self descriptions, prior to establishing inter-rater reliability, the two Rorschach raters discussed the scoring system and scored practice protocols. When a sufficient level of agreement was reached between the two raters on the practice protocols, a sub-sample of the protocols was independently scored by each rater. For 7 out of the 10 protocols an agreement rate of 100% was obtained. The overall agreement rate for the 10 protocols was 97%, a reliability that is comparable to the those reported by Coonerty (1986).

Data Analysis:

Eight univariate multiple regression analyses were performed to assess the relationship between the predictor and criterion variables. Emotional availability was first entered into the regression model because it was hypothesized to be most related to the dependent variables. Next, in addition to

emotional availability, the conceptual level of the father and the demographic variables total amount of therapy, age of participant, amount of contact with mother, and amount of contact with father were added to the regression model. Bivariate correlations were also performed to assess the relationships between all the different variables used in the study.

CHAPTER IV. RESULTS

The purpose of the present study was to investigate the father's role in female development. Specifically, I explore the general premise that a woman's self and gender identity is positively affected by the emotional availability of her father. By emotional availability I refer to those fathers whose personality characteristics allow them to provide nurturance, warmth, and constructive involvement in a consistent and ongoing manner. My predictor variable (emotional availability) is measured by the "benevolent" factor of the Object Representation Inventory (ORI)(Blatt et al., 1992).

The criterion variables in this study are: 1) the type of sex-role identity, as measured by the short form version of the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI) (Bem, 1981a); 2) the complexity of the self and gendered self, as measured by the Conceptual Level Scale of Blatt's Self Description Measures (Blatt et al., 1991); 3) the richness of the self and gendered self, as measured by the Substantiality Scale of Blatt's Self Description Measures (Blatt et al., 1991); 4) the sense of agency of the self and gendered self, as measured by the Level of Self-Definition Scale of Blatt's Self Description Measures (Blatt et al., 1991); and 5) the level of self-other differentiation, as measured by the Separation-Individuation Theme Scale which is applied to Rorschach responses (Coonerty, 1986; Diamond et al., 1990).

The following chapter summarizes the results in terms of descriptive statistics, and preliminary and major analyses.

Descriptive Statistics:

Fifty woman between the ages of 24 and 35 (mean age = 28.82) participated in this study. The majority of the participants came from the New York metropolitan area (N=43) with the remaining subjects (N=7) coming from the Riverside, California area. Participants in the current study were predominately white, middle class, heterosexual, and professionally employed. In addition, the majority grew up in upper-middle class families and had fathers who were professionally employed. (Please refer to table 2 below for summary information on the study's participants).

TABLE 2. SUMMARY DEMOGRAPHIC/BACKGROUND INFORMATION

<u>VARIABLE</u>	<u>N=50</u>	<u>PERCENT</u>
AGE	MEAN=28.82 SD=2.99	
ETHNICITY		
White	N=43	86
Hispanic	N=2	4
African-American	N=1	2
Asian-American	N=3	6
Other	N=1	2
EDUCATION		
High School	N=0	0
Some College	N=2	4
College Degree	N=23	46
Some Grad. School	N=4	8
Graduate Degree	N=21	42
PROFESSION		
Unemployed	N=2	4
Self-Employed	N=0	0
Professional	N=36	72
Service	N=2	4
Student	N=10	20
YEARLY INCOME	MEAN=38,400 SD=26,411	
RELATIONSHIP STATUS		
Single	N=10	20
Dating	N=6	12
Involved/Living Separate	N=10	20
Involved/Living Together	N=12	24
Married	N=12	24

TABLE 2 (Continued)

LIVING WITH		
Spouse/Partner	N=24	48
Roommate	N=10	20
Sibling	N=2	4
Alone	N=14	28
MOTHER		
Alive	N=50	100
Deceased	N=0	0
CONTACT WITH MOTHER	MEAN=1.66 SD=0.80	
> Once/Week	N=26	52
Once/Week	N=16	32
Twice/Month	N=7	14
Once/Month	N=1	2
FATHER		
Alive	N=47	94
Deceased	N=3	6
Ages at Fa's Death	21, 24, 28	
CONTACT WITH FATHER	MEAN=1.83 SD=0.94	
> Once/Week	N=22	47
Once/Week	N=14	30
Twice/Month	N=8	17
Once/Month	N=3	6
FATHER'S PROFESSION		
Self-Employed	N=3	6
Professional	N=36	72
Service	N=2	4
Entrepreneurs	N=9	18
FAMILY'S INCOME GROWING UP	MEAN=139,900 SD=147,964	

TABLE 2 (Continued)

THERAPY CURRENTLY		
Yes	N=12	24
No	N=38	76
TIME IN CURRENT THERAPY		
< 6 months	N=5	42
6 mos. - 1 year	N=2	17
1- 2 years	N=1	8
2-3 years	N=1	8
> 3 years	N=3	25
SESSIONS/WEEK		
< Once/Week	N=1	8
Once/Week	N=6	50
Twice/Week	N=4	33
> Twice/Week	N=1	8
THERAPY PAST		
Yes	N=31	62
No	N=19	38
TIME IN PAST THERAPY		
< 6 months	N=5	16
6 mos. - 1 year	N=9	29
1- 2 years	N=9	29
2-3 years	N=6	19
> 3 years	N=2	7
SESSIONS/WEEK		
< Once/Week	N=9	29
Once/Week	N=19	61
Twice/Week	N=3	10
> Twice/Week	N=0	0

TABLE 2 (Continued)

TOTAL THERAPY	MEAN=1.78 SD=1.58	
None	N=17	34
< 6 months	N=7	14
6 mos. - 1 year	N=6	12
1-2 years	N=10	20
> 2 years	N=10	20

Note. N=50

Preliminary Analyses:

Because several demographic variables were expected to be correlated with the criterion variables, bivariate correlations were performed to assess the relationship between the demographic and dependent variables. The demographic variables chosen for inclusion were: 1) the age of the participant (since one's self and gender identity can be expected to become further developed as one ages), 2) total amount of therapy (since therapy might be expected to help a woman develop a better sense of her self or gendered self), 3) amount of contact with father, and 4) amount of contact with mother (since lack of contact with father and/or mother might be expected to limit a woman's sense of herself or her female self). In addition, the variable conceptual level of the father was included in the analyses, since a woman's ability to represent her father as a unique and separate being can be expected to impact her own self

and gender identity.

Table 3 presents the intercorrelations of the demographic variables and the other major variables used in the study. As noted in the table, age of participant was positively associated with four variables: 1) complexity of the female self, 2) contact with father, 3) contact with mother, and 4) BSRI feminine raw scores. These correlations suggest that the older the participants, the more they endorse feminine sex-role behaviors, the more their gendered selves are articulated and complex, and the more contact they currently have with both their mothers and their fathers.

In addition, a positively significant relationship between total amount of therapy and female self complexity scores, and a negatively significant relationship between total amount of therapy and emotional availability, was revealed. This indicates that the more therapy women have had, the more articulated and complex their female self representations, but the less they experience their fathers as emotionally available.

Furthermore, there were positive associations between contact with father and both contact with mother and the richness of the female self. This suggests that the more contact women have with their fathers, the more contact they also have with her mothers, and the more they are able to integrate multiple modes of representations into their female identities.

Moreover, there were positively significant relationships between contact with mother and both female self agency and BSRI feminine raw scores, and a

negatively significant relationship between contact with mother and BSRI masculine raw scores. These findings indicate that the more contact women currently have with their mothers, the more they have clearly defined self identities with particular goals and values, the more they endorse feminine sex-role behaviors, and the less they endorse masculine sex-role behaviors.

Finally, the conceptual level of the father was positively associated with the complexity of the self, the BSRI feminine raw score, and the FxM score. This suggests that the more women can articulate and integrate multidimensional aspects of their fathers' personality, the more complex and articulate their self representations, and the more they endorse both "feminine" and "androgynous" sex-role behaviors.

TABLE 3. INTERCORRELATIONS AMONG DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES AND ALL OTHER MAJOR VARIABLES

	age	tot tx	cont fa	cont mo	concept fa
age	-----				
tot tx	.21	-----			
cont fa	.*** .41	.14	-----		
cont mo	** .35	-.05	**** .72	-----	
concept fa	-.06	.04	-.14	-.12	-----
emo aval	.10	*** -.37	.04	.07	.07
self comp	-.13	.26	-.05	-.04	* .28
fs comp	* .31	* .30	.18	.27	-.17
self rich	-.02	.04	-.03	.00	.02
fs rich	.15	.06	** .35	.17	.07
self agcy	-.04	-.10	-.20	.16	.03
fs agcy	.23	-.01	.15	*** .41	-.18
fxm	.05	.14	.08	-.02	*** .36
rs mas	-.23	.09	-.16	** -.32	.12
rs fem	* .30	.07	.27	* .30	*** .35
lin ror	.04	-.16	.01	.09	-.21

Table 3 (continued)

Note. N = 50. AGE = age of participant; TOT TX = total amount of therapy; CONT FA = the current amount of contact with the father; CONT MO = the current amount of contact with the mother; CONCEPT FA = the conceptual level of the father; EMO AVAL = the emotional availability of the father; SELF COMP = the complexity of the self representation; FS COMP = the complexity of the female self representation; SELF RICH = the richness of the self representation; FS RICH = the richness of the female self representation; SELF AGCY = the sense of self agency; FS AGCY = the sense of female self agency; FXM = the product of the BSRI femininity and masculinity raw scores; RS MAS = the BSRI masculinity raw score; RS FEM = the BSRI femininity raw score; LIN ROR = Separation-Individuation Rorschach scores for the linear model..

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .025$. *** $p < .01$. **** $p < .001$.

One other preliminary analysis was performed to investigate the relationship between therapy and the emotional availability of the father. In addition to the bivariate correlation performed in table 3, t-test analyses were performed to further examine this relationship. Results of these analyses indicate that the emotional availability of the father is significantly higher ($F = 1.75$, $df = 11,37$, $p < .007$) when women are not currently in therapy, and it is also significantly higher ($F = 1.28$, $df = 18, 30$, $p < .036$) when women have not been in therapy in the past.

These results suggest that the more total therapy these women have had, the less they experience their fathers as emotionally available. Furthermore, women who are currently in therapy or have been in therapy in the past experience their fathers as less emotionally availability than women who are not currently in therapy and who have not been in therapy in the past.

Table 4 presents the intercorrelations between the criterion variables and the emotional availability factor. Since the BSRI FxM score was correlated

with a number of variables, the BSRI feminine raw scores (RS FEM) and masculine raw scores (RS MAS) were also included as variables in the correlation matrix to assess whether there was any significant relationships between these scores and the other variables. As revealed in the table, emotional availability was positively associated with the richness of the self scores, the BSRI feminine raw scores, and the BSRI FxM scores. This suggests that the more women experience their fathers as emotionally available, the more they endorse both "feminine" and "androgynous" sex-role behaviors, and the more they are able to access multiple modes of self representation. In addition, two positively significant relationships were revealed when the criterion variables were correlated with each other: 1) a positive association between agency of the self and agency of the female self, which suggests that the more women have clearly defined self identities with particular goals and values the more they will also have clearly defined female self identities, and 2) a positive association between the complexity of the female self and the agency of the female self, which indicates that the more complex and articulated the women's gendered representations, the more they have clearly defined female self identities with clearly defined goals and values. Finally, a positively significant relationship was revealed between the complexity of the female self and the BSRI feminine raw score, which suggests that the more complex and articulated the women's gendered representations, the more they endorse feminine sex-role behaviors.

TABLE 4. INTERCORRELATIONS AMONG CRITERION AND PREDICTOR VARIABLES

	emo aval	self com	fs com	self rich	fs rich	self agcy	fs agcy	fxm	rs mas	rs fem	lin ror
emo aval	---										
self com	-.16	---									
fs com	-.20	.17	---								
self rich	** .33	-.02	.08	---							
fs rich	-.06	.24	.26	.06	---						
self agcy	-.07	.19	.22	-.03	-.05	---					
fs agcy	.03	.13	**** .61	.20	.15	*** .42	---				
fxm	** .32	.23	.18	.02	.14	-.16	-.02	---			
rs mas	.07	.13	-.07	-.07	-.06	-.15	-.23	**** .67	---		
rs fem	*** .36	.16	* .30	.10	.23	-.08	.21	**** .66	.12	---	
lin ror	-.12	-.18	.02	-.15	-.07	-.09	-.21	-.16	-.18	-.06	---

Note. *N* = 50. EMO AVAL = the emotional availability of the father; SELF COMP = the complexity of the self representation; FS COMP = the complexity of the female self representation; SELF RICH = the richness of the self representation; FS RICH = the richness of the female self representation; SELF AGCY = the sense of self agency; FS AGCY = the sense of female self agency; FXM = the product of the BSRI femininity and masculinity raw scores; RS MAS = the BSRI masculinity raw score; RS FEM = the BSRI femininity raw score; LIN ROR = Separation-Individuation Rorschach scores for the linear model..

p* < .05. *p* < .025. ****p* < .01. *****p* < .001.

MAJOR ANALYSES:

Eight univariate multiple regression analyses were performed to assess the relationship between the predictor variable (emotional availability of the father = EMO AVAL) and the eight criterion variables: 1) sex-role identity = FXM; 2) the complexity of the self representation = SELF COMP; 3) the complexity of the female self representation = FS COMP; 4) the richness of the self representation = SELF RICH; 5) the richness of the female self representation = FS RICH; 6) the sense of self agency = SELF AGCY; 7) the sense of female self agency = FS AGCY; and 8) the Separation-Individuation Rorschach s+cores for the linear model = LIN ROR.

Emotional availability was first entered into the regression model because it was hypothesized to be most related to the dependent variables.

Next, in addition to emotional availability, the conceptual level of the father and the demographic variables total amount of therapy, age of participant, amount of contact with mother, and amount of contact with father were added to the regression model. These five variables were entered because, as mentioned above, I predicted a relationship between them and the dependent variables.

HYPOTHESIS 1. SEX-ROLE IDENTITY

Women with emotionally available fathers will have "androgynous" sex-role identities. These women will incorporate high levels of "masculine" and "feminine" attributes into their sex-role identities.

The Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI) was utilized to evaluate the women's sex-role identities. The dependent variable (sex-role identity) calculated from the BSRI was the product of the subject's femininity and masculinity score (FxM) (please see methodology chapter for a detailed discussion about using this method to classify sex-role behavior) .

To examine the relationship between emotional availability and androgyny, a univariate regression was first performed. Results of the analysis indicate a positively significant relationship between the FxM score and the emotional availability of the father (Standardized beta = 0.33, $p < .028$). The more emotionally available the father is the higher the FxM score. In other words, women whose sex-role identities are "androgynous" tend to have more emotionally available fathers.

As table 5 indicates below, when the other variables (i.e., subject's age, total amount of therapy, contact with father, contact with mother, and conceptual level of father) were added to the regression model, the relationship between emotional available and FxM remained significant.

TABLE 5. MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF SEX-ROLE IDENTITY ON TOTAL THERAPY, AGE, CONTACT WITH FATHER, EMOTIONAL AVAILABILITY, CONCEPTUAL LEVEL OF FATHER, AND CONTACT WITH MOTHER

Variable	Standardized Beta	t-Value
TOTAL TX	0.33	1.72*
AGE	-0.10	-0.67
CONTACT FA	0.13	0.67
EMOT AVAIL	0.43	2.96***
CONCEPTUAL FA	0.34	2.54**
CONTACT MO	0.02	0.08
R-Squared	0.35	
F-Value	3.29***	

Note. N=50

*p < .05. **p < .025. ***p < .01

This analysis reveals that the father's emotional availability is significantly associated with high FxM (androgyny) scores. This finding lends support to the hypothesis that women with emotionally available fathers will have more "androgynous" sex-role identities than women with emotionally unavailable fathers. Furthermore, there were also positively significant relationships between the FxM scores and the total amount of therapy and the conceptual level of the father. In other words, the more "androgynous" the women's sex-role identities, the more therapy they will have had, and the more they will articulate multidimensional aspects of their fathers' personalities.

HYPOTHESIS 2. COMPLEXITY OF THE SELF AND GENDERED SELF

Women with emotionally available fathers will describe their selves and female selves with high degrees of articulation, integration, and complexity. These women will incorporate a variety of internal dimensions (e.g. thoughts, values, and feelings) in their self and female self descriptions and, in addition, demonstrate a recognition of the contradictory aspects of their selves and gendered selves and how these have developed over time.

To evaluate hypothesis 2, two separate univariate multiregressions were performed to assess the degree to which the emotional availability of the father is associated with both the complexity of a woman's self identity and of her gender identity. Blatt's Self Description Conceptual Level Scale was utilized for this purpose. Neither of these analyses yielded significant results: self descriptions (Standardized Beta = -0.20, $p=ns$); female self descriptions (Standardized Beta = -0.21, $p=ns$).

As table 6 indicates, when the other variables (i.e., subject's age, total amount of therapy, contact with father, contact with mother, and conceptual level of father) were added to the regression model, the relationship between emotional available and complexity of the self, and between emotional availability and the complexity of the gendered self, remained non-significant.

TABLE 6. MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF COMPLEXITY OF THE SELF AND GENDERED SELF ON TOTAL THERAPY, AGE, CONTACT WITH FATHER, EMOTIONAL AVAILABILITY, CONCEPTUAL LEVEL OF FATHER, AND CONTACT WITH MOTHER

Variable	Self Stand Beta	Self t-Value	Female Self Stand Beta	Female Self t-Value
TOTAL THERAPY	0.31	1.80	0.30	1.90
AGE	-0.008	-0.05	0.23	1.44
CONTACT FA	-0.04	-0.17	-0.27	-1.31
EMOT AVAIL	-0.10	-0.60	-0.14	-0.93
CONCEPT FA	0.24	1.60	-0.08	-0.59
CONTACT MO	0.05	0.23	0.42	2.02*
R-Squared	0.18	0.29		
F-Value	1.40	2.57		

Note. N=50

*p < .05

There does not seem to be a statistically significant relationship between the emotional availability of the father and the complexity of a woman's self or gendered self. These findings fail to support hypothesis 2 and suggest that women with emotionally available fathers do not describe their selves or female selves with higher degrees of articulation, integration, or complexity than women with emotionally unavailable fathers.

However, one meaningful relationship was found between the complexity scores and the other variables. Specifically, there is a positively significant relationship between the complexity of the female self and the

amount of contact with mother. It appears that the more contact a woman has with her mother, the more her female self is articulated, integrated, and complex. However, there is no linear relationship between contact with mother and the complexity of the self.

HYPOTHESIS 3. RICHNESS OF THE SELF AND GENDERED SELF

Women with emotionally available fathers will have a rich and broad view of their selves and female selves. These women will articulate multidimensional self and female self descriptions by integrating physical, behavioral, and personality traits in addition to incorporating inner feelings, values, and attitudes.

To evaluate hypothesis 3, two separate univariate multiregressions were performed to assess the degree to which the emotional availability of the father is associated with the richness of a woman's self identity and of her gender identity. Blatt's Self Description Substantiality Scale was utilized for this purpose. The relationship between the richness of the self and emotional available yielded significant results (Standardized Beta = 0.35, $p < .02$). However, the relationship between the richness of the female self and emotional availability did not yield significant results (Standardized Beta = -.07, $p = ns$).

As table 7 indicates, when the other variables (i.e., subject's age, total amount of therapy, contact with father, contact with mother, and conceptual

level of father) were added to the regression model, the relationship between emotional availability and the richness of the self remained significant, and the relationship between the emotional availability and the gendered self remained non-significant.

TABLE 7. MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF RICHNESS OF THE SELF AND GENDERED SELF ON TOTAL THERAPY, AGE, CONTACT WITH FATHER, EMOTIONAL AVAILABILITY, CONCEPTUAL LEVEL OF FATHER, AND CONTACT WITH MOTHER

Variable	Self Stand Beta	Self t-Value	Female Self Stand Beta	Female Self t-Value
TOTAL TX	0.20	1.17	-0.03	-0.18
AGE	-0.03	-0.17	0.08	0.48
CONTACT FA	-0.14	-0.64	0.44	1.99*
EMOT AVAIL	0.42	2.55**	-0.11	-0.68
CONCEPT FA	0.03	0.20	0.16	1.03
CONTACT MO	0.05	0.24	-0.08	-0.37
R-Squared	0.16	0.19		
F-Value	1.21	1.45		

Note. N=50

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .025$

Father's emotional availability is significantly associated with higher richness of self scores but not with higher richness of female self scores. This finding lends support to part of hypothesis 3: women with emotionally available

fathers have a rich and broad view of their selves but not of their female selves.

In addition, one other meaningful relationship was found between the richness scores and the other variables. Specifically, there is a positively significant relationship between the richness of the female self and the amount of contact with father. It appears that the more contact a woman has with her father, the more she will have a rich and broad view of her female self. However, the relationship between contact with father and the richness of the self is not significant.

HYPOTHESIS 4. AGENCY OF THE SELF AND GENDERED SELF

Women with emotionally available fathers will have a clearly defined self and gender identity with particular goals and values conveying a sense of agency. Through an integration of past and present experiences, these women will be able to articulate their own values and define future objectives with a sense of purpose.

To evaluate hypothesis 4, two separate univariate multiregressions were performed to assess the degree to which the emotional availability of the father is associated with the sense of agency of the self and of the gendered self. Blatt's Self Description, Level of Self-Definition Scale was utilized for this purpose. Neither of these analyses yielded significant results: sense of agency self descriptions (Standardized Beta = -0.11, $p=ns$); sense of agency female

self descriptions (Standardized Beta = 0.04, $p=ns$).

As table 8 indicates, when the other variables (i.e., subject's age, total amount of therapy, contact with father, contact with mother, and conceptual level of father) were added to the regression model, the relationship between emotional availability and the sense of agency of the self, and between emotional availability and the sense of agency of the gendered self, remained non-significant.

TABLE 8. MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF SENSE OF AGENCY OF THE SELF AND GENDERED SELF ON TOTAL THERAPY, AGE, CONTACT WITH FATHER, EMOTIONAL AVAILABILITY, CONCEPTUAL LEVEL OF FATHER, AND CONTACT WITH MOTHER

Variable	Self Stand Beta	Self t-Value	Female Self Stand Beta	Female Self t-Value
TOTAL THERAPY	0.01	0.07	0.04	0.24
AGE	0.03	0.18	0.13	0.78
CONTACT FA	-0.64	-2.93**	-0.39	-1.85
EMOT AVAIL	-0.12	-0.75	0.02	0.13
CONCEPT FA	-0.02	-0.11	-0.11	-0.75
CONTACT MO	0.56	2.56*	0.64	2.99**
R-Squared	0.22	0.27		
F-Value	1.73	2.24		

Note. $N=50$

* $p < .025$. ** $p < .01$

There does not seem to be a relationship between the emotional availability of the father and the sense of agency of the self or female self.

These findings fail to support hypothesis 4 and suggest that women with emotionally available fathers do not have a more clearly defined gender identity with particular goals and values conveying a sense of agency than women with emotionally unavailable fathers.

However, table 8 reveals three meaningful relationships between the sense of agency and the other variables: 1) a positively significant relationship between the sense of agency of the self and the amount of contact with mother; 2) a positive relationship between the sense of agency of the female self and the amount of contact with mother; and 3) a negative relationship between the sense of agency of the self and the amount of contact with the father. It appears that the more contact a woman has with her mother, the more her self and female self is clearly defined with particular goals and values conveying a sense of agency. However, the more contact she has with her father the less her self is clearly defined with a sense of agency.

HYPOTHESIS 5. LEVEL OF SELF-OTHER DIFFERENTIATION

Women with emotionally available fathers will be highly differentiated and have a secure sense self, while women with emotionally uninvolved fathers will be less differentiated and have an unstable sense of self.

To evaluate hypothesis 5, a univariate multiregression was performed to assess the degree to which the emotional availability of the father is associated

with self-other differentiation. The Rorschach and Coonerty's Separation-Individuation Theme Scale was utilized for this purpose. To calculate the separation-individuation score each separation/individuation response was given a linear score. The scores were then totaled and divided by the total number of responses. This analysis yielded non-significant results (Standardized Beta = -0.12, $p=ns$).

As table 9 indicates, when the other variables (i.e., subject's age, total amount of therapy, contact with father, contact with mother, and conceptual level of father) were added to the regression model, the relationship between emotional availability and the level of self other differentiation remained non-significant.

TABLE 9. MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF LEVEL OF SELF-OTHER DIFFERENTIATION ON TOTAL THERAPY, AGE, CONTACT WITH FATHER, EMOTIONAL AVAILABILITY, CONCEPTUAL LEVEL OF FATHER, AND CONTACT WITH MOTHER

Variable	Standardized Beta	t-Value
TOTAL THERAPY	-0.24	0.75
AGE	0.05	0.31
CONTACT FA	-0.07	-0.29
EMOT AVAIL	-0.20	-1.17
CONCEPTUAL FA	-0.18	-1.13
CONTACT MO	0.06	0.27
R-Squared	0.11	
F-Value	0.78	

Note. N=50

There does not seem to be a relationship between the emotional availability of the father and the level of self-other differentiation. To assess whether this non-significant result was an artifact of the way in which the self-other scores were calculated, the scores were also calculated in a variety of other ways: by using a quadratic model, by calculating the total number of high responses divided by the total number of responses, and by separately calculating the sum of the high (object constancy and intersubjectivity), moderate (object constancy, intersubjectivity, and rapprochement), and low (autistic and differentiation) responses. In each of these analyses no significant relationship existed between the emotional availability of the father and the level of self-other differentiation. These findings fail to support hypothesis 5 and suggest that women with emotionally available fathers have a no more differentiated or secure sense of self than women with emotionally unavailable fathers. Finally, as table 9 indicates, no other meaningful relationships were found between the level of self-other differentiation and the other variables. The implications for all of the above findings will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V. DISCUSSION

The process by which gender identity develops has become an area of increased interest in the field of psychoanalytic psychology. While most theorists and clinicians would agree that the process is complex and multi-determined, the conceptualization of the process is greatly influenced by one's theoretical orientation. Drive theorists, by focusing on genital awareness and the perception of biological differences, tend to locate the development of gender identity in the body. Object Relational theorists, on the other hand, emphasize the importance of relationships and interactions, thus locating gender development "outside" of the body. While the differences in these theoretical frameworks are noteworthy, it is important to point out that they are both based upon theoretical assumptions that have not been empirically tested.

Using relational theory as a backdrop, the purpose of the present study was to use psychoanalytic methods of inquiry on a non-clinical population to empirically evaluate the impact of socio-cultural influences on female development. Since relationships are the primary vehicle through which cultural values are transmitted, the father-daughter relationship was chosen for inquiry. The father was specifically targeted because his role in female development has been severely underrepresented in psychological research and clinical work. When this relationship is discussed, particularly in traditional conceptualizations, the emphasis tends to be on the father's role as a love object

for his daughter. Even object relational theory, which emphasizes the role of interactions and relationships in the development of gender identity, has primarily focused on the mother-child dyad - an emphasis that has its roots in attachment theory (Bowlby, 1969, 1973) and posits this dyad as the most important variable in clinical pathology and normal development. Thus, this project departs from most psychoanalytic theory and research by focusing on the father's emotional availability and his role as an object of identification for his daughter.

In order to summarize the findings of this current study, the following issues will be discussed:

- 1) the father's role in women's gender development
- 2) the father's role in women's self development
- 3) the role of therapy in self and object representations
- 4) implications for future research

Two key theoretical issues will be interwoven into the above discussion:

- 1) the father as identificatory object vs. love object
- 2) gender as fixed and static vs gender as fluid and dynamic

THE FATHER AND FEMALE GENDER IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT

It was hypothesized that the emotional availability of the father would positively affect his daughter's self and gender development. This general premise was based on the assumption that when a father is emotionally available

the daughter is given "permission" to identify with him, thus broadening the range of possibilities for her development. A number of different aspects of gender development were explored - sex-role identity, complexity of the female self, the richness of the gendered self, and the sense of female self agency. It should be stated from the onset that the father's emotional availability and the participant's self and gender scores both come from the same source (the participants themselves). Thus, although an attempt was made to assess emotional availability independently of self and gender constructs, it is not "truly" an independent measure. Nevertheless, a number of interesting findings from this study did emerge, the implications of which, along with several possible explanations, are discussed below.

Sex-Role Identity

As reported in table 5 there was a positive significant relationship between the emotional availability of the father and "androgynous" sex-role identity. This finding has a number of possible sources. First, it is possible that changes in the culture (i.e., the feminist revolution) have led to changes in both fathers and daughters. Second, it is plausible that changes in the culture might have minimally affected the father but greatly influenced the daughter who in turn affected the father (the fact that the percentage of androgynous women in my sample was much higher than in Bem's 1978 samples lends support to the idea that socio-cultural changes have impacted women's

development). Third, it may be that women have not changed but, due to cultural changes, they feel freer to report androgynous qualities. Finally, it may be that the father influences the type of sex-role behaviors his daughter attributes to herself. In other words, regardless of cultural influences, the father's emotional availability impacts his daughter's capacity for androgyny. Since this latter supposition was one of the main hypotheses in this study, a closer examination of the possible relationship between emotional availability and androgyny seems warranted.

The androgynous individual, as reflected in the BSRI, is one who endorses high levels of both "feminine" and "masculine" characteristics. The current study suggests that the father's emotional availability allows women to integrate high levels of "same-sex" and "cross-sex" stereotypical patterns of behavior. By being able to incorporate both types of behaviors, these women have developed a less restricted sex-role identity than women who tend to behave in a predominately "feminine," "masculine," or "undifferentiated" manner. In line with the theoretical premises of feminist psychoanalysts (Benjamin, 1991; Dimen, 1991; Goldner, 1991; Harris, 1991) this may suggest that for these "androgynous" women, gender identity is more fluid. That is, it is not fixed or static but instead shifts back and forth between feminine and masculine identifications, depending on the context.

The significant relationship between emotional availability and androgyny may further suggest that the androgynous individual is able to

demonstrate a complexity of identifications. That is, in addition to her own identity which includes fantasied constructions of gender and her own temperamental proclivities, the androgynous woman also identifies with both her mother and her father. This notion supports the theoretical supposition argued by Benjamin (1991) and empirically proposed in this study that when the father is emotionally available to his daughter he gives her the message that she can also be like him. Through an identification with this male figure the daughter can more comfortably incorporate "masculine" behaviors into her identity without giving up the "feminine" side. In addition, this oscillating view of gender uncouples gender from a linear developmental perspective - it challenges the notion that the mother initially has paramount importance in shaping her daughter's identification and that the father makes his appearance later on in development - and instead casts it as an ongoing and evolving dynamic process comprised of dual and shifting identifications linked to changing contexts.

The notion that gender is fluid, dynamic, and oscillating over time is further supported by two significant bivariate correlations reported in table 3. Although there are problematic aspects of bivariate correlations - for example, due to chance a relationship appears significant when it is not, or significant relationships are not picked up because the sample is too small - they are still worthy of exploration. Specifically, the meaningful relationships between age and BSRI feminine raw scores, and age and female self complexity scores,

suggest that as women age they incorporate more "feminine" behaviors into their identities and that these identities also become more complex and multidimensional. These findings seem to contradict the traditional psychoanalytic supposition that a fixed and cohesive gender identity develops early in life (or no later than adolescence when oedipal issues are revisited and reworked), and that little variation in this identity will occur over time. Instead gender (or at least aspects of one's gender) appear to deepen and become more complex and elaborated over time.

In addition to the significant relationship between androgyny and father's emotional availability, the BSRI data also reveals a significant relationship between the feminine scores and the emotional availability of the father (table 4). This indicates that the more emotionally available the father is, the higher the "feminine" sex-role score. Given this positive association, what is it about the emotional availability of the father that also promotes the integration of high levels of stereotypical "feminine" behaviors?

One possible explanation is that positive relationships (what some call secure attachments) help development in particular ways. In other words, it may be that positive attachment relationships help women adapt to their culture. In our culture "successful" adaptation for women would be the ability to demonstrate high levels of both androgyny and femininity. It is important to note, however, that while the attachment data focuses on the non-libidinal relationship between the child and her caretaker, one cannot assume that

pleasure does not accompany this attachment. It may be, as traditional theorists suggest, that when one discusses the father-daughter relationship the unconscious meanings that the daughter attaches to the emotional availability of the father (i.e., the erotic aspects of the relationship) also need to be discussed. According to this theory, an important component of the father's relationship with his daughter is his ability to bolster her femininity. When the father is interested in his daughter and accepting of her "femaleness," her self-esteem is bolstered and she is more readily able to accept and integrate the "feminine" part of herself (Biller 1981). For these theorists this suggests that female gender identity development is also linked to the father being available as an object of love for his daughter. Although this current study provides no direct evidence for this supposition, it seems that is important not to rule out the possibility that the father's role as love object is also important.

Additional data from the current study also lends support to the supposition that the father is both an object of love and an object of identification for his daughter. As reported in table 3, there is a significant correlation between the conceptual level of the father and the FxM score, and a positive association between the father's conceptual level and the BSRI feminine raw score. These findings indicate that women with "androgynous" and "feminine" sex-role identities tend to articulate and integrate multidimensional aspects of their fathers' personalities, and also experience them as unique and separate beings. This suggests a link between level of paternal object

representation and female gender identity. How does one make sense of this connection?

According to traditional psychoanalytic theory, the development of conceptual representations is achieved during adolescence when oedipal issues are revisited and eventually resolved. Thus, according to this theory, the ability to successfully re-work these oedipal issues is contingent upon one's ability to see the object as separate, unique and multidimensional. For women, an outcome of successful oedipal resolution is an embracing of their "femininity" - a process that takes place vis-a-vis the father initially, and through other males later in development (this does not preclude the role of both the mother and the father, however, traditional theory (Freud 1931, 1933) tends to focus on the father). In this model, then, it is the father's role as love object that promotes femininity development - a supposition that is also suggested by the significant correlation between father's conceptual level and feminine sex-role identity.

At the same time, the positive association between conceptual level of the father and "androgyny" suggests that the father also has an important role as identificatory object (the process of identification is assumed here because, as discussed earlier, androgyny assumes an integration of same-sex and cross-sex patterns of behaviors). It may be that the process of identification takes place most successfully when, in addition to his emotional availability, the father is seen as multidimensional, whole, and separate. To identify with the other and comfortably incorporate the other's characteristics into one's own identity may

be experienced as less threatening to one's own selfhood when the other is seen as a separate and unique person.

Implied in this discussion is the psychoanalytic notion of boundary definition and differentiation. This model is a stage or phasic view of differentiation that argues that as children develop they become increasingly differentiated (this is not to suggest that infants have no capacity for differentiation at birth but rather that the capacity becomes greater as they develop). With increased differentiation, I would posit that fusion, symbiosis, and merger experiences lessen. These experiences are potentially threatening not only because the child can experience a sense of dissolution, but also because she can fear for the destruction of the other. Thus, as concerns the present study, if the father is experienced as separate and individuated it will be less threatening for the daughter to identify with aspects of him.

A summary of the findings thus far suggests that the father influences the type of sex-role behaviors his daughter attributes to herself. Although the father's role as love object seems to be supported by some of the data, the study also indicates that when the daughter can also identify with her father she is better able to integrate same-sex and cross-sex behaviors into her gender identity, thus broadening the possibilities for her gender development. Furthermore, this project suggests that identification with the father takes place most successfully when the father is emotionally available to his daughter and when the daughter sees the father as multidimensional, whole, and separate.

Thus, contrary to traditional psychoanalytic theory, this study suggests that interactions and relationships are a key component of gender development - an argument that is at the crux of Object Relational theory. It also suggests that the daughter's identification with the father may not be a "passing" phenomenon that needs to be overcome in order for healthy development to take place. Instead, the ability to identify with the father and maintain this stance may promote a more androgynous and, according to the contemporary feminist literature, a "healthier" identity.

As presented thus far, this study suggests that there is a connection between the father and femininity development - findings that support many tenets of traditional psychoanalytic theory. However, more in line with object relations theory - which emphasizes the mother-daughter dyad - additional data suggest that the mother plays an important role in how the daughter experiences her gender. Specifically, the non-significant bivariate correlation between the femininity raw scores and the contact with father coupled with the significant correlation between the femininity raw scores and the contact with mother (table 3) suggests that while the father affects femininity development, the mother seems to play an influential role in the current expression of these feminine characteristics. The mother's influence is further supported by the significant negative bivariate correlation between contact with mother and masculinity raw scores, a relationship that suggests that the more a woman has contact with her mother, the less she embraces the "masculine" side of herself. These

correlations suggest the importance of the mother's role in the current expression of her daughter's sex-role attributes. However, since the current study does not provide information on the relationship between the mother's emotional availability and/or conceptual level and her daughter's gender development, one can only speculate that both the mother and the father significantly impact this process.

While it can be argued that women with high feminine raw scores are overly attuned to cultural definitions of sex-appropriate behavior and have thus developed a more restricted gender identity, findings from the current study indicate otherwise. As noted in table 4, a positive significant relationship exists between the BSRI feminine raw scores and the complexity of the female self. This suggests that the more one endorses feminine sex-role traits, the more one's female self is articulated, integrated, and complex. Since the capacity for integration and complexity is an important psychological and developmental achievement, its association with high levels of "feminine" behavior is significant. One possible explanation is that gender identity for these women is both fixed and fluid. At times there is a fixed identification with their "feminine" side while at other times the identifications are more integrated and complex and have a more fluid quality to them. As Sweetnam (1996) argues: "at times, gender needs to be sharply defined as the relationship between masculinity and femininity becomes very clear and boundaried; at other times, the relationship is more integrated, allowing for flux and fluidity, and the sharp

definitions and the integration can only occur in relation to each other (p. 457)."

When gender is perceived to be comprised of both fixed and fluid experiences, the sharp dichotomy between the fixed developmental perspective and the fluid feminist perspective can be loosened, and the contributions of these two perspectives can be usefully integrated.

THE FATHER AND OTHER ASPECTS OF FEMALE GENDER IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT

A. Complexity of the Female Self

While the current study suggests that the father plays a role in female sex-role identity, what can be said about his influence in the other areas of gender identity? As reported in table 6, there is no significant relationship between the complexity of the female self and the emotional availability of the father. Why should the father influence sex-role development but not a woman's ability to articulate complex and multidimensional female self descriptions? One possible explanation might be related to the time frame in which this aspect of gender identity becomes consolidated. As discussed above, the complexity of the gendered self is meaningfully related to one's age.

Although table 6 indicates that this relationship loses power and significance when a number of other variables are explored simultaneously, these findings still suggest that this aspect of gender identity becomes more developed over time. Since relationships with people other than one's parents begin to have an increasingly important role as one develops, it is possible that these other

relationships play a larger role than was initially hypothesized. It may be, as feminists propose, that gender identity is a result of multiple identification (i.e., father, mother, and other significant people with whom one has ongoing contact) and that attempting to locate the development within one dyadic relationship simplifies the complexity of the process.

Although the relationship between gender complexity and paternal availability is not significant, the meaningful relationship between the complexity of the gendered self and total amount of treatment provides additional insight into the debate over whether gender is fixed or dynamic. Although this relationship only approached significance in the table 6 regression model ($p < .06$), the significant bivariate correlation lends support to the notion that the longer a woman has been in therapy, the more her gendered representation becomes articulated and complex. This again suggests that gender identity is not a fixed construct that develops early in life, but instead can be profoundly influenced by increased self awareness and understanding within the context of a meaningful and supportive (i.e., therapeutic) relationship.

B. Female Self Agency

The non-significant findings between father's emotional availability and sense of female self-agency may suggest that the father does not play a dominant role in this aspect of gender development, or that his role is obscured

by the other relationships and influences that impact this process. However, since Tessman (1989) did find meaningful relationships between the father and the daughter's sense of agency the current findings need to be understood in light of her research. First, the characteristics of the father that Tessman chose to focus upon are different than those that comprise the emotional availability variable in this study. For Tessman the categories revolved around the "... father's own self-image as expressive in initiative, an image transmitted through his active involvement with her (p. 204)." In this way her definition of father availability is more specific and narrowly focused than the one used in the current study. Second, and perhaps more importantly, the sense of agency (or "intentionality" as it was labeled by Tessman) was also defined quite differently in these two studies. While both definitions stress the importance of directing one's energy based on inner motivation as opposed to the wishes of others, Tessman used behavioral manifestations to score her data while this study used levels of psychic development. Thus, the differing outcomes from these two studies may suggest that the father's role in his daughter's sense of agency may be behaviorally, not intrapsychically, based. Alternatively, it may be that the scale used to measure self-agency in this study is not sensitive enough to accurately pick up different levels of psychic development.

A third possible explanation of why neither the complexity of the gendered self nor the sense of female self agency were meaningfully related to the emotional availability of the father can be related to the construction of

Blatt's self scales. In devising his scales, Blatt failed to incorporate current understanding of infant development and instead integrated theoretical premises from developmental cognitive psychology (e.g., Piaget 1954; Werner, 1948, as cited in Blatt et al. 1992) and developmental psychoanalytic theory (e.g., Mahler, 1968; Jacobson, 1964). In doing so, he accepted a number of premises central to these theoretical frameworks: 1) that development proceeds along a linear continuum with early development being relatively unstable, disorganized, and lacking in complexity, to later development being relatively stable, integrated, and complex; 2) that developmental levels build upon each other so that later levels of development incorporate and extend upon earlier levels of development, but that once a developmental level is achieved "regression" to an earlier level only occurs under extreme psychic distress; and 3) that self structures can be quantitatively measured. (Since there is a highly significant bivariate correlation between these two scales, it can be assumed that these scales in particular are based upon very similar developmental assumptions and criteria.) If, as feminist psychoanalysts argue, gender identity is fluid and dynamic, then these types of scales which assume a more fixed and static nature of development would be an inappropriate way to "measure" gender constructs. Thus, although Blatt's scales highlight the psychological importance of integrated and multidimensional self representations, by assuming that this development occurs in a linear and progressive manner they may inadvertently simplify the very complexity they seek to highlight.

While no relationships were found between either the complexity or agency of the gendered self and the emotional availability of the father, significant relationships were revealed between these criterion variables and the amount of contact with mother. Contrary to traditional theory, which cautions against an intense mother-daughter relationship for fear that this type of relationship might lead to an unhealthy symbiotic bond (i.e., a bond that might interfere with a daughter's ability to become a distinct and separate person), these meaningful correlations suggest that increased contact with the mother actually helps the daughter see herself in a distinct and multidimensional manner, and also helps her develop a sense of female self-agency. However, since the women in this study are in their 20's and 30's and have developed lives that are relatively separate from their mothers [i.e., they do not live at home, they have established (or are in the process of establishing) their own careers, and they have developed other meaningful relationships outside the immediate family], it may be that increased contact and intensity with the mother is experienced as less threatening later in life, when one is more "separate" than at earlier developmental periods. (Although I am primarily addressing conscious not intrapsychic variables here, having a separate adult existence in one's 20's and 30's clearly does not preclude powerful intrapsychic relational experiences. However, these intrapsychic variables do not appear to be influencing the data). This project offers no direct empirical evidence supporting the supposition that increased contact with mother is less threatening

when one is more "separate." However, the significant bivariate correlations between age of participant and contact with both mother and father increases the plausibility of this argument.

C. Richness of the Female Self

The father's emotional availability was not significantly related to the richness of the daughter's gender identity, but the amount of contact with the father was meaningfully related to this criterion variable. Although this finding does not give us information about the direction of the relationship, based on our understanding of developmental theory we can speculate that a woman is better able to integrate multiple modes of representations into her female identity when she has increased contact with her father. If we again return to the concept of gender as fluid and context specific we might be better able to understand these findings. It may be, as feminist psychoanalysts argue, that much of our gendered behavior (like our self behavior) is context specific. This is not to suggest that people do not develop a "core" sense of gender and self (I use quotes because I do not mean fixed in the Stoller sense of core gender) but rather that some aspects of gender and self may be more core and other aspects may be more context dependent. Perhaps, then, the experience of having a rich sense of one's female self is not central to a woman's "core" sense of gender but becomes highlighted only during "real" interactions with her father.

One other unexpected finding lends support to this argument: for the

sample as a whole, the richness of the self scores were significantly higher than the richness of the female self scores, a finding that was not replicated with the other self scales. That women in this study, in general, had more difficulty articulating a "rich" female self description than they did a "rich" self description suggests that this aspect of gender identity is harder to articulate for this group.

THE FATHER AND SELF DEVELOPMENT

Although the main focus of this project was on the role of the father in the development of female gender identity, the role of the father in female self identity was also explored to better understand the father-daughter relationship in general, and to assess whether there are connections between the two variables. A number of different aspects of self development were empirically explored - the level of self-other differentiation, the complexity of the self, the sense of self agency, and the richness of the self. The implications of the findings from this study, along with several possible explanations are discussed below.

A. Self-Other Differentiation

Some of the most surprising findings in the current study are those that specifically concerned the role of the father in the separation-individuation process (self-other differentiation is also referred to as the separation-

individuation process in the psychological literature). Theories do differ on how this process unfolds - from those that stress a linear model where development is seen as progressing from a completely undifferentiated and merged state to a state (if development proceeds smoothly) of separateness and individuation, to others (predominantly those based upon infant research) that stress a non-linear model where aspects of affective and cognitive separateness and relatedness exist from birth. However, despite differences, both of these frameworks share two important assumptions: 1) that the capacity for self-other differentiation is an important psychological achievement, and 2) that it takes place in the context of the infant-parent interactions and experiences.

As discussed earlier, the father's role in the separation-individuation process is thought to be crucial, but at least in this study the data does not lend support to this contention. There was no relationship between the emotional availability of the father and levels of self-other differentiation, even when the self-other scores were calculated and analyzed in a variety of different ways. How are we to understand these findings? The separation-individuation scale used in this study is based on Mahler's developmental views of the separation-individuation process (Mahler et al., 1975). Inherent, then, to the construction of this scale is the assumption that the separation-individuation process is linear and hierarchically organized, with development progressing from an undifferentiated and merged state to an individuated and separate state - an assumption that has been disputed by recent infant research (see, for example,

Stern 1985), but one that has been shown to be highly useful in clinical practice (Pine 1992).

Pine (1992) offers a refinement of the separation-individuation process that takes into account these divergent point of views and also, from my perspective, has relevant implications for understanding the current research findings. He argues that infants do not enter a developmental phase (i.e., symbiosis) and remain exclusively in that phase for a specified time period - that is, no phase comprises the totality of an infant's experience at any given time. Instead, he proposes that there are *moments* in the day when these developmental issues are more prominent, and other times in the day when the capacity for other types of experiences (i.e., self-other differentiation) are highlighted. In this way the separation-individuation process is more fluid, in that a "...mix-up of multiple experiences is probably laid down in memory side-by-side - hence differentiation *and* merger (p. 109)." Moreover, he asserts that while the separation-individuation process is universal, the ability to negotiate a particular developmental issue and the significance and centrality of that issue (or moment) is based upon individual differences. At the crux of this formulation is the idea that developmental "moments" are negotiated and experienced within the context of a relationship and thus the centrality of a specific moment depends upon the psychological functioning and conflicts of the parent. The "moments" that will spread into the child's character and conflicts are those that are most central to the characterological make-up of the parent.

Although Pine focuses on the mother's character and conflicts and by extension the mother-infant dyad, I believe his argument can be expanded to include the father and thus has important implications for the current study. If the separation-individuation process is a more fluid one, then the linear rigidity of the scale used in this study might not be a meaningful way of capturing the true complexity of the process. That is, if there are "moments" when the capacity for self-other differentiation is murky and other "moments" when the boundaries are quite clear, than to attempt to assess a "level" of self-other differentiation will inadvertently ignore or simplify the multiple aspects of the experience.

Furthermore, if the key to understanding why certain separation-individuation issues become central to a child is intricately linked to the psychological functioning and conflicts of the parent, then to truly understand the interplay between parent and child one would need to explore more closely the parents' characterological make-up and their own separation-individuation conflicts. The current study was unable to address these issues. It is likely that to fully understand the father's impact in the process one would need to ask women more pointed questions about their fathers' or directly interview or observe the fathers themselves.

Current infant researchers would take Pine's argument a step further (Beebe, Jaffe and Lachmann, 1992; Bell and Harper, 1977; Belsky, 1981). These researchers have found bidirectional effects in the parent-child dyad.

Specifically, they argue that certain infant characteristics such as temperament, relatedness, degree of irritability, and the infant's state system affect the parent who in turn affects the baby. Furthermore, they assert that the infant's behaviors impacts the marital relationship, and that the marital relationship affects parenting behaviors which in turn affect the infant's behavior and development. Thus scales and measures (such as the separation-individuation scale used in this study) that fail to highlight the complex patterns of interaction within the family will be unable to accurately capture important aspects of the child's development.

THE FATHER AND OTHER ASPECTS OF SELF DEVELOPMENT

What about the father's role in other aspects of self development as measured by Blatt's self scales? As reported in table 4, the emotional availability of the father was only significantly related to the richness of the self. In other words, while the father's emotional availability seems to vary with a woman's ability to integrate multiple modes of representations into her self identity, his availability is not related to other areas of self development (i.e., complexity of the self and sense of self agency). How does one make sense of these findings?

A. The Complexity of the Self

To measure complexity of the self I used Blatt's conceptual level scale. Although the complexity scale does not measure separation-individuation per se, like Coonerty's separation-individuation scale Blatt's measure focuses on development progressing from an amorphous and undifferentiated state to a separate, unique, and multidimensional state. It may be that this component of self development (like levels of separation-individuation) is more related to other aspects of the father's character than it is to his emotional availability. Since empirical research has demonstrated that the father has an important effect on numerous aspects of his daughter's self development (see, for example, Lamb, 1986), it is possible that the emotional availability variable and some of the self measures used in his study were too general to capture this influence.

The non-significant findings may also be related to the ways in which representational data were used in this study. According to Blatt and Lerner (1983) representational data can be utilized in a variety of ways. In psychoanalytical research it is generally used to look at either the content of the narrative (i.e., the quality and depth of the representation) or the structure of the narrative (i.e., the organization and developmental level of the representation). The emotional availability variable used in this study gets more to the content of the object representation than it does to its structure and thus may be more significantly related to those self measures that also get to the content of the representation (i.e., the richness scale) than to its structure (i.e.,

the complexity and sense of agency scales).

B. Sense of Self Agency

There are also non-significant findings between sense of self agency and father's emotional availability. As with the sense of female self agency discussed above, it seems that the father's emotional availability is not a factor contributing to this aspect of his daughter's self development. However, the significant relationship between contact with father and self agency suggests that it would be premature to dismiss the father's role in this aspect of development. Interestingly, and contrary to what I would have predicted, the relationship between contact with father and sense of agency was negative, indicating that the more contact a woman currently has with her father the less she has a clearly defined self identity with particular goals and values. In addition, there was a positively significant relationship between contact with mother and self agency, suggesting that the more contact a women has with her mother the more developed her sense of self agency.

How are we to make sense of these relationships, particularly in light of Tessman's (1989) findings? Both Tessman's and the current study are retrospective in the sense that they are interested in how the early father-daughter relationship affects current sense of self agency. As mentioned above, however, they differ in that Tessman used behavioral manifestations to define sense of agency while this study used levels of psychic development. In

addition, Tessman did not explore (or at least she did not report) how the current father-daughter relationship affects this component of self development.

It is possible that aspects of self agency (at least the behavioral manifestations of it) are rooted in the early father-daughter relationship. As seen from a Kleinian perspective, it may be that the father's role early in development is to extricate the daughter from the overpowering, archaic, destructive, and merged relationship with the mother. However, during adolescence or later in development when the daughter feels more independent and secure in her autonomy she can turn back to the mother and use her to further foster her development (Chasseguet-Smirgel, 1986).

An alternative view is offered by Benjamin (1991, 1995). She argues that the father's role is important early in development when the daughter is struggling with the need to be recognized as independent from the very person she is dependent on (the mother). She asserts that if the girl can identify with her father and get confirmation of independence from him she will no longer need to work through this rapprochement struggle with her mother. Through this identification she will begin to acknowledge the subjectivity of another person and see herself as a subject of desire - an important development and component of self agency in that the ability to experience oneself as a subject of desire helps the individual direct her energy based on inner motivation as opposed to the wishes of others. In adulthood, however, when women feel more rooted in a separate life of their own, their comfort and ability to identify

with their mothers increase, and they can then use their mothers to further consolidate their sense of self agency.

It is important to note that while both Benjamin's and the Kleinian perspective may appear to reflect a linear view of development, both viewpoints dispute the linear model and instead advocate a back and forth movement between different positions. It may be that self agency is influenced by the father at some points in development and by the mother at others, but this does not preclude a back and forth movement between the two during the life span.

Finally, research by Cantor and Bernay (1992) on women politicians gives further insight into the role of parents in the development of self-agency. Their study consisted of in-depth interviews with twenty-five women who were currently holding an elected position in a high federal, state, or local U.S. office. They found that a woman's capacity for political leadership stemmed from a combination of three characteristics (important characteristics in that they seem to incorporate many components of self-agency: 1) a "competent self" (i.e., knowing who you are, not feeling defined by situations, people or events, and not feeling that you have to change the way you act to placate the people around you); 2) "creative aggression" (i.e., leading others, taking initiative, and speaking out); and 3) "woman power" (i.e., power used to make society a better place). The researchers further found that the development of these characteristics was more related to the woman's early relationship with her mother than with her father. Specifically, these women viewed their own

mothers as independent, competent, and influential (both within the public and private spheres), and felt that they were able to identify with both the nurturant and aggressive components of their mother's competent personalities.

Furthermore, these women felt that their mothers modeled and endorsed "creative aggression" and "women power" which helped to validate their own feelings of independence, success, and autonomy.

While Cantor and Bernay did find that the father contributed to the development of his daughter's leadership abilities, they assert that his most important roles are his ability to treat his wife as an equal partner, his capacity to promote independence and task mastery in his daughter, and his being able to display his own aggressive and nurturing sides. Thus, contrary to what these researchers predicted, successful women do not primarily identify with their successful fathers but rather with their competent and independent mothers who model and endorse autonomous sex-roles and values. Although Cantor and Bernay's study does provide some insight into the current research findings regarding the role of the father and mother in the development of self agency, because this project does not provide any information on how these women experience their mothers, one can only speculate that the mother-daughter relationship plays an important role in self-agency development.

C. The Richness of the Self

There is a significant relationship between emotional availability and richness of the self, which suggests that the father influences certain aspects of self development. That the father's availability allows his daughter to access multiple modes of representation may indicate that the ability to identify with the father is also an important component of self development. That is, perhaps when the daughter is able to successfully identify with the father she gains access to additional modes of self representation which allow her to move away from a unidimensional and restricted self representation toward a rich and broad representation. Over time these representations become an integrated part of her self identity and she becomes comfortable moving in and out of them when she talks about herself.

Finally, the finding that emotional availability was meaningfully related to the richness of the self identity but not to the richness of the female self identity suggests that the father's role in self and gender development are quite different. While self development might include aspects of gender, the two identities are experienced as distinct and are influenced by different kinds of experiences and interactions.

THE ROLE OF THERAPY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SELF AND OBJECT REPRESENTATIONS

One of the unexpected findings in this current study was the relationship between the emotional availability of the father and therapy. As reported in table 3, there was a highly significant bivariate correlation between these two variables, which suggests that the more therapy these women have had, the less they experience their father as emotionally available. Furthermore, t-test analyses revealed that women who are currently in therapy or have been in therapy in the past experience their fathers as less emotionally available than women who are not currently in therapy and have not been in therapy in the past.

Blatt et al.'s (1996) study offers one explanation for these findings. In this study they used the ORI to examine changes in object and self-representations of seriously disturbed adolescents and adults who were in long-term, intensive psychotherapy. One of their findings was that improved clinical functioning was negatively correlated with the ORI Benevolent factor (emotional availability as defined in this current study) for the father, but was positively correlated with the benevolent factor for the therapist and the mother. Thus they conclude that an important component of therapeutic progress (at least for severely disturbed inpatients) is for the mother and therapist to be seen in a more positive light, but for the father to become the "container" for the patient's negative feelings. However, since this current study offers no information

about the emotional availability of the women's mothers or therapists, it is not possible to draw these types of conclusions about the current data.

Another explanation is that one of the reasons women seek treatment is because their fathers are emotionally unavailable. Or, it is possible that the process of therapy itself leads to a critical reexamination of significant people in one's life. Thus it may not be that women with emotionally unavailable fathers are more likely to seek treatment than those with available fathers, but rather that once women are in treatment they begin to reassess their early relationships and become more critical of what their parents, including their fathers, did not provide for them. If this is the case, one would expect similar findings concerning the mother. However, since this data is unavailable, future research would need to address this supposition.

Furthermore, the finding that women who have been in therapy in the past experience their fathers as less emotionally unavailable than women who have not had past treatment may suggest that once these women critically reexamine their relationships with their fathers, they are unable to integrate a view of their fathers which includes both "positive" and "negative" elements. How people come to understand their sense of self and gendered self is complicated and no definitive answer is available. It is possible that shifts can occur in a woman's sense of self or gender without fully altering the intrapsychic or more "realistic" aspects of the father and his behavior toward her. It may also be that the scale used to assess emotional availability was not

sufficiently complex to pick up the nuances of affective responses and defensive behavior.

Finally, it is possible that the defenses of the women in this study were so entrenched that the emergence of more libidinally tinged interest in the father did not emerge. Since many of the women in this study were in treatment for very brief periods of time, it is possible that they had not explored the libidinal aspect of the relationship. It therefore might be interesting for future research to examine the differences between the women who had (or are in) an extended in-depth treatment and those who have had briefer treatments.

These limitations notwithstanding, the therapy findings clearly have implications for treatment in that the father's role as a nurturer and/or attachment figure needs to be more thoroughly targeted and explored in therapeutic practice with women. In addition, in cases where sexuality and feminine development are problematic, therapists should also explore self and relational issues and not just focus exclusively on conflicts around the body.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study demonstrates the importance of exploring the father-daughter relationship. While the mother-child relationship is clearly important, as Silverstein (1996) points out this focus does a great disservice to fathers and has social and political ramifications as well. By relegating the mother to the caretaking and nurturing role, Silverstein argues, the father becomes peripheral

in this arena and his importance as the "provider" is stressed instead. This dynamic not only contributes to the subjugation of women and mother blaming, but it also makes it more difficult for fathers to feel comfortable with emotional intimacy and connectedness, and defines their role in the context of the mother-child dyad rather than as independent of this relationship. The current study suggests that when the father is examined independently of the mother his impact is obvious and contributes to his daughter's development.

However, while this study indicates that the father plays an important role in aspects of his daughter's self and gender identity, because of the project's limitations (i.e., the small sample size, the primary focus of the father being his emotional availability, global measures of self and gender identity, etc.), I was only able to scratch the surface of the father-daughter relationship. Thus, future research will need to explore a variety of issues that could not be adequately addressed in this project.

First, my findings need to be replicated to assess whether the conclusions of this study are in fact reasonable. The replication of my findings seems particularly important in light of Tessman's (1989) findings which contradict some of my own. Second, it would be beneficial to use a larger sample size and to target a more heterogeneous population of fathers and daughters. While one can argue that the homogeneity of my participants may increase the effects of the study - having used a predominately white, upper middle class, and professional sample - it is extremely risky to draw any conclusions about

people from other ethnic, cultural, or class backgrounds. Third, more sophisticated and subtle scales should be used to measure self and gender constructs. Instead of focusing on global aspects of self and gender development, these scales should isolate and focus upon more specific components of the self and gendered self. It would be particularly useful if these scales incorporated findings from infant research and the critiques of the contemporary feminist theorists. In addition, the scales should be able to better capture the nuances of gender development. Fourth, more information about the father's personality and his relationship with his daughter should be gleaned. To avoid potential contamination of data, it would be particularly useful if information about the father and the daughter were also collected independently. One way this could be done is to meet with the father alone, and through an in-depth and structured interview assess his degree of emotional availability. This would provide an independent assessment of the father's emotional availability and could be compared to that which the daughter provides. Fifth, to more accurately capture the early antecedents of gender identity development and the father's role in this process, longitudinal prospective research studies (particularly those that include some direct observation of the father-daughter dyad) should be undertaken. Sixth, since current infant research - particularly research which emphasizes a systems approach - argues that development is a bidirectional process that takes place within the context of all members of the child's family, future research on the development of female gender identity

should include the mother-daughter, father-mother, and father-daughter relationships. Even data from this current study indicates the importance of exploring all familial relationships. Specifically, the highly significant correlation between contact with mother and contact with father suggests that these women may have an internalized parental representation that is comprised of representations of both parents in addition to dynamically relevant factors. This type of representation is likely related to, but also independent of, the representations of their fathers and their mothers. Thus it would be useful if future research could explore the possible existence of a family system variable. Finally, because quantifying gender identity and parental representations can inadvertently simplify these complex constructs, using narrative data in a qualitative manner might provide a richer and more thorough understanding of self and gender development.

APPENDIX A. ATTRIBUTE RATINGS

Scoring of Qualitative Characteristics of the Individual

Descriptions are rated on a seven point scale for the degree to which each of the twelve characteristics are attributed to the person. Ratings are made on the basis of the rater's judgement of the subject's view of the person on each dimension. If a particular category is irrelevant, or if it is not possible to make a decision, a score of 9 should be assigned.

1. Affectionate

Demonstrating overt affection or warm regard; actively showing and demonstrating affection (1= little affection; 7= much affection). It is important to differentiate affectionate from the rating of warmth in that one could be warm without necessarily being overtly and demonstratively affectionate.

2. Ambitious

This rating reflects the individual's aspirations or pressures vis -a -vis achievement in instrumental or occupational domains in relation to others and/or oneself. Ambitious is defined as an ardent desire to achieve a particular goal - aspiring, driving, exerting pressure on self or others (1= relatively non-ambitious and driving; 7= strongly ambitious and driving of self and/or others).

3. Malevolent/Benevolent

Malevolent is defined as having or expressing intense ill will, spite or hatred.

Benevolent is defined as being marked by or disposed to doing good - good will.

This rating should be thought of as a global or composite rating of the subject's view of the person's intent or effect on others. For example, a person thought of as overly protective and affectionate, such as having a "smothering" style might not necessarily be benevolent. This malevolent/benevolent dimension should be +viewed as a general rating of the individual's influence on others as positive or negative (1= malevolent; 7= benevolent).

4. Cold/Warm

Warm in feelings with respect to others; ability to make others really feel loved by them regardless of how it is communicated. Cold refers to lack of warm feelings; unemotional; impersonal (1= cold; 7= warm).

5. Degree of Constructive Involvement

The negative end of this scale should indicate distant, reserved, remote, aloof behavior, or alternatively, over involvement in an enveloping, enfolding, encumbering manner in which people are either ignored or inappropriately intruded upon. The positive end of the scale indicates constructive involvement and interest, but with a respect for the others' expression of individuality (1= disinterest or destructive, intrusive involvement; 7= positive and constructive

involvement with encouragement of autonomy and individuality).

6. Intellectual

Given to study, reflection and speculation; having an interest in ideas; creative use of the intellect; a capacity for rational and intelligent thought; showing an appreciation for complexities and meanings (1= not at all intellectual; 7= highly intellectual).

7. Judgmental

Judgmental and critical as opposed to accepting and tolerant; having excessively high standards; inflexibility in relation to these standards so that others are made to feel that they don't measure up (1= non-judgmental; 7= highly judgmental).

8. Negative/Positive Ideal

Rating should be made on the basis of how much the rater believes that the subject identifies with and/or would want to be like the person; the degree of admiration for qualities the individual possesses (1= negative ideal; 7= positive ideal).

9. Nurturant

Giving care and attention; as opposed to demanding or taking from others for their own needs. Nurturance can be defined as positive, "no strings attached" sort of giving (1=low nurturance, 7= high nurturance).

10. Punitive

Ratings should indicate to what extent the person is either physically or emotionally abusive and inflicts suffering or pain (1= non-punitive; 7= highly punitive).

11. Successful

This rating should reflect the subject's view of the person's success in terms of the individual's own aspirations. Ratings should not be limited to assessments of the individual in the conventional sense of success; i.e., wealth, power, favor, or eminence. Thus, for example, a person who is described as the manager of a bank, but who drinks heavily, would be rated as less successful than an efficient homemaker who is described as enjoying her life and functioning well and receiving satisfaction in this role. An equally competent and efficient homemaker would be rated as equally successful. In other words, ratings should reflect more than mere occupational success or failure as conventionally proscribed. Successful should be a rating of the subject's impression of the individual's satisfaction with their own accomplishments (1= failure; 7= success).

12. Strength (Weak/Strong)

Not necessarily physical strength; this quality should be judged on the basis of the person's effectiveness or efficiency (as opposed to being mild or weak); solidity; power to resist or endure; possessing a sufficiently stable sense of self as to appear

as a consistent figure (1= extremely weak; 7= extremely strong).

APPENDIX B. LENGTH**VERBAL FLUENCY**

An estimation of the number of words used in the description, based upon number of lines.

Scores should be adjusted if subject uses either more or less words per line than the norm, due to handwriting size or expressive style.

1= 1-4 lines

2= 5-7 lines

3= 8-10 lines

4= 11-13 lines

5= 14-16 lines

6= 17-19 lines

7= More than 19 lines

APPENDIX C. ORI CONCEPTUAL LEVEL

Based on developmental psychological concepts derived from Piaget, Werner and developmental psychoanalytic theory, five levels of object representation are defined. Based on these theoretical formulations, the conceptual levels of parental representations are scored as follows:

1. Sensorimotor-Preoperational (Score 1)

The person is described primarily by his/her activity in reference to the gratification or frustration he/she provides. There is an emphasis on the person as an agent who causes the subject either pleasure or pain, making them feel good or bad. The description has a personal, subjective focus and the person is defined primarily in terms of his/her satisfying or disappointing the subject. There is little sense that the person exists, is experienced as, or defined as a separate and independent entity. The description centers on the direct value of the person for the subject.

2. Concrete-Perceptual (Score 3)

The person is described as a separate entity, but the description is primarily in concrete literal terms, often characterized in terms of physical attributes. There is literalness, a globality, and a concreteness to the description. Emphasis is often on what the person

looks like in his/her external characteristics or physical properties, in a literal, concrete sense.

3. Iconic (Score 5-7)

a. External Iconic (Score 5) A focus on part properties of the person in terms of his/her activities, but the activities and functions (in contrast to Level 1, Sensorimotor-Preoperational) are uniquely the person's and have little or no direct and explicit reference to the gratification or frustration of the subject, but rather the focus is on the person as a separate entity in terms of his/her functional activities and attributes.

b. Internal Iconic (Score 7) The person is described in terms of his/her attributes and part properties, but in terms of what the object thinks, feels, values, etc., rather than what he/she does. The description is directed towards internal dimensions. Importantly, many adjectives used to describe others are behavioral descriptions of the person and are scored 5, not 7. If a subject describes a person as cheerful, playful and gregarious, this reflects the subject's perception of the person's behavior, and is an external (5) iconic description. A score of 7 (internal iconic) is reserved for descriptions conveying the internal state of the person in such a way that the reader can empathize with the person's experience of reality, as the subject has done. In both the external and internal iconic levels (5,7) the descriptions do not describe a complexity of actions, feelings or values. There is a limited recognition of subtlety, development over time or integration of apparent contradictions. It is also important to note that iconic traits of the person may, in fact, often be described in relation to the self, particularly in descriptions given by children and adolescents. But

they are iconic as long as the reader is left with the distinct sense of the person being described as separate and unique from the self.

4. Conceptual Representation (Score 9)

The person is described in a way that integrates many of the prior levels. The total description indicates that there are a wide range of levels on which the person is understood and experienced. There is an appreciation of internal dimensions in their own right as well as in contrast to the external. Also, there may be a time line in which there is an appreciation of change and variation. There are a variety of dimensions which are integrated and apparent contradictions resolved. Thus, there may be a sense of disjunctiveness in which the manifest, literal, and concrete may appear in contradiction to more internal dimensions. But the apparent contradiction is resolved in an integrated, complex synthesis. At this level there can be comments about the need gratifying attributes, or physical and functional characteristics of the person; but they are part of a cohesive and integrated description.

APPENDIX D. ORI BENEVOLENT FACTOR

The benevolent factor is computed by adding the scores derived from the 7 characteristics which represent positively valued aspects of the parental representation. These characteristics are:

1. benevolent
2. positive ideal
3. degree of constructive involvement
4. warmth
5. success
6. nurturant
7. strong

Note: Before computing the factor score, all scores of 9 which were used to indicate that this dimension was not scorable are converted to 4 (the mid-point score).

APPENDIX E. BEM SEX-ROLE INVENTORY (Short Form)

This scale asks participants to indicate, on a scale from 1 to 7, how well each of 30 characteristics describes them. The characteristics are:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. defend my own beliefs | 16. have leadership abilities |
| 2. affectionate | 17. eager to soothe hurt feelings |
| 3. conscientious | 18. secretive |
| 4. independent | 19. willing to take risks |
| 5. sympathetic | 20. warm |
| 6. moody | 21. adaptable |
| 7. assertive | 22. dominant |
| 8. sensitive to needs of others | 23. tender |
| 9. reliable | 24. conceited |
| 10. strong personality | 25. willing to take a stand |
| 11. understanding | 26. love children |
| 12. jealous | 27. tactful |
| 13. forceful | 28. aggressive |
| 14. compassionate | 29. gentle |
| 15. truthful | 30. conventional |

1= never or almost never true

5= often true

2= usually not true

6= usually true

3= sometimes but infrequently true

7= always or almost always true

4= occasionally true

To score the scale each person's Femininity ("a") and Masculinity ("b") scores are calculated. These scores are the averages of the person's ratings of the "feminine" adjectives (#'s 2,5,8,11,14,17,20,23,26,29) and the "masculine" adjectives (#'s 1,4,7,10,13,16,19,22,25,28) on the scale (the remaining 10 items are "filler" adjectives). That is, a given person's Femininity score is the mean of that person's ratings on the feminine adjectives and that same person's Masculinity

score is the mean of her ratings on the masculine adjectives.

Bem proposes that the scale should be scored as follows: total the sum of the ratings for each scale and divide by the number of items rated (10). Each raw score then gets converted into a standard score. Next, the "difference score" is obtained by subtracting the Masculinity ("b") score from the Femininity ("a") score. High scores in either direction indicate a tendency to be strongly sex-typed (or sex-reversed), positive scores indicate femininity, and negative scores indicate masculinity. After obtaining the a-b score, the Standard score for the difference is found. Finally, each person is classified as feminine, masculine, androgynous, or undifferentiated on the basis of the median split. This may be done by using either the median raw scores of the normative sample (Femininity Raw Score= 5.50, Masculinity Raw Score= 4.80) or the median from your own data base. Classifications are as follows:

Feminine= Femininity score above median, Masculinity score below median

Masculine= Femininity score below median, Masculinity score above median

Androgynous = Femininity and Masculinity scores above median

Undifferentiated= Femininity and Masculinity scores below median

For the purpose of the current study, the product of the person's Femininity and Masculinity Raw Scores were calculated (Fxm). High scores indicate an "androgynous" classification while low scores do not.

APPENDIX F. SELF DESCRIPTIONS CONCEPTUAL LEVEL

This scale assesses the highest cognitive developmental level of the self description. Five developmental levels of the conceptualization of a self representation are defined on this scale.

1. Sensorimotor-Preoperational (Score 1)

The self is unstable, fragmented, and lacking in definition and boundaries. The self could be described in terms of wants and needs with an emphasis on need gratification and on the things that bring the self pleasure and pain.

2. Concrete-Perceptual (Score 3)

The self-definition is primarily concrete, literal, and global. Emphasis is often on external characteristics or physical properties. There is a beginning differentiation of self from other.

3. External Iconic (Score 5)

The self is described in terms of activities and external traits. The description may still be somewhat concrete and literal, but the emphasis is upon activities, interests, and external qualities - on what the self does and acts like. There is little recognition of complexity.

4. Internal Iconic (Score 7)

The self is described in terms of thoughts, feelings and values. The description includes internal dimension, but with little recognition of subtlety, apparent contradiction, or development over time.

5. Conceptual Representation (Score 9)

The description contains a wide range of levels on which the self is understood and experienced. The integration of a variety of dimensions, the acknowledgment of apparent contradictions, and the sense of development over time characterizes this level.

Note: When a description has significant elements of several different levels, then the score of the highest developmental level should be assigned. Even scores (2,4,6,8) fall between each of the developmental levels and should be used to indicate that, while a response does not quite reach a particular developmental level, it is somewhat higher than the preceding level. On occasion, a response seems to be predominately at a particular level, but it does not seem to be well consolidated at this level. In this instance the even numbered scores below the predominant level should be assigned.

APPENDIX G. SUBSTANTIALITY

This scale evaluates the extent of the inclusion and integration of four modes of representation. The four modes are:

1. Physical or demographic properties (e.g. height, gender, place of residence).
2. Behavioral features (specific actions engaged in, e.g. skiing, watching T.V., talking a lot)
3. Personality traits (e.g., "I am friendly, " "I am impatient," "I have a lot of friends," " I have a great family") and descriptions of interests or preferences which seem fairly central.
4. Internal qualities (e.g., values, attitudes, feelings).

A low score indicates a flat sense of self including only one or two modes of representation. A high score (4) indicates the self is described multidimensionally with an integration of physical (or demographic), behavioral, and personality features along with inner feelings, attitudes, and values.

- 1= one mode present
- 2= two modes present
- 3= three modes present
- 4= four modes present

Note: Behavioral features (2) refer to what a person does, whereas personality traits (3) refer to how a person behaves. The distinction between personality traits (3) and internal qualities (4) should depend on whether or not there is a definite sense of the person's subjective experiences. Internal qualities (4) convey a sense of the individual's inner world even though at times they may include or imply behavioral and/or personality traits. Personality traits (3), on the other hand, do not provide an understanding of the person's internal state. Often the context or manner in which a quality is discussed will help determine whether it is a personality trait or an internal quality.

APPENDIX H. LEVEL OF SELF-DEFINITION

This scale reflects the degree to which the description expresses that the individual has a clearly defined identity with particular goals and values conveying a sense of agency.

Level 1: Self descriptions are characterized by either a lack of articulation of a sense of self and/or by expression of annihilation or fragmentation.

Level 3: There is a preoccupation with asserting or defining (even protecting) one's rights, prerogatives, and individuality. There is an emerging sense of self possibly in reaction to others or external circumstances.

Level 5: The sense of self begins to be experienced internally. For example, there could be a concern with developing a sense of stability, order, regulation, and continuity. This is a transitional stage between the emerging or reactive sense of self in level 3 and the proactive, intentional sense of self based on a more internal definition in level 7.

Level 7: The focus is on accomplishments, activities, or goals which are part of one's identity and sense of well-being.

Level 9: The individual has integrated many of his/her past and present experiences into an identity which enables the person to articulate values and to establish future plans and goals with a sense of purpose and dedication.

APPENDIX I. SELF-OTHER DIFFERENTIATION

The purpose of this scale is to identify responses on the Rorschach which may reflect separation-individuation conflicts. There are theme categories roughly corresponding to Mahler's subphases of the separation-individuation process. No one-to-one correlation is intended; rather these categories are to be used as an overall guide in determining whether responses do involve themes of separation-individuation.

The rater will decide which of the themes listed below describes a particular response. This process should be relatively straightforward unless the rater finds that a response combines several themes. In such cases, an effort should be made to define the central or dominant theme, which should be scored, and the secondary theme should then be noted. If neither appears dominant, this should also be noted.

Theme Categories

A. Preseparation-Individuation Phase

1. a. Internal Responses (e.g., blood, heart, lung, tissues, liver, etc.) Such responses involve internal body parts completely isolated from a larger response involving a whole being.
2. Total Destruction Responses (e.g., looks like a volcano exploding and everyone is dead). These are responses in which there is a clear sense of total annihilation or destruction of persons or animals.

3. Boundaryless Responses (e.g., a man's spine and rib cage are x-rayed here with the raccoons climbing up the spine to the ribs). Such responses show two percepts normally seen as separate instead seen as one, with no recognition of the incongruence involved, and no ambivalence.

B. Separation-Individuation Phase

1. Early Differentiation.

- a. Death Responses (e.g., looks like a dead chicken; looks like a run-over mouse; looks like a dead cat). These are responses that involve themes of death and dying.
- b. Merging Responses (e.g., these are two girls, maybe not, they seem to be together with the same head). Such responses involve merging or fusion without a degree of negatively charged engulfment or enmeshment.
- c. Engulfment Responses (e.g., there seems to be someone in there, but I can barely see her, she's being swallowed by this monster here). Such responses include all responses where the object is overwhelmed or smothered.
- d. Hatching Responses (e.g., I was going to say caterpillar, but not really a caterpillar, it's turning into something else, maybe a butterfly, maybe some kind of magic thing). This response, similar to Kwarer's metamorphosis, includes responses reflecting birth, rebirth, or transformation.

2. Practicing Phase: Narcissism

- a. Negated Practicing Responses (e.g., dead flying squirrel, squashed butterfly). These are responses that show negated or failed practicing.
- b. Profile/Shadow Responses (e.g., it looks like profiles of woodpeckers; it looks like a profile of someone standing in the dark; I can see the profile of a man's face - I could see two of them so there are four). These are responses in which the profile of a person or animal is described. The profile may be perceived as static, or as someone turning their head away to a profile stance.
- c. Shadow Responses (e.g., looks like a witch casting her shadow; looks like a poodle with its shadow; this looks like a tiger, this is a mountain, this is a rock ... and this is his shadow). These are responses in which the shadow of a person or animal is described.
- d. Narcissistic Mirroring Responses (e.g., girl gazing at herself in the mirror...kind of mesmerized). Score for direct mirroring or reflecting responses.
- e. Pairing Responses (e.g., two bunnies staring at each other; two chicks with their hair going up in the air). These responses have two figures engaged in some type of mirroring activity. Two figures with some characteristics alike.
- f. Omnipotence Responses (e.g., this is a tall, gorgeous queen, so powerful, gold glittering on her gown).
- g. Insignificant Creature Responses (e.g., he's so little, almost like a worm compared to the others).

h. Omnipotence/Insignificance Responses (e.g., like a giant's perspective looking at a little worm he could tramp on while it is crawling. He is so powerful the worm is helpless).

i. Pairing or Mirroring Responses with Identity Implied

j. Nonconflictual Practicing Responses (e.g., two bears climbing up a mountain; a dancer - looked like legs kicking up; two bears jumping; two mice crawling up a tree).

These responses have one or more figures engaged in some gross motoric movement.

3. Rapprochement

a. Struggle Between Life and Death (e.g., two black-hooded figures worshipping red, standing in a puddle of blood; two dying bears holding onto a mountain). These are responses in which there is a conflict or struggle between life and death; between living and dying. This conflict or struggle may be overt or covert, that is, there may be two opposing forces at work in the percept between life affirming or life negating impulses.

b. Figures Separating/Coming Together with Resulting Damage to One or Both (e.g., they're touching hands, but it's as if one of them is trying to save the other from electrical shock and they both get fried).

c. Figures Separating/Coming Together Engaged in Indecision or a Push-Pull Struggle (e.g., it's a girl helping an old lady down the steps but the old lady seems to be yanking her hand away, she is screaming but the girl is pulling away).

- d. Figures whose Form Changes (e.g., human-animal or human-insect - two girls eating out of the same bowl, no, that's ridiculous, they look like some kind of weird creature, maybe it's some new gigantic rats, eating together).
- e. Figures whose Affect Changes (e.g., it's a mean look, no it's an angel smiling).
- f. Figures Enmeshed, Stuck, Unable to Separate (e.g., I don't know, this seems like some people doing something but they seem struck together some-how, all struggling in every direction but whatever is doing it, they can't get free).
- g. Figures Separating/Coming Together (Nonconflictual Rapprochement) (e.g., two bears jumping away from two ladies; two men worshipping and their hands are coming together). These responses have two figures separating or coming together abruptly or definitively, but without damage to either one.

C. Object Constancy

(e.g., two women playing drums; two people practicing mystical art; two guys with their hands together). These responses are of two figures engaged in an activity that implies some mutuality. The figures are not seen as fused, merged, or overlapping in any way, although clear differentiation is implied rather than stated overtly. The mutual activity goes beyond gross motoric movement, and implies some purpose and reciprocity, for example, dancing, playing music, worshipping, cooking, talking.

D. Intersubjectivity

(e.g., looks like two oriental men and they're sitting and they've got their hands together 'cause they're friends; looks like two people having a conversation, facing each other either talking with their hands and knees touching, or in some kind of ritual, some stylized form of communication; *Ritual?* Some kind of stylized communication that is also a dance - like a Balinese dance). These responses are of two figures coming together for a common goal, or two figures engaged in a common activity, with some mutuality or reciprocity explicitly stated in the response

APPENDIX J. INFORMED CONSENT

I am currently involved in a research project examining female development. This study is performed as part of requirements for the Ph.D. in clinical psychology at the City University of New York. A number of different measures will be used in this study. You will also be asked to fill out a background questionnaire. The time required for this study is approximately 90-120 minutes. The identity of all those who participate will, of course, remain anonymous. All information from this project is confidential and will be used for research purposes only. Although there are no foreseeable risks to the participant, you may withdraw from the study at any point. At the end of our meeting there will be a time for discussing the purpose of the study and any reactions you may have had. You may also contact me in the future if you have any further questions or concerns. A more complete statement of the nature and purpose of the research will be available when the data collection is completed. If you are willing to participate in this study please sign below. Your participation is greatly appreciated.

Mara Silverman
(212) 799-6795
(909) 781-7227

Signature: _____ Date: _____

APPENDIX K. DEMOGRAPHIC/BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Age _____

2. Ethnicity _____

3. Educational Status (please check one)

_____ High school diploma/GED

_____ Some graduate School

_____ Some college

_____ Graduate Degree

_____ College Degree

4. Current profession _____

5. Approximate yearly household income _____

6. I am currently

a. _____ Single

b. _____ Married

c. _____ Separated

d. _____ Divorced

e. _____ Dating, but not "seriously" involved with any one individual

f. _____ Romantically involved in a committed, monogamous relationship but living separately

g. _____ Romantically involved and living together

Please indicate how long you have been in the current "relationship status" checked above

7. I am currently living with (please check all that apply)

☐ Spouse/partner ☐ Roommate ☐ Sibling(s)
☐ Child(ren) ☐ Parent(s)

8. I am currently pregnant

☐ No ☐ Yes

9. I have

- a. ☐ No children
 b. ☐ Child(ren) If checked please indicate sex(es) and age(s) of your child(ren)

<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>
☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	☐

10. My mother is

☐ Alive
☐ Deceased

If alive, approximately how much contact per month do you currently have with your mother? _____

If deceased, your age at time of death _____

11. My mother had a major physical illness/disability while I was growing up

☐ No
☐ Yes If so, please explain _____

12. My mother had a major psychiatric illness/disability while I was growing up

☐ No
☐ Yes If so, please explain _____

13. My mother's highest level of education was (please check one)

- | | |
|---|---|
| ☐ Some high school education | ☐ College degree |
| ☐ High school diploma/GED | ☐ Some graduate school |
| ☐ Some college | ☐ Graduate degree |

14. My mother's occupation while I was growing up was _____

15. My father is

- ☐ Alive
☐ Deceased

If alive, approximately how much contact per month do you currently have with your father? _____

If deceased, your age at time of death _____

16. My father had a major physical illness/disability while I was growing up

- ☐ No
☐ Yes If so, please explain _____

17. My father had a major psychiatric illness/disability while I was growing up

- ☐ No
☐ Yes If so, please explain _____

18. My father's highest level of education was (please check one)

- | | |
|---|---|
| ☐ Some high school education | ☐ College degree |
| ☐ High school diploma/GED | ☐ Some graduate school |
| ☐ Some college | ☐ Graduate degree |

19. My father's occupation while I was growing up was _____

20. My family's approximate yearly income when I was growing up was _____

21. My parents' were separated when I was growing up?

_____ No

_____ Yes If so, please answer the following questions:

a. How long did the separation last? _____

b. How old were you when they separated? _____

22. My parents' divorced while I was growing up?

_____ No

_____ Yes If so, please answer the following questions:

a. How old were you when they divorced? _____

b. Did your mother remarry?

_____ No

_____ Yes If so, how old were you at the time? _____

c. Did your father remarry?

_____ No

_____ Yes If so, how old were you at the time? _____

23. I have sibling(s)

_____ No

_____ Yes If so, please indicate the sex(es) and age(s) of your sibling(s)

<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

24. I am currently in psychotherapy

_____ No

_____ Yes If so, please answer the following questions:

a. How long have you been in this current psychotherapy? _____

b. How frequent are your sessions? _____

25. Besides current psychotherapy, have you ever been in psychotherapy?

_____ No

_____ Yes If so, please answer the following questions:

a. How old were you at the time? _____

b. How long did you go for? _____

c. How frequent were your sessions? _____

26. Have you ever been hospitalized for a psychiatric condition?

_____ No

_____ Yes

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