# GENDER STEREOTYPY, ATTACHMENT AND LOVE: A TEST OF FEMINIST OBJECT RELATIONS THEORY

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## ABSTRACT

The purpose of the present study was to test Nancy Chodorow's (1978) theory that primary parenting by females results in different object relations for each gender. The posited female "embeddedness" with others and male "detachment" from others parallel gender stereotypes of female expressiveness and male instrumentality. Expressiveness, instrumentality, attachment status (AS), and love experiences (LE) were assessed in college Ss (190 females, 153 males). It was expected that females, particularly those who are high only on expressiveness (E females), would tend toward embeddedness in AS and LE, and that males, particularly those who are high only on instrumentality (I males), would tend toward avoidance or detachment in AS and LE, relative to each other and to "balanced" (B) Ss, who score high on both expressiveness and instrumentality.

Results only partially supported hypotheses. Contrary to predictions, stereotyped Ss were no less likely to be Secure than B Ss. Compared to their B same-gender counterparts, a tendency toward Avoidance for I males was not reliably significant, and a tendency toward Clinging for E females was not significant. Simple gender differences in AS did not emerge. However, as expected, E females were significantly more likely to be Clinging than I males, and I males to be Avoidant. The hypotheses that E females and I males would have LE profiles indicating different forms of narcissism were not supported.

Rather, AS was crucial. Avoidant Ss evidenced less positive LE and greater detachment in LE. Although Clinging Ss tended toward greater embeddedness in LE, their positive LE were similar to those of Secures.

Results suggest either that too strong a statement has been made about gender differences by Chodorow, or that the measures of expressiveness and instrumentality used do not access object relations as adequately as the attachment measure. Each interpretation is discussed.

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# PART A

# INTRODUCTION

In recent decades, feminist psychologists have expressed disenchantment with androcentric models of development. This has been occasioned by failures of these models to fit women's experience, or the failure of women to "measure up" to androcentric models of mental health (Notman, Zilbach, Baker-Miller, & Nadelson, 1986). Rather than drawing the inference of female deficiency, feminists, such as Nancy Chodorow (1978) and Jessica Benjamin (1988), have instead posited "different" developmental models. Their versions of object relations specify alternate paths of development for each gender, thereby augmenting power to explain gender differences in interpersonal orientation. In order to test some of these new assumptions, Chodorow's (1978) in particular, the approach taken in the present study was to evaluate the validity of predictions for gender-divergent outcome in the personalities of young adults, in terms of gender role self-concept, attachment, and narcissism in love experiences. Gender role self-concept was expected to be related differentially to attachment style. As both gender role self-concept and attachment style of adults should reflect the quality and type of early object relations, they were expected to predict differences in the presence and form of narcissism in love relations.

## The Origins of Gender Role Stereotypy

Conservatism about the organization of the family with women's role as primary parent and men's as primary breadwinner is evident in the way that this division of labour persists

despite women's increasing workforce participation and men's capacity for sensitivity toward, and care of, infants (Blakemore, Baumgardner, & Keniston, 1988; Douthitt, 1989). Gender roles may develop in several possible ways: (1) social learning, (2) cognitive development, and (3) object relations. Social learning theory assumes that we adopt various roles due to differential reinforcement and modeling. A proposed cognitive mechanism is the acquisition via observation of gender "schemata" or cognitive structures that represent organized knowledge about a concept (Fiske & Taylor, 1984), and are used to classify information about oneself and other persons, objects or events (Bem, 1981). In her review of the developmental literature on gender as a social category, Maccoby (1988) concluded that children's self-segregation by gender for play is due not only to social learning, but also to their possession of gender schemata. She observed that children must use gender as a grouping category, since even 2- to 3-year-olds prefer same-sex playmates, and the proclivity occurs regardless of type of play.

Gender schemata may underly the development of gender identity, the sense of one's own femaleness or maleness that is relatively invulnerable to change (Stoller, 1976) and is incorporated into a self-schema by about age 3 (Marcus, Crane, Bernstein, & Siladi, 1982). After gender identity is established, gender schemata continue to be elaborated, whether or not they culminate in gender role stereotypy (Markus et al., 1982). This elaboration is evident in the rapid increase of children's knowledge of gender behaviour until about age 5-8,

with a decline thereafter in the importance or application of stereotypes (Ruble & Stangor, 1986). Adolescence brings a resurgence of gender salience which concerns psychological separation between genders, rather than the physical differences important to younger children (Stoddart & Turiel, 1985). This advent likely reflects the onset of novel peer relations due to increasing sexual interests. Later development may bring an examination of self and values, leading to the integration of feminine and masculine aspects of self and an individually defined gender role self-concept (Block, 1973).

Social learning theory may not entirely account for conservatism in accepting gender roles. In its assumption that reinforcement is crucial, Nancy Chodorow (1978) argued that social learning theory seems to assume intention on the part of socializers. However, conservatism is structural as well as individual, in that institutions perpetuate themselves and pre-empt choice; e.g., because men earn higher wages than women on average, it is more rational for husbands to seek employment and wives to become primary parents. That working couples should assign to the woman the role of primary parent reflects individual conservatism. To Chodorow, individual conservatism is generally evident in "the tenacity of self-definition, self-concept, and psychological need to maintain aspects of traditional roles which continue even in the face of ideological shifts, counterinstruction, and the lessening of masculine coercion which the women's movement has produced" (p. 33, 1978). Thus, individual intention is often a countervailing force.

Another of Chodorow's criticisms of social learning theory is that it diminishes the importance of affective bonds in parenting.

Some of the reasons for individual adherence to gender roles may be deeper, involving object relations. Parenting consists not only in caregiving actions, but also in a "diffuse, affective relationship" (p. 33, Chodorow, 1978). Socialization produces individuals with investments in particular forms of relationships, roles, and self-identity. According to Chodorow, women continue to dominate the domestic sphere and men the public sphere because primary female parenting reproduces gender-divergent identifications and introjections of parental figures which regulate behaviour. Different sets of unconscious needs for each gender develop due to different developmental experiences in object relations.

Parsons and Bales (1955) suggested that a "given" of women's primary role in childcare requires a complement in the form of male instrumentality in order to promote the cooperation necessary to effective functioning of the familial group. Role polarization is thus self-perpetuating. Such group dynamics are consistent with either gender schemata or object relations theory.

Social learning, cognitive development, and object relations may all be factors in the development of gender stereotypy. Before explaining how traditional gender roles are reproduced via differential object relations, it is important to examine the nature of gender role stereotypy more closely,

since, however it is acquired, its implied rigidity should reflect strict standards for behaviour, due to a failure to modify early acquired, harshly judgemental parental introjects.

The Construct of Gender Stereotypy

Sex is a highly visible and salient cue in human interaction to which many complex forms of social behaviour may be commonly attributed. Sex difference research has revealed different social orientations per gender, such as women's greater supportiveness (e.g., Aries & Johnson, 1983; Berg, 1984; Bernard, 1981) and intimacy (Buhrke & Fuqua, 1987) in friendships and marriage. However, the existence of variation within sex suggests that assessing degree of polarization around gender stereotypes might be expected to be more fruitful than simply evaluating sex differences.

The term "gender role" denotes the display of socially sanctioned gender-congruent behaviour. Gender roles may be mainly socioculturally acquired (as opposed to biologically determined) and situationally evoked (Mayo & Henley, 1981). Gender role stereotypy, then, is rigid adherence to one's gender-congruent gender role. While individuals assume multiple roles in complex cultures, the gender role may be more fundamental than others (Parsons & Bales, 1955). The construct is rooted in the work of Parsons and Bales (1955) who theorized that in the traditional nuclear family mothers are expressive and fathers are instrumental. Expressiveness involves what is internal to the familial system: "maintenance of integrative relations between the members, and regulation of the patterns

and tension levels of its component units" (p. 47). Instrumentality relates the familial system to the larger environment: "meeting the adaptive conditions of its maintenance of equilibrium, and...establishing the desired relations to external goal-objects" (p. 47). The mother is expected to understand and deal with the attitudes and emotions of self and others (Gill, Stockard, Johnson, & Williams, 1987). She is the "charismatic" leader whose goal is intra-familial harmony (Johnson, Stockard, Acker, & Naffziger, 1975). The father is expected to be the technical expert and executive leader whose goals are self-assertion and -expansion, and mastery of the environment (Johnson et al., 1975). The expressive and instrumental roles parallel Bakan's (1966) constructs of communion and agency. Communion is manifest in contact, expression, acceptance, and mutual obligation. Agency, an opposing tendency, is manifest in isolation, repression, conquest, and contract (Carlson, 1972).

To Sandra Bem (1976), the importance of the construct of gender stereotypy resides in the possibility of androgyny. If the social behaviour of females is primarily expressive or communal and that of males is primarily instrumental or agentic, then women might be insufficiently concerned for their own needs and men might be insufficiently concerned for the needs of others. Bem cited Bakan's notion that a necessary task for both the individual and society is "to mitigate agency with communion."

In studies of gender stereotypy using the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI, Bem, 1974) or the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ, Spence, Helmreich & Stapp, 1974), subjects rate themselves on desirable traits empirically found to be associated with college students' views of femininity and masculinity. Subjects are classified as "feminine" or "masculine" if they score high on only one or the other, "androgynous" if they are high on both, or "undifferentiated" if they are low on both. Feminine traits as a group suggest expressiveness, and masculine traits suggest instrumentality. Obviously, these measures require the assumption that the two dimensions are at least partially independent. They were designed to replace unidimensional-bipolar measures which are based upon the capacity of items to differentiate the biological sexes. Unidimensional measures assume that masculinity and femininity are opposites, despite the lack of homogeneity found with such scales (Constantinople, 1973), and the relative independence of gender from them (Marsh & Myers, 1986). The bi-dimensional approach better accounts for the considerable amount of data suggesting that the two types of behaviour are not mutually exclusive (Constantinople, 1973; Kelly & Worell, 1977).

The construct validity of gender stereotypy has been rather loosely established. The most commonly used measures are the BSRI and the PAQ. For the BSRI, instrumental and expressive traits were selected from those rated as desirable for one gender and not the other. For the PAQ, traits selected as "ideal" for anyone were rated in terms of typicality for each

gender to determine the final composition of the scales. These methods of obtaining stereotypical traits were assumed to ensure that self-ratings would reflect degree of stereotypy in the expressiveness-instrumentality dimensions; however, no immediate evaluation of internal consistency or dimensionality of the measures was undertaken. Rather, testing the "androgyny hypothesis" was the main effort, while construct validation of expressiveness and instrumentality apparently was incidental (Taylor & Hall, 1982). However, convergent validity exists. In a meta-analysis, Taylor and Hall (1982) found that the expressiveness and instrumentality scales of the BSRI, PAQ and other measures were associated with discrete sets of traits. For both genders, expressiveness predicted empathy, nurturance, need for and giving of approval, emphasis on consideration in leadership, sociability, self-disclosure, and elaboration of affective reactions; and instrumentality predicted dominance, aggression, assertiveness, emphasis on structure in leadership, and arrogance-calculatingness. Wiggins and Holzmuller (1981) found that BSRI expressiveness and instrumentality were related to groups of traits respectively labeled nurturance and dominance, while androgyny was related to both. Thus, two orthogonal clusters have emerged, interpreted by Janet Spence (1984) as interpersonal versus self-assertive orientations. Since these orientations are based on traits, use of the term "gender role" with its broader connotations will be avoided, and the commonly used term, "gender role self-concept" (GRSC), substituted.

It should be noted that the two sets of traits do not subsume gender identity. They correlate only .20 to .40 with self-ratings on the adjectives, "feminine" and "masculine." Given that biological sex correlates .60 to .80 with these adjectives (Schwarz & Williams, 1986) and that most people have gender-congruent gender identities, "feminine" and "masculine" might assess gender identity rather than stereotypy in role or self-concept. Therefore, the terms "expressive" and "instrumental" will be substituted for "feminine" and "masculine" respectively, as suggested by Spence and Helmreich (1979). This will obviate the need for such pejorative terms as "masculine women" and "feminine men" (Lott, 1981). Expressive (E) women and instrumental (I) men together will be denoted "stereotyped." For lack of better terms, subjects scoring high on both expressiveness and instrumentality will be denoted "balanced" (B), following Taylor and Hall (1982), and those scoring low on both scales will be denoted "undifferentiated" (U), as is customary.

Since the present concern is with psychopathology, the following brief review of empirical correlates of gender stereotypy (most often measured by the BSRI and the PAQ) will be restricted to psychological adjustment, flexibility, gender schemata, and personal history. Unless otherwise specified, all research reviewed employed college student samples.

## Gender Role Self-concept and Psychological Adjustment

Whitley (1983, 1984) organized GRSC research in terms of

support for a congruence model, androgyny model and masculinity model. The congruence model holds that psychological adjustment is fostered by congruence between gender stereotype and gender; i.e., high expressiveness and low instrumentality for women and the reverse for men are natural and healthy. The androgyny model (hereafter, "balance model") holds that a high degree of both instrumentality and expressiveness as independent complements should be associated, additively or interactively, with adjustment. The interactive model further requires balance to have effects different from, or over and above, those contributed by its added components. The balance model might be expressed as an interaction of instrumentality and expressiveness. The masculinity model ("instrumentality model" hereafter) holds that adjustment is a function of the extent of one's instrumental traits. Studies can be found to support each model; therefore, reviews (Kelly & Worell, 1977), particularly meta-analytic reviews (Taylor & Hall, 1982; Whitley, 1983, 1984), are relied upon.

Studies of GRSC and adjustment tend to support the instrumentality model. More variance in self-esteem is attributable to instrumentality than to expressiveness or to their interaction (Kelly & Worell, 1977; Taylor & Hall, 1982; Whitley, 1983). Taylor and Hall (1982) found that across studies the predictive power of instrumentality for each gender was highest for self-esteem (r=.61-.66), followed by adjustment, and was lowest (r=.27) for ego development. Expressiveness predicted self-esteem (r=.22-.23) in both genders, but failed to predict

these other variables meaningfully. Whitley (1984) found a similar pattern for both genders: I scores predicted general adjustment and absence of depression; while E scores were trivially related to adjustment and unrelated to depression. Moreover, the inverse relationships of instrumentality with depression and anxiety are stable over time (3 months, Flett, Vredenburg, Pliner, & Krames, 1985). Although Taylor and Hall found B groups to be superior in adjustment in about two-thirds of the studies that they examined, the main effect of instrumentality was almost always larger than this interaction. Hence, the good adjustment of B groups may be due to their high level of instrumentality. The inconsistent emergence of expressiveness-instrumentality interactions (Spence, 1984) casts doubt on the balance model, and the rarity of gender-by-expressiveness-by-instrumentality interactions appears to refute the congruence model.

The validity of the instrumentality model has been questioned in other research. I traits are rated as more desirable than E traits generally (Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson, & Rosenkrantz, 1972), on the BSRI specifically (Pedhazur & Tetenbaum, 1979; Puglisi, 1980), and particularly by female judges (Walkup & Abbott, 1978). This suggests that social desirability induces some subjects to rate themselves highly on both instrumentality and adjustment (Kelly, Caudill, Hathorn, & O'Brien, 1977; Kelly & Worell, 1977; Spence, Helmreich & Holahan, 1979). Females' more willing endorsement of undesirable traits (Kelly et al., 1977) suggests that social desirability

has lesser effects on their self-ratings than on males'. On the other hand, it is particularly among women that correlations of PAQ I scores with self-esteem exceed correlations of PAQ I scores with self-reported I behaviour (Whitley, 1988). Noting that factor-analytically derived E and I dimensions tend to exclude undesirable E items from the BSRI, Silvern and Ryan (1979) found that the use of factor scores still resulted in support for the instrumentality model with respect to adjustment. The inverse relationship of self-esteem and undesirable Extended PAQ (EPAQ) traits suggests the influence of social desirability (Spence et al., 1979); yet Spence et al. (1974) found that the positive PAQ scales have near-zero correlations with Marlowe-Crowne social desirability.

Perhaps I subjects, who are mostly male, genuinely and accurately see themselves positively. Reiser and Troost (1986) found that high peer-ratings accurately reflected the high self-ratings of I males' communication competence, and also that women's self-ratings were uniformly high and concordant with peer ratings, regardless of GRSC. The peer- and self-ratings of some other male groups were discordant.

Thus, if social desirability underlies I superiority, it probably is not due to conscious response distortion. The above-noted cultural premium on I traits suggests that the correlation with self-esteem may be a fact of culture and not an artifact (Taylor & Hall, 1982). That is, the I individual may receive more social reinforcement (Kelly & Worell, 1977; Taylor & Hall, 1982). In contrast, expressiveness seems less effective in

shielding the individual from maladjustment (Spence, 1984). Broverman et al. (1972) found that E traits regarded as ideal for women overlapped less with those regarded as healthy for "adults" than did the mainly I traits regarded as ideal for men.

A less defensible problem for the instrumentality model, noted by Whitley (1983), is that the self-esteem measures with the strongest relation to instrumentality include assertiveness items. Instrumentality is known to correlate with assertiveness and self-efficacy (Orlofsky & Windle, 1978; Adams & Sherer, 1985). Thus, the relationship of instrumentality and self-esteem may be to a degree circular. Whitley (1984) speculated that overlap of self-esteem with other adjustment variables may also produce tautological correlations with instrumentality. On the other hand, self-esteem is generally assumed to be an important factor in adjustment. Dimensional analysis to relate the components of these variables with social desirability is needed (Whitley, 1983). In a recent study, Payne (1987; see also Payne & Futterman, 1983) found that correlations of I scores with several indices of adjustment were weak or trivial when variance due to self-esteem was removed. If adjustment comprises other factors in addition to self-esteem, then the positive self-view of I subjects may lack a certain substance.

Some evidence that seems to oppose the instrumentality model is intriguing. In the sample of Orlofsky and Windle (1978), E females, in addition to I males and B subjects of both genders, were well-adapted in terms of "personal integration" on the Omnibus Personality Inventory. Lubinski, Tellegen and

Butcher (1983) found specific differences between the correlates of expressiveness and instrumentality. They evaluated psychological well-being (Differential Personality Questionnaire) as a function of I and E scores (BSRI and EPAQ) in multiple regression. I and E scores were related to different components of well-being, leading the authors to conclude that instrumentality reflects "dominance-poise," and expressiveness reflects "nurturance-warmth." However, expressiveness was a weaker predictor. Balance did not predict adjustment in any distinct manner. This general pattern of differential correlates has been replicated without age differences in adolescents from grades 6 to 12 (Ziegler, Dusek, & Carter, 1984). In addition, Payne (1987) found that expressiveness was associated, albeit weakly, with fewer problems in interpersonal functioning; whereas instrumentality was unrelated to these after variance due to self-esteem was removed. Such findings resemble those cited as evidence for the construct validity of expressiveness and instrumentality, i.e., the nurturance and warmth of expressives and the dominance and self-assertion of instrumentals. Circularly, instrumentality and expressiveness may each be favoured when dependent variables are closely related constructs. In investigating the hypothesis that effects are systematically related to types of dependent variables, Whitley (1984) concluded that only instrumentality had consistent main effects. However, the adjustment variables used have most often focussed on internalizing symptoms, which are more characteristic of women's than men's mental health

problems, and variables more likely to lend advantage to expressiveness as a predictor have been inadequately represented (Silvern and Katz, 1986). The following findings of Taylor and Hall (1982) seem convincing as evidence of construct validity: instrumentality was positively related to I-typed adjustment variables in 93 per cent of studies; expressiveness was positively related to E-typed variables in 80 per cent of studies; and each variable was inconsistently related to incongruent variables (about 50 per cent).

Overall, the results of studies on adjustment appear mainly to support the instrumentality model; yet expressiveness appears to play a role, perhaps a lesser one, in adjustment. Expressiveness may contribute to adjustment in interpersonal relations, reflected in nurturance-warmth; while instrumentality may be most important to the aspects of adjustment that are related to self-esteem, reflected in dominance-poise. Research on flexibility suggests support for the balance model.

## Gender Role Self-Concept and Flexibility

Bem expected an association between balance and behavioural flexibility. If inflexibility implies rigidity or narrowness of interests or capacities, flexibility might indicate the capacity for anxiety-free exploration, which in turn might be considered an aspect of psychological adjustment. Studies employing a self-report format will be reviewed first, followed by studies employing observational measures.

*Flexibility on Self-report Measures*

Dating represents relational exploration. In this regard, B subjects have been found to date more than U subjects (Helmreich, Wilhelm & Stapp, 1975). Compared to stereotyped groups, B subjects reported less gender-stereotyped dating behaviour (DeLucia, 1987) and were less influenced by conventional attractiveness in judgements of opposite-sex peers (Andersen & Bem, 1981). B men have reported more female-initiated dating (Allgeier, 1981) and preferences for egalitarian marriages (Pursell, Banikotes & Sebastian, 1981). In levels of sex guilt, E women have scored highest, I men lowest, with B subjects at an intermediate level (Evans, 1984), suggesting that stereotyped subjects accept for themselves the double standard of female chastity and male sexual freedom more than B subjects. However, E women and I subjects of both genders have been found most sexually experienced (Leary & Snell, 1988). Considering the high level of sex guilt of E women, one might speculate that their sexual activity takes a passively nurturant form. In more general interpersonal behaviour, Wiggins and Holzmuller (1981), using the Leary interpersonal circumplex model, found that stereotyped groups were more polarized around dominance and nurturance than B subjects. Thus, B subjects seem to be more flexible in heterosexual relations. However, this may decrease in marriage. Orlofsky, Cohen and Ramsden (1985) found that married subjects' self-reported E and I behaviour correlated with their PAQ scores and with attitudes about gender roles, but gender per se was a better predictor of gender role

behaviour. Perhaps marriage tends to entrench gender role proclivities, even when these conflict with self-concept. This might support Chodorow's assumption of the unconscious basis of conservatism about gender roles.

On other variables, many of which seem to reflect intellectual flexibility, I groups appear to have the advantage. Greater creativity (Harrington & Andersen, 1981; Carter, 1985), political awareness, and lower conventionality (Jones, Chernovetz & Hansson, 1978) are associated with instrumentality and balance. However, Jones et al. found that B men were an exception, despite their high instrumentality. I bias in variables cannot explain this. Anderson (1986) found B men, but not B women, cognitively inflexible (high on intolerance of ambiguity and status concerns), while B and I women had equivalent scores. Increasing levels of expressiveness for men were associated with increasing scores on dependency.

Thus, in some areas of the rather vaguely delimited construct of flexibility, gender differences appear to exist within B groups. Nevertheless, both B females and males appear to be more active explorers with less preconceptions in the realm of heterosexual relations; whereas I subjects and B females may be more active explorers in the intellectual realm.

The complexity of the above-noted findings (which was minimized by omitting details pertaining to cross-typed and U subjects) reappears in studies of identity formation. Achievement of identity requires exploration followed by commitment (Marcia, 1966), and therefore might be regarded as

implying flexibility, at least in the exploratory period. Subjects high on identity tend to be high on instrumentality (Prager, 1977; Orlofsky, 1977; Schiedel & Marcia, 1985). However, in some studies, a large proportion of high-identity subjects were B (Orlofsky, 1977; Waterman & Whitbourne, 1982; Glazer & Dusek, 1985). Premature identity commitments, theoretically reflecting unquestioned acceptance of parental values and roles (Schiedel & Marcia, 1985), have been over-represented in stereotyped groups of both genders (Orlofsky, 1977). Hence, instrumentality may be a necessary ingredient in identity formation, but it is not sufficient, given that premature commitments exist among I men. It might not be surprising that I women should achieve identity, since they must confront their culturally endowed feminine roles. Orlofsky (1977) theorized that I males who achieve identity may undergo a shorter crisis period than others, and, therefore, do not have a sufficient opportunity to examine gender role issues.

The insufficiency of the I component in identity formation begs the question of what contribution the E component makes for B subjects. Schiedel and Marcia (1985) and also Glazer and Dusek (1985) found that more B than stereotyped subjects were high on both intimacy and identity. Perhaps expressiveness ensures a longer and more thorough exploration of relational issues, given also the association of balance with social flexibility. Instrumentality may ensure exploration of more intellectual issues, and the instrumentality of B subjects may energize their expressive capacities. Yet balance seems to accrue some

disadvantage to males, as evinced by Anderson's (1986) finding of the positive correlation of expressiveness with dependency for them. Perhaps their E behaviour is less externally rewarding than for females, increasing their need for support from intimate partners.

Overall, the balance model is supported with respect to interpersonal flexibility. With respect to cognitive flexibility and the intellectual exploration involved in the complex construct of identity, the instrumentality model was supported. However, the E component of balance may have a special role in ensuring relational exploration and this may also be important to identity formation.

Self-report research does not permit evaluation of trans-situational consistency in gender stereotyped behaviour. Individuals seem to recognize cultural stereotypes readily; yet they tend to see themselves as free of them (Broverman et al., 1972). If they are correct, then the phenomenon of gender stereotyped behaviour only exists as an erroneous attribution of perceivers. Locksley and Colten (1979) adduced evidence that perceived traits vary widely across social roles. If basic gender stereotypes exist, and individuals rate themselves accordingly, then behavioural assessment across varying contexts will aid in establishing their validity, an endeavour which was the basis of Bem's early research. Such observational research on GRSC and flexibility will now be discussed.

*Flexibility in Observed Behaviour*

In early studies by Bem and colleagues (Bem, 1975, 1977;

Bem, Martyna & Watson, 1976; Bem & Lenney, 1976), the observed behaviour of B subjects of both genders appeared more flexible than that of stereotyped subjects. B subjects performed all experimental tasks willingly and comfortably. I men performed well only in I situations: resisting conformity demands; and E men performed well only in E situations: playing with a kitten, responding nurturantly to a baby and to a "lonely" peer. However, E women were inhibited on all tasks, except when their nurturance was elicited by the rather passive role of listening to a lonely peer. Thus, they seemed to require removal of the subtle I demands of the "E" tasks. A partial replication using the PAQ by Helmreich, Spence and Holahan (1979), showed that only I males had strong task preferences, i.e., for I tasks, and that comfort ratings for each sex were positively correlated with E scores for E tasks and I scores for I tasks. However, subjects did not actually perform the tasks.

Kelly and Worell (1977) described an unpublished study which seems to support Bem's contention of greater behavioural flexibility among B subjects. They were more effective than the "inept" U subjects in both role-playing situations assessed: eliciting warmth and refusal-assertion. Stereotyped groups tended to fall between B and U groups.

Flexibility differences, in terms of duration of interaction, ease in communication, and non-verbal gestures used, have also been found with respect to GRSC. Ickes (1981) reported that in dyads comprising same-sex "waiting-room" partners unobtrusively observed in several experiments, B dyads

interacted most and most naturally. When dyads comprised opposite-sex partners, balanced-stereotyped dyads interacted most, and stereotyped-stereotyped dyads interacted least. Apparently, stereotyped dyads were unable to use their presumably complementary skills, failing to support the congruence model corollary that stereotypical gender roles are effective complements. Overall, these results may imply that, to be effective with stereotyped partners, B subjects did not entirely rely upon their own gender-congruent social skills, but must also have been drawing upon gender-incongruent skills. LaFrance (1981) reported that among same-sex dyads in I and E conversation tasks, the non-verbal gestures of B men reflected more expressiveness in E situations and less instrumentality in I situations; while B women were more consistent across situations. I men were also consistent; whereas the behaviour of E women corresponded to task demands. B subjects overall displayed less gender-congruent cohesion. The findings of Bem and colleagues, that E women perform poorly in E situations, accords with Ickes' finding of a low level of interaction of stereotyped subjects in a similarly unstructured situation where expectations are unclear. This result did not generalize to the more structured situations used by LaFrance, presumably because task demands were clear to E women.

These data appear to support the balance model and to corroborate the non-observational findings of greater interpersonal flexibility among B subjects. They suggest greater flexibility among B groups in same- and opposite-sex

unstructured social situations, and greater flexibility among B men with other men in structured situations. Such interpersonal flexibility may be a stable disposition of B individuals.

Frable (1989) cautioned against rejection of GRSC research on the basis of its inconsistencies and complexities because her own research confirmed that stereotyped subjects will explicitly avow acceptance of egalitarian norms. In her opinion, subjects' increasing awareness of new norms is driving sexism and stereotypy underground.

Gender Role Self-Concept and Gender Schemata

Gender schemata research addresses the issue of the centrality of GRSC in cognition. Bem (1979) theorized that because stereotyped individuals hold a polarized concept of the sexes, they should treat gender related information as highly salient, and should regulate their own behaviour and assess that of others in accordance with gender polarized rules. Acceptance of rules designating what is appropriate for each gender and their use in judging others have been found to be positively related to gender stereotypy in college students (Frable, 1989). In addition, gender stereotypy is inversely correlated with liberal attitudes toward the roles and rights of women and toward egalitarian marital relations (Spence, Helmreich & Stapp, 1975). These findings imply that stereotyped individuals have rigid gender schemata. However, Spence (1984) contended that the higher correlations of the adjectives, "feminine" and "masculine," with these attitude measures suggest that the adjectives may more directly assess rigidity in gender schemata.

In the same review, she also described studies which showed that gender overwhelmed trait dominance in dyads' choices of a leader, i.e., even low-dominance males were selected over high-dominance females. Thus, in some situations, it is not only stereotyped individuals who will exhibit rigid gender rules, but college subjects in general. According to Deaux and Major (1987), situation is important in the display of gender behaviour.

Evaluations of the strength of gender schemata in gender-stereotyped individuals have yielded inconsistent results. However, some studies have used less clearly related variables than gender ideology, such as short-term memory for gender-related words and gender-related recall errors in attributing statements to speakers (e.g., Taylor & Falcone, 1982; Beauvais & Spence, 1987), and have been confounded respectively by semantic relatedness of words and salience of physical appearance of each sex (Ruble & Stangor, 1986). The existence of strong, but not necessarily rich, gender schemata are supported in reaction time studies where subjects make faster "me," relative to "not me," decisions for traits congruent with stereotypy (Ruble & Stangor, 1986). In addition, from pre-schoolers (Carter & Levy, 1988) to adults and across various research procedures, the weight of evidence suggests better memory for gender-consistent information, particularly for gender stereotyped subjects (Ruble & Stangor, 1986), supporting Bem's (1979) assertion that stereotypy indicates rigid gender schemata. The generality of application of gender schemata is uncertain; e.g., attributions

about infants in feminine, masculine, or ambiguous clothing were not found to differ between stereotyped and non-stereotyped groups by Leone and Robertson (1989).

Together with their lesser behavioural and interpersonal flexibility, the greater rigidity of the gender schemata of stereotyped subjects suggests that they have failed to integrate and transcend their early-acquired internalized parental identifications. Examination of their history clarifies this.

Gender Role Self-concept and History

In a review, Sedney (1987) found little consistent evidence of a relationship between gender stereotypy in parental behaviour or attitudes with children's gender stereotyped behaviour, leading her to conclude that social learning and modeling are not responsible. However, she found evidence of a connection between the quality of parent-child relationships and later gender stereotypy on the part of the offspring. Citing the longitudinal study of Block, Van der Lippe and Block (1973) and other research, Sedney noted unconventional roles in the families of origin of non-stereotyped subjects, in terms of the division of labour and both parents' psychological health, warmth, supportiveness, availability, and encouragement of achievement. For women, maternal employment, and for men, paternal involvement in domestic tasks also predicted balance. However, the relationship of maternal employment with gender role self-concept is inconsistent, probably because it is a poor index of quality of parenting (Tolman, Diekmann & McCartney, 1989). Stereotyped subjects tend to emerge both from families in

conflict and from loving families with conventional gender roles (Sedney, 1987). Kelly and Worell (1976) found similar relationships between offspring GRSC and reports of parental characteristics. Balance in males was predicted by warmth and encouragement of achievement from both parents. Balance in females was predicted by intellectual interaction and encouragement from both parents. Instrumentality in males was predicted by low levels of affection from both parents, but high levels of encouragement. E females scored lower on encouragement and higher on discipline than I females with respect to fathers, and they scored higher on involvement with mothers. Kelly and Worell concluded that, overall, movement away from stereotypy for males requires warmth from either parent and for females requires cognitive stimulation from either parent. A later study of females corroborated the latter finding (Fleck, Fuller, Malin, Miller, & Acheson, 1980). If love of the parent by the offspring is an index of parenting quality, then additional support for these conclusions derives from the finding of Ganong and Coleman (1987) that B subjects had higher scores than some of the other 3 GRSC groups on 4 of 5 dimensions of love for a family member (mostly mothers).

Thus, the parents of B subjects seem undifferentiated in their roles in many respects. More clearly demarcated gender roles and excessive control or deprivation by parents are indicated in families of stereotyped subjects. This may imply more difficulty in the child's separation-individuation process. We shall turn to object relations theory to explain this, but,

first, some considerations pertaining to measurement of GRSC require attention.

Methodological Problems in Gender Role Self-concept Research

There are a number of reasons for the considerable complexity and inconsistency of results found in gender stereotypy research. Most obvious is the use of a variety of dependent measures whose comparability is uncertain. Some of these comprise constructs which would be expected to favour one stereotyped group or the other, and as such should have been treated as measures of construct validity (Taylor & Hall, 1982). In addition, the use of large n's (of college students) results in significant differences on dependent measures that may not be clinically meaningful.

Other factors concern the way that gender stereotypy measures are employed. In some studies, main effects of gender, expressiveness, and instrumentality and their interactions cannot be differentiated due to various types of pooling. Evaluating interactions is, of course, necessary to testing the balance model. However, in the meta-analyses cited above, care was taken to evaluate all factors. In early studies, expressiveness-instrumentality difference scores were often used, effectively pooling B and U subjects, groups which are now distinguished using the median-split method, since Bem (1977) adopted it in response to criticism. Of course, this method of classifying subjects might also be regarded as crude, particularly when medians vary between samples. However, it is a justifiable means of simplifying continuous variables if 2 x 2

(expressiveness x instrumentality), as opposed to one-way, designs are employed. This would permit evaluation of balance as an interaction of the 2 factors after their main effects are controlled (Taylor & Hall, 1982). Many authors (e.g., Lubinski et al., 1983; Kelly, Furman & Young, 1978) have suggested that multivariate analyses using continuous GRSC variables would be advantageous.

Still other problems concern the nature of the GRSC measures. Between measures, instrumentality and expressiveness scales are well correlated; however, within some measures, the two scales are negatively correlated, invoking the bipolar model (Kelly et al., 1978). Perhaps most alarming is the fact that the majority of subjects are differently classified by any given pair of inventories, including the most commonly used BSRI and PAQ (Kelly et al., 1978; Crosby, Jose & Wong-McCarthy, 1981). Perhaps the reportedly high correlations of instrumentality and expressiveness between the BSRI and PAQ (Kelly et al., 1978) have fomented over-confidence in their interchangeableness. In addition, some studies find GRSC measures to be factorially complex, indicating that expressiveness and instrumentality may be multidimensional, and not 2 unidimensional constructs as their use in categorizing subjects assumes. This might also explain some inconsistency in results. The revised "short" BRSI may correct the problem, as it excludes socially undesirable E items and the adjectives, feminine and masculine, which were largely responsible for the fragmentation (Payne, 1987). Each subscale of the PAQ roughly comprises an independent factor

(Helmreich, Spence & Wilhelm, 1981), and this is also true of the short BSRI whose scales correlate more highly with the PAQ than did the original BSRI (Lubinski et al., 1983). (See the Present Study section below for a more detailed discussion of this issue.) Also in their favour is the earlier-cited construct validity evidence which pertains to total scores.

## The Object Relations Basis of Gender Roles

Theories of object relations have diverted psychoanalytic interest from Oedipal to pre-Oedipal relations and from drive theory of motivation to self-structural deficit theory. In this context of relationally-centered theory, Chodorow has proposed different developmental vicissitudes for each gender, resulting from the (not necessarily inevitable) fact of primary parenting by females. The two major thrusts of her theory concern the effects on the child of the mother's different experiences of children of each gender, and the distinct experiences of children of each gender in having a female as a primary parent.

### *Differential Parenting of Children of Each Gender*

Mothers (and female surrogates) usually take the primary role in parenting. The primary parent acts as an external ego for her infant. By interacting with reality to meet the infant's needs and encouraging the infant's responses to the environment, she fosters the basic relationship which is the child's forum for self-discovery. However, by virtue of their own gender identity and gender concepts, mothers experience children of each sex differently.

> "Because they are the same gender as their daughters and have been girls, mothers of daughters tend not to experience these infant daughters as separate from them in the same way as do mothers of infant sons. In both cases, a mother is likely to experience a sense of oneness and continuity with her infant. However, this sense is stronger, and lasts longer, vis-a-vis daughters. Primary identification and symbiosis with daughters tend to be stronger and cathexis of daughters is more likely to retain and emphasize narcissistic elements, that is, to be based on experiencing a daughter as an extension or double of a mother herself, with cathexis of the daughter as a sexual other usually remaining a weaker, less significant theme...Because they are of a different gender than their sons, by contrast, mothers experience their sons as a male opposite. Their cathexis of sons is more likely to consist from early on in an object cathexis of a sexual other, perhaps in addition to narcissistic components. Sons tend to be experienced as differentiated from their mothers, and mothers push this differentiation (even while retaining, in some cases, a kind of intrusive controlling power over their sons). Maternal behaviour, at the same time, tends to help propel sons into a sexualized, genitally toned relationship, which in its turn draws the son into triangular conflicts (p. 109, Chodorow, 1978).

Thus, children of each gender experience different types of early relations with mothers. With females, mothers' projection of themselves stymies psychological separation with symbiotic co-extensiveness. Infantile relations are prolonged, in which the mother desires that her own oral-dependency need for unconditional love be met. With males, mothers project other male figures. The son's other-ness frustrates the mother's desire to incorporate him, and she vacillates between seduction and rejection. Thus, Oedipal-erotic issues are prematurely injected by the mother into pre-Oedipal relations, particularly if fathers' familial involvement is low, resulting in sons' premature pseudo-differentiation. What these patterns have in

common is ambivalence: obliviousness to the child's genuine needs and use of the child to meet the parent's intimacy needs.1

The failure to recognize the child as a separate being with distinct needs is also a central concept in the work of Jessica Benjamin (1988). To Benjamin, recognition entails responding positively to her/his often grandiose assertions, permitting self-involvement, and providing caring non-intrusiveness when the child is engaged in play. "Recognition" thus parallels Kohut's (1984, 1985) concept of the necessity for an empathic environment and "mirroring," or warmly reflecting back the child's grandiose pride in assertion or accomplishment, processes which provide the foundation of self-esteem. To Benjamin, the child also needs limits. The mother must not only mirror, but must also respond as an independent "not-me" to the child. Only the mother who has a centre of life beyond the child has the necessary sense of entitlement to personhood that will permit her both to set limits and to maintain appropriate separation. Limits provide a collision of wills in which the child experiences the shock of difference from mother. Such collisions, from which no harm results, create a sense of containment and security, and the sense that mother is real and cannot be destroyed or lost. This reasoning might parallel

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1 It should be noted that in the isolation of the nuclear family, a recent creation of the post-industrial revolution society, where the only or the primary emotional outlet is with children, the social expectation is for devotion to children, and needs for stimulating work and adult companionship go unmet, it is not surprising that appreciation and development of a child's separateness should be difficult (Philipson, 1985). It would be expected that hostility would erupt, or, if repressed, would be manifest in reactive and subtly ambivalent over-solicitousness toward the child (Haaken, 1983).

Kohut's concept of the role that minor empathic failures, together with support for the child in her/his disappointment, play in the child's developing a sense of self through learning that the mother is a separate person.

Benjamin further developed these concepts to indicate the way that we arrive at "intersubjectivity" or mutuality. By their nature, assertions of independence negate the other, as "omnipotence" in one dehumanizes the other. Yet the need for recognition of one's assertions paradoxically indicates dependency. Frustrations of the child's assertions are compensated by the pleasures of mutuality. In emotional attunement, the sensations of sameness and difference are simultaneous; thus, "imperfect" union confirms the reality that there are two individuals involved. True independence is marked by the capacity to sustain the tension between self-assertion and recognition of the other; i.e., mutuality. Theorists to whom separation-individuation is the goal of development (e.g., Mahler), have not indicated how mutuality comes about. The feminist interest in the complement to separation, relatedness, is not in order to reify it, but to propose a balanced developmental goal, i.e., intersubjectivity in Benjamin's terms.

Some observations of mother-child dyads seem to support Chodorow's premises about the different treatment of children of each gender. Alan Sroufe and colleagues (Sroufe, Jacobvitz, Mangelsdorf, DeAngelo, & Ward, 1985; Sroufe & Ward, 1980) found that observable seductiveness by mothers (e.g., caressing the stomach, squeezing the buttocks) was almost exclusively directed

toward sons. The same mothers expressed hostility and derision toward their daughters. With increasing age of the child, the seductiveness pattern was stable albeit expressed somewhat differently, moving from physical intrusiveness to more psychological boundary diffusion. The proportion of their sample of urban single mothers who manifested this pattern was small, and 42 per cent of these were sexual abuse survivors. Chodorow's assumption of pervasiveness must mean that seductiveness is usually more subtle. As Sroufe et al. (1985) indicated, ambivalent feelings are not always enacted. Yet ambivalence in any form ought to have effects on the child. In reviewing other evidence of differential treatment, Aries and Olver (1985) found trends toward greater mother-son physical contact until 6 to 18 months when the pattern reversed such that mother-daughter contact was greater. After age 2, mothers were found to criticize and supervise daughters more and to express more fear of harm to them. Even controlling for state of the infant, mothers have been found to be more stimulating of sons, at a higher frequency and more variably (Block, 1983). In her review, Block (1983) noted that parents of boys permit them more freedom and emphasize achievement, competition, control of feelings, and obedience to rules. Parents of girls emphasize interpersonal relationships and reflection. Mothers tend to be more encouraging of girls' proximity maintenance, more intrusively helpful, more comforting physically upon frustration, and more affectively positive upon their requests. Mazur and Olver (1987) concluded on the basis of empirical evidence that socialization

from infancy to adolescence facilitates males' valuing independent coping and achievement and females' interpersonal abilities and involvement.

Thus, Chodorow's assertion that mothers try to overcome the "otherness" of sons with greater intimacy or intensity, and later push their separation receives some support. The "sameness" of daughters may result in less maternal emphasis on intimate stimulation, but greater control over girls as their autonomy increases. Empathic failures in both cases would be traumatic if maternal behaviour is too often unrelated to the child's need for recognition and emotional attunement. The mother's greater responsiveness to the son implies more frequent recognition or mirroring, but perhaps not the necessary kind. Haaken (1983) has suggested that difficulty identifying with him may result in treating him as a "prized object" (p. 319). The press toward maintaining co-extensiveness with the daughter may result in low-frequency recognition of assertions, as these imply uniqueness and therefore independence.

Aware that Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) found little evidence that parents practice differential socialization, Chodorow suggested that the same parental behaviour may have different meanings or implications for children of each gender. For example, the main parental factor in producing non-gender-stereotyped adolescents is not the same for each gender; i.e., it is warmth for males and cognitive stimulation for females. Univariate and unidirectional models for evaluating parental behaviour may often be insufficient.

Block (1983) found that both self-report and observational studies of parents of infants and older children indicate that fathers are more extreme than mothers in sex-differentiated treatment. Fathers have higher standards for sons' achievement, whereas they emphasize interpersonal relations with daughters, even in problem-solving situations. The reasons for this will be discussed in the next section.

*The Different Vicissitudes Arising from Primary Parenting by Females for Children of Each Gender*

Chodorow has posited different responses for children of each gender to having females as primary love objects, based in children's gender identity and object relational issues.

"Love for the mother is not under the sway of the reality principle" (p. 79, Chodorow, 1978). The infant's initial engagement with the caregiver is one of primary identification or merger, an "experience of union with another person" (p. 401, Lachmann, Beebe & Stolorow, 1987). In its naive egoism, lacking awareness of the mother's interests and her independence, the infant assumes that she is an extension of its will. This being who is rich in resources is experienced as quasi-human and omnipotent (Dinnerstein, 1976). However, her unavailability evokes a sense of helplessness. "Children of both sexes, even with kind mothers, will maintain a fearsome unconscious maternal image as a result of projecting upon it the hostility derived from their own feelings of impotence" (p. 122, Chodorow, 1978); hence, the mother is an object of ambivalence early in life.

Frustrations, pleasure, pain, and mother's absences begin to show the infant that self and other are distinct, and lead to her/his internalizing representations of aspects of the caregiver and the perceived quality of her care. For example, having had experiences of soothing and warmth, the occasional absence of these when in need evokes the memory of soothing and thereby promotes internalization of the capacity for self-soothing, (Adler, 1985). This is how rudimentary object constancy is achieved. By the second half of the first year, the child can evoke the memory and tie to the caregiver, even when she is a source of ambivalent feelings (Solnit & Neubauer, 1986). This milestone is a step toward the capacity for separateness in the process of separation-individuation (Mahler, Pine & Bergman, 1975). The infant thus comes to construct a sense of self via its relationship with the primary parent. With primary mother rearing, "the relation to the father does not become as early involved in the internal organization of psychic structure and the development of fundamental representations of self" (p. 71, Chodorow, 1978).

The rapprochement period of separation-individuation of Mahler et al. (1975), roughly from 14 to 30 months of age, is critical in this context. During rapprochement, the child makes a sustained effort toward separation, and this effort "fatally coincides" with formation of gender identity (Benjamin, 1988). According to Chodorow's (1978) formulation, the nature of problems in internalizing a sound foundation for self-esteem differ between genders.

For females, the transformation of merger into object love for mother is unimpeded and occurs gradually. Gender identity flows naturally from the identification-merger with mother. However, the "sameness" that provides the daughter with a sense of self-in-relation to mother and self-worth as part of the ominipotent mother can be problematic. To Benjamin (1988), the mother who cannot permit autonomy and difference implies to the child that only one ego can exist in a relationship. The child feels helpless to survive her own resistance to the will of the all-powerful mother. The child relinquishes her will, denying selfhood and accepting dependency so as to retain connection. Infantile omnipotence, which ought to have been internalized as the source of self-esteem, is projected onto the parent. The mother's self-projections result in the daughter's "reactive," essentially expressive, style. The compliant daughter will lack subjectivity, the experience of self as an agent, which is the source of desire and authorship. Notably, the mother's "message" that separation means abandonment is considered a factor in borderline personality (Rinsley, 1988). The girl's self-esteem comes to depend on connection, and disunity with others can evoke a feeling of abandonment. The necessity for connection may be related to the interpersonal or expressive orientation.

Upon the developing awareness of their gender, males must turn to the father as an identification object. Their "disidentification" from mother is problematic (Greenson, 1968; Stoller, 1975). Because identification and love are undifferentiated in the young child, to transfer identification

means to suppress both identification and love, according to Chodorow. This may mean massively repressing the relation with mother, particularly an embedded relationship, in order to maintain a new and fragile differentiation. In response to the mother who lacks the boundaries necessary to assert herself and set limits, and as a result of the active attachment of the boy (Chodorow, 1978), who now must assert, "I am nothing like she who cares for me" (p. 76, Benjamin, 1988), the child may become increasingly imperious. As with daughters, omnipotence survives, but, in this case, it is assumed by the child (Benjamin, 1988). With premature separation from mother, the boy's internalization of her preserves infantile-omnipotent qualities. These now inhere in the self. To Chodorow, union with mother implies identification and threatens the fragile masculine identity. Self-esteem depends upon maintenance of a sense of separateness. This may be related to the instrumental or self-assertive orientation. Thus, the boy is not only early pushed toward separateness by the mother, but he also has his own motivation to escape from her, and to refuse empathic attunement with her. He takes refuge in identification with father, who is imbued with less of the archaic, erotic, magically omnipotent qualities of the parent of infancy. As a separate person in reality, father is the "liberator," the way into the world.

Both genders assume that women have "unique capacities for sacrifice, caring and mothering, and associate women with their own fears of regression and powerlessness. They fantasize more about men and associate them with idealized virtues and growth"

(p. 83, Chodorow, 1978) because of their greater "reality," relative to mothers' magical qualities. The reason for these different assumptions about each parent is the early experience of mother's "bad," i.e., frustrating qualities. Both genders split the internal image of mother, so as to repress its "bad" parts, and project its positive qualities onto father, in the unconscious hope that perhaps he will be the one to meet their needs and aid separation.

The "missing father" is another element in these dynamics (Benjamin, 1988). Although he permits the son's identificatory love, he may fail to provide recognition. To Chodorow, the traditional father is less available as an intimate other so that identification is less concrete, more imaginary and idealized, and may even constitute identification with a cultural ideal, especially in the case of father-absence. The father's acceptance of the boy's idealizing identificatory love supports the boy's denial of the loss of omnipotence and inflates his sense of power and independence. If the father responds competitively to the boy's expression of initiative, the father may become an object of some ambivalence. The net effect is that the boy's development proceeds with a much weaker form of relatedness than the girl's and his differentiation is based upon precocious, defensive separation with grandiose elements. He has managed a degree of individuation without concomitant separation. Notably, this resolution is one which describes the narcissistic personality (Rinsley, 1988). In summary, the intensity of the relation with mother, together

with its threat to masculine identity, is the impetus for repression. The less intense and possibly competitive bond with father is ineffective in mitigating the problem that rejection of the feminine and denial of connection are the foundation of masculine personality.

Chodorow and Benjamin have argued that the daughter also desires to express identificatory love toward her father and escape from mother, but the father is more "missing" for the daughter. He does not accept her identificatory love, implying, "You are unlike me" (Benjamin, 1988). Her sexual difference, as opposed to the excessive sameness with sons, is emphasized by him. She may turn to him due to her sex drive and his heterosexual orientation to her, but the fact that the relation with him is unconflicted with respect to her main issue--separation--means that use of him is mainly in flight from mother. The daughter tests mother's response to her "flirtation" with father. The father's rejection of the daughter's identificatory love, together with perhaps an intrusive emphasis on their difference, results in either repudiation or idealization of him and difficulty internalizing and integrating his qualities, e.g., agency, as her own. She is thrown back to the mother in whom identification and love are all-one and against whose omnipotence she has no symbol of difference. Hence, dramatic changes do not occur. Attachment to the mother retains its intensity, ambivalence and boundary confusion. "Penis envy" thus is envy of subjectivity, separateness, and agency. It not only results from the daughter's relation to the

mother; it also results from the father's denial of the daughter's identificatory love.

The lack of resolution of the daughter's separation issues and the rigid resolution of the son's do not change markedly in latency or adolescence, according to Chodorow. However, by the end of the Oedipal or pre-school period, these dynamics are removed to the internal realm. Gender role learning continues, but the breadth of later exploration probably depends on the prohibitiveness of the parental internalizations or superego.

Chodorow expected these themes to be evident even in individuals who have had "good-enough" mothering. These dynamics produce different directions of deviation for each gender from the ideal. Their different preoccupations should be expressed in most personalities. Most primary parents are female, and role-polarization will thwart adequate resolution of separation issues for their children. Parents who are highly effective at mixing roles well may be rare. Among those who do so, children of both genders would have fathers who are available as alternative love-identification objects (not only to enhance separation from mothers) and mothers who have their own spheres of independent activity and can be more comfortable promoting the autonomy of their children. However, the consequences of average parenting should tend to conform to the pattern depicted.

The emphasis on gender identity and identification reverses the Oedipal situation described by Freud, in which the gender that must make the radical shift in love object is female. Freud

emphasized the achievement of erotic-heterosexual love for the opposite-sex parent rather than identification: girls must relinquish basic masculinity to become feminine and heterosexually oriented by changing love objects from mother to father; whereas boys must repress their erotic love of mother and identify with father, while maintaining basic masculinity and preserving non-erotic love of mother. Chodorow's version need not rely upon genital differences and sexuality as does Freud's, except insofar as they are referents for the child to realize her/his gender identity or for the parents to treat each sex differently. Chodorow's account can assume that children discover the existence of two categories of genitalia, rather than one type with females appearing "castrated." Her account locates threats to identity in the internal arena, whereas Freud's are external.

It is necessary to ask whether gender differences which may be related to these dynamics indeed exist. Although reviewing the vast amount of research on gender differences is beyond the scope of the present project, worthy of mention is research that appears to be specifically related to the present issues. Boys obtain more extreme scores on measures of instrumentality and expressiveness (Hargreaves, Stoll, Farnworth, & Morgan, 1981; Downs & Langlois, 1988), e.g., showing "masculine" toy preference (Carter & Levy, 1988). Young children, especially boys, actively resist a wide variety of experimental means of steering their behaviour away from gender stereotypes (Sedney, 1987). In a review which took into account the landmark book of

Maccoby and Jacklin (1974), Block (1983) found that boys exhibit greater personal efficacy, aggression, activity, and impulsivity than girls. The latter three characteristics reflect externalizing symptomatology, which is associated with marked instrumentality in boys (Silvern & Katz, 1986). Internalizing symptomatology is associated with marked expressiveness in girls. Block noted that girls exhibit greater anxiety, compliance, and a lesser sense of personal competence in problem-solving situations, particularly those that are ego-involving. Girls also show greater empathy, intimacy, affiliativeness, and cooperation. White, Speisman, Jackson, Bartis, and Costos (1986) noted research showing that adolescent girls socialize their boyfriends in the ways of intimacy.

Relating widely ranging, sometimes inconsistent gender differences to dynamic processes requires a leap of inference, but they might be taken to support an association of maleness and instrumentality with less internal awareness and possibly grandiose acting-out, and an association of femaleness and expressiveness with both self-doubt and an interpersonal focus. The fact that distributions of variables for each gender tend to overlap indicates that each gender has similar potentials (Deaux, 1984). Nevertheless, differences in modal behaviour are of greater interest in this context than potential.

*The Adulthood Outcome of Gender-Divergent Developmental Issues*

This bifurcation in developmental vicissitudes results in different consequences for men and women. "The basic feminine sense of self is connected to the world, the basic masculine

sense of self is separate" (p. 169, Chodorow, 1978). In an hypothesis-testing investigation using open-ended questions, Carlson (1971) confirmed the following tendencies: females experience the self in terms of relatedness, males in terms of individualism; females represent others in subjective, interpretive terms, males in objective, classifying terms; females represent space proximally to the self, males distally; and females structure the future expressively, in terms of family and inner change, males instrumentally, in terms of work and physical change. In reviewing sex difference literature, Carlson (1971) adduced support for Bakan's (1966) theory that male agency is expressed in differentiation of self from the field and that female communion is expressed in merging of self with the field, in intellectual and interpersonal terms. Also based on the interpersonal orientation are females' greater capacities for, or at least greater expression of, empathy (Jordan, 1983); attention to, decoding and encoding of social messages; and interpersonally sensitive speech patterns (Wine, 1985). The fact that complete maternal absence with onset before age 5 is associated with decreased social connectedness in college women, but not men (Tolman et al., 1989), supports the crucial role of the mother in reproducing the interpersonal orientation in women.

Because of the relatively uninterrupted relationship of females with the concrete identification object of the mother, the lesser impact of the father, and less repression overall, resolutions of conflicts concerning each parent have less

finality. Hence, females' attachments may be less exclusively heterosexual than males'. This is evident in their greater self-reported love and self-disclosure to same-sex friends (Black & Angelis, 1974; Small, Gross, Erdwins, & Gessner, 1979). Although not entirely lacking intimacy, males' same-sex relations emphasize boundaries in that structure, competition, dominance, and enjoyment are central (Mazur & Olver, 1987). Using a projective test, Mazur and Olver (1987) found support for hypotheses derived from Chodorow's theory, that males feel threatened by intimacy with other males and will inject structure to defuse it, and that females find intimacy with other females more satisfying than impersonal, structured relations. The prolonged "pre-Oedipal period" permits more opportunity to work through primitive introjects, and females' recognition of themselves as non-threatening should reduce their ambivalence toward their own gender (Dinnerstein, 1976). This might account for females' greater comfort in intimacy with either sex.

Disadvantages of the interpersonal orientation stem from the intense relation with mother and the insufficiency of the relation with father. The existence of female submission to exploitation is identified by Dinnerstein as vicarious expression of rage via self-harm at the primitive, omnipotent mother within. Also hypothesized are "softer" ego boundaries and problems establishing autonomy, independence and a clearly delineated self-representation (Fliegel, 1982). Since females' self-definition does not rely so heavily upon denial as males',

regression should be less threatening. Attachments may parallel the primary one with intensity, exclusivity, and boundary diffusion (Chodorow, 1978). Curtailed self-differentiation may be indicated by the findings that female psychotherapy clients present a high frequency of self-esteem-related issues, and even female professionals discredit their own abilities and evidence an "imposter syndrome" (Long, 1986; McIntosh, 1984). Such "fraudulence" recalls Benjamin's notion that the father's denial of the daughter's identificatory love curtails her instrumentality. College women reporting acceptance by and warmth from fathers tend to be E types (Fleck et al., 1980). For both genders, stronger identification with father than mother is associated with stronger gender schemata (Heilbrun, Wydra & Friedberg, 1989). These facts, together with fathers' stronger emphasis on gender role adherence, suggest that fathers who accept their children's identificatory love are more successful in achieving their socialization goals.

Advantages of the detached, agentic orientation of males are self-efficacy, control, and achievement orientation. However, disadvantages also exist. A more fragile gender identity, based on repression of the relation to the mother, together with the less concrete identification with father, may result in either reactive "machismo" or a sense of inadequate masculinity. Men's more extreme scores on E and I traits point to their negatively defined masculine identity as "not-feminine," resulting from disidentification (Gill et al., 1987). Their ambivalence toward females, i.e., the repressed maternal

introject, may reach the extreme of misogyny, based on conflict between fear and desire of engulfment by the early experienced omnipotent mother (Dinnerstein, 1976). Devaluation of females serves the illusion of self-sufficiency (Raskin & Terry, 1988). Avoidance of instrumentality by women may reflect a wish to avoid provoking this latent devaluation and to promote the "all-good" mother image (Lerner, 1984). For males, these residual issues may also lead to "rigid" ego boundaries and a prematurely fixed and inflexible sense of self. Men have been found to obtain higher scores than women on measures of restricted emotionality and inhibition of affection (Snell, 1986). Hence, men's attachments may be characterized by detachment in which the other is regarded as markedly different or opposite.

The complementarity of the genders renders each incomplete. The feminine preoccupation with relational issues is expressed in becoming primary parents. Marriage may perpetuate female embeddedness if the life work of a woman is "intrinsically bound to her love life," and she merges her identity with husband and children, vicariously enjoying their successes (p.63, Prozan, 1987). The need, resulting from enmeshment, to contain "bad" or aggressive impulses may appear adaptive for the role of nurturer (Haaken, 1983). For men, marriage may constitute psychological reunion with the primary love object who meets their needs, but toward whom reciprocation in depth is avoided due to the sensed threat of merger to their masculine identity (Prozan, 1987). The impersonal, competitive, masculine cultural role dovetails with male needs and is adaptive for their traditional familial role

(Haaken, 1983). The theorized cause of each is early experience of inevitable "injury" and impotence at the hands of the omnipotent mother, resulting in pseudo-dependence in females and pseudo-independence in men. These complements reverse the mother-infant power imbalance (Lerner, 1984) and both genders collude in this drama, as both wish to avoid evocations of the omnipotent mother (Dinnerstein, 1976). Female relatedness and caregiving in the "dependent" role are systems-maintenance to Lerner: they permit male retention of fantasies of control and power. Thus, familial systems may have a perpetuating effect on factors underlying gender roles. Supporting the existence of this imbalance are findings that men, like boys, are more likely to utilize externalizing defense mechanisms, such as "turning against the object" and projection; while women, like girls, are more likely to use internalizing devices, such as "turning against the self" (Cramer, 1988; Cramer & Carter, 1978). Prozan (1987), and also Gove (1976), cited evidence that better mental health is enjoyed by single women, relative to married women, and married, relative to single, men. This suggests that marriage is more convenient for men in terms of need-gratification. Masculine flight from feminine identification precludes an equal level of comfort with closeness. Hence, primary parenting is unlikely to be a priority occupation. It will be devalued, just as women are devalued. Thus, via primary parenting by females, mothering and female relatedness are "reproduced," along with male separateness and agency.

Maladaptive complementarity was evident in a study by Pidano and Tennen (1985) of episodic depression in college students. They found that depressive episodes for E females were either complicated by or based in difficulties with control and agency. I males obtained low depression scores in relation to issues of dependency and love object loss. Their lack of disturbance upon an important loss was regarded as indicating either denial or failure to invest in the relationship.

Observational research has supported the validity of posited complementary differences in interpersonal behaviour. For example, in mixed-gender debates, verbal expressiveness combines with non-verbal deference in women, and verbal instrumentality with non-verbal dominance in men, even among highly achieving, ambitious college subjects who did not differ on self-report measures of E and I behaviour (Aries, 1982). Generally, interpersonal situations are more likely to elicit gender differences than individualistic tasks, with females presenting themselves more stereotypically (Deaux, 1984).

Specific cognitive sex differences, such as females' greater conservatism in problem-solving and lesser capacity to break set, relative to males' greater cognitive flexibility, implied to Block (1983) that females over-emphasize Piagetian assimilation, while males over-emphasize accommodation. Excessive assimilation leads to a "projective...perseverative, oversimplified, rigid approach to the world" (p. 1346) and may result from the more structured environment provided to females with less opportunities to experiment and a focus on what is

much less manipulable and predictable, i.e. other people. Excessive accommodation can lead to "premature jettisoning [and replacement] of established schema" (p. 1346) with the net effect of an "ahistorical, compartmentalized, overly situational, standardless...approach to the world" (p. 1346). To Block, this results from an excessive focus on activity and mastery of the physical and logical world. Echoing Chodorow's earlier work in anthropology (collected in 1989), Block argued that these cognitive differences may also stem from females' acquiring identity via ascription in the context of mother's observable work, and males' acquiring identity via extrapolation based on father's less observable or comprehensible work.

Cognitive differences may also exist in moral reasoning. Carol Gilligan (1982) asserted that the ethic of mutual care, based in cognizance of mutuality, may characterize females; whereas the ethic of justice, which is based on deduction from moral principles and therefore may be a more compartmentalized approach, characterizes males.

Overall, the direction of these cognitive and affective gender differences conforms to Chodorow's model of gender-divergent outcome, with females' interpersonal-relatedness focus and lesser individuation, and males' achievement-objectivity focus, and greater individuation, repression and detachment. To Janice Haaken (1983), the outcome of mother-rearing is a female tendency toward borderline personality traits and a male tendency toward narcissistic personality traits. For example, the respectively fluid versus rigid ego boundaries of these

disorders parallel Chodorow's consequences, as do the merger relations based on the lack of a cohesive sense of self of the borderline versus the detached self-expansion of the narcissist, based on a precariously constituted self. Philipson (1985) found that narcissistic personality disorder is more prevalent among males, at least in case study literature. In addition, men obtain higher scores on measures of narcissism (Watson, Grisham, Trotter, & Biderman, 1984; Carroll, 1987). Borderline personality disorder seems to be more prevalent among women, at least compared to other diagnoses in samples presenting to out-patient (Sheehy, Goldsmith & Charles, 1980) and in-patient (Kroll, Sines, Martin, Lari, Pyle, & Zander, 1981) clinics. However, diagnostic unreliability among personality disorders and women's greater help-seeking may confound prevalence estimates. Differential prevalence is only relevant to the present study if the assumption is correct that there is some continuity in distributions of narcissistic and borderline traits between abnormal and normal populations.

*Relatedness, Detachment and Gender Role Self-concept*

For both genders, those who have had more problems in separating from their mothers ought to present more extreme stereotypy. The relational context of girls' development creates the interpersonal orientation expressed in the feminine stereotype. The masculine instrumental style, created by the premature emphasis on separation and autonomy, parallels the theorized outcome for males. The more strongly relatedness or separation is cultivated, the more stereotyped the individual

should be. From the review of the empirical literature on GRSC herein, unilateral disadvantage of stereotypy did not emerge. However, there were differences in the forms of adjustment related to expressiveness and instrumentality. Also, stereotyped subjects were found to be less interpersonally flexible than B groups. Suggestions that stereotyped subjects harbour rigid gender schemata, together with their reportedly greater difficulties with parents relative to B subjects, imply less than ideal object relations, notwithstanding their adequate adjustment. B subjects' good adjustment, interpersonal and intellectual flexibility, lower rigidity in terms of gender schemata, and positive relations with both parents, suggest that they might have more optimal object relations than other groups. Their reported encouragement and warmth from both parents suggests that their parents assumed less traditional roles. Perhaps, then, few B individuals will exhibit the deficits suggested by Chodorow's theory.

In order to further clarify what can go wrong in the development of object relations and to more clearly delineate the manifestations of pathological object relations, we shall turn to attachment theory.

## Attachment

Attachment is a bond to a security-providing other or an internal experience of one's relation to this other. In toddlers, attachment is manifested in times of stress, due to perceived threat or needs arising, in their directing crying, calling, following, and clinging toward the attachment object

(Bowlby, 1980). In the presence of the attachment object in low-stress conditions, the child comfortably explores the environment. S/he only returns to the "secure base" or attempts to elicit caregiving when stress levels increase. Thus, the attachment and exploration systems are activated in an alternating pattern. Attachment behaviour promotes the well-being and survival of the infant, and, to Bowlby (1969), is an innate propensity. With roots in psychoanalytic theory, Bowlby's theory of attachment (1969, 1980) has a strong empirical foundation with respect to attachment in infancy. Recently, empirical efforts have extended to attachment in adulthood.

The continuing importance of attachment in adults is evident in their experience of extreme separation distress only in response to the loss (or threat of loss) of particular others, i.e., attachment figures, and not other losses (Weiss, 1982). Weiss has observed that the loneliness of the newly divorced is not dispelled by contact with friends. Affiliative relationships can be ameliorative, but they are qualitatively different from attachments and cannot supplant them.

To West and Sheldon (1989), the main function of adult attachment, as for infants, is protection from danger, but "adults recognize more subtle dangers to existence than infants, specifically, threats to the individual's self-concept and integrity" (p. 6). Therefore, felt security is essential. Provision of security is a defining characteristic of an attachment figure.

Role relations with attachment figures differ with age. For the child, the attachment figure is a caregiver. For the adult, s/he is a peer by definition, is often a sexual partner, and often has a reciprocal relation, i.e., each serves as the other's attachment figure (Weiss, 1982). S/he may not be a confidante or even a mate, but rather is "a figure that is security providing because of a...sense of linkage to that figure" (p. 11, Weiss, 1987). The adult's attachment figure, like the child's, is uniquely important in "fostering the attached individual's own capacity for mastering challenge" (p. 173, Weiss, 1982) by serving as a secure base from which the individual can explore other affiliations and interests, and to which s/he can return to ease distress. The adult who has not had experiences of actual and felt security in early or later life will demonstrate insecure attachment.

The adult's confidence in the availability and responsiveness of her/his primary attachment figure, i.e., the form of the attachment, is assumed to reflect not only the nature of the present relationship, but also past relationships with caregivers. Attachments are akin to psychotherapeutic transference, in that the feelings about and understanding one has of the attachment figure can be imbued with psycho-historical issues. The other may be experienced as a secure base, or as unpredictable or unresponsive, requiring close monitoring (Osofsky, 1988). This experience may be independent of the other's actual behaviour. The current status and stability of an attachment reflect the individual's "internal

working model" (Bowlby, 1969), based upon prior self-attachment-figure relationships.

Although experiences in early infancy may be important, those of the toddler phase may be most critical to childhood attachment and may ameliorate or exacerbate the residue of earlier relations. The reason for this is the particular conflict that occurs in toddlers. Margaret Mahler's (Mahler et al., 1975) view of the rapprochement phase best illustrates the nature of this conflict. Having achieved upright locomotion, the toddler is engaged in exploring her/his sensorimotor world, but whenever s/he senses danger s/he wants contact with the caregiver. Her/his needs may alternate, sometimes rapidly, between maintaining autonomy and re-immersion with the caregiver, as both may be anxiety-provoking. Hence, the caregiver must continuously alter her/his responses to the child's changing needs. The caregiver who stymies independent activity, or on the other hand, fails to meet renewed dependency needs (which may seem regressive once some autonomy on the part of the child is established), may inhibit resolution of rapprochement, preventing adequate psychological separation. Thus, a secure base for exploration depends on the caregiver's sensitivity.

Optimal frustration (Kohut, 1984) of the child by the caregiver involves some degree of empathic failure which causes the child a painful sense of loss of the bond with the caregiver, and thereby aids psychological separation. The frequency of empathic failure ought not to exceed what is

tolerable (or it is non-optimal). Therefore, the caregiver need not respond perfectly appropriately to every autonomy move or merger demand, but a reasonable frequency of need-congruent responses should ensure both adequate separation and a secure base.

Later experiences may ameliorate or exacerbate insecure attachments or pathological internal working models, but continuity seems to exist in most cases. Changes in attachment status as a function of changes in life circumstances (Thompson, Lamb & Estes, 1982) and stress levels of parents (Vaughn, Egeland, Sroufe, & Waters, 1979) have been observed in toddlers. However, most attachments are stable, and instability tends to be more common in lower socioeconomic status and unstably constituted families (Vaughn et al., 1979). Temporal continuity in attachment status is also suggested by later differential adaptation. Compared to secure children, those who were insecurely attached at about 16 months, in toddlerhood show less enthusiasm, less positive affect, less persistence in problem-solving (Matas, Arend & Sroufe, 1978), and less acceptance of assistance from primary caregivers (Ainsworth, 1982). At age 3 1/2 (Ainsworth, 1982) and age 4 to 5 (LaFreniere & Sroufe, 1985), they show less personal and social competence (e.g., curiosity, leadership, sympathy). They also show less "ego resilience" and adaptation to novelty at age 5 (Ainsworth, 1982). In addition, insecure attachments predict immature dependence of children on their preschool teachers (Sroufe, Fox & Pancake, 1983). The latter behaviour suggests longing for an

effective attachment. Clearly, without a secure base, the competencies that derive from exploration and affiliation may be compromised. Similarly, insecurely attached adults exhibit more work-related problems than secure adults (Hazan & Shaver, 1989).

According to Weiss (1982), attachments do not fade, but are interrupted, and then the same system is transferred to new objects. Adolescents begin to find attachment figures among peers and to tolerate longer interruptions of the relations with parents, until they discover that their parents are only "fellow humans." Continuity of type of attachment was evident in an interview study of adults. Main, Kaplan and Cassidy (1985) found that inferred infantile attachment types tended to correspond to current patterns, and where they did not, corrective experiences had intervened. Also supporting both the stability of the internal working model and its amenability to influence are the findings that college students' anxiety of attachment correlated about .40 across four love relationships (Hindy & Schwarz, 1984, cited by Hazan & Shaver, 1987), and that one's parents' attitudes and one's current attachment status are more highly correlated in younger than older samples (Hazan & Shaver, 1987). Psychotherapy may often constitute a corrective experience (Jones, 1983). More generally, reorganization of internal working models is most likely to occur when developmental tasks, such as identity or intimacy development or parenthood, are negotiated in the context of an attachment relationship (MacKinnon, 1990). Longitudinal research is needed to confirm the continuity of early insecure attachments into adulthood.

There are two main types of insecure attachment in toddlers: avoidance and anxious-ambivalence (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978). Maternal insensitivity differs with each insecure type, taking the form of rejection and ignoring of avoidant children, and inconsistency and intrusiveness with anxious-ambivalent children (Ainsworth et al., 1978).2 Kobak and Sceery (1988) noted that avoidant children may suppress anger in relation to the attachment figure but display it with peers; while ambivalent children express fear and anger toward the attachment figure, and impulsivity and helplessness with teachers. Their findings for college freshmen paralleled these results. Using the attachment measure of George, Kaplan and Main (1985, cited in Kobak & Sceery, 1988) which produced three types corresponding to the infantile typology, Kobak and Sceery found that the secure group was judged best adjusted by peer and self ratings. The "dismissing" (avoidant) group was rated as most hostile, perhaps due to expectations of rejection. The "preoccupied" (ambivalent) group was most anxious and needful of parental support. Also among college students, West and Sheldon (1988) found 4 pathological attachment patterns: compulsive care-giving, angry withdrawal, compulsive care-seeking, and compulsive self-reliance. However, they did not specify a correspondence with the infantile patterns of Ainsworth et al. Patterns 1, 2 and 3 may correspond to ambivalence, which is characterized by conflict between anger and the need to cling.

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2 However, maternal behaviour may not be the sole cause. Infant temperament may interact with caregiving style in some cases to produce insecure attachments, e.g., when the personalities do not "fit" well together (MacKinnon, 1990).

Pattern 4 appears to correspond to infantile avoidant attachment, resolved via need-denial. The three possibly ambivalent patterns suggest different resolution and reenactment of the caregiver-infant situation, pattern 1 involving intrusiveness, pattern 2 conflict, and pattern 3 anxiety.

Different maternal attitudes toward male and female children should result in each gender having different issues in the early relationship with mother. Mahler's more general thesis that maternal sensitivity during the rapprochement period to the vacillating needs of the child is crucial to secure attachment has been supported. Supporting the more specific proposition of differential treatment by gender of child are the above-mentioned findings of different forms of maternal insensitivity (seductiveness and derision) and proximity-maintenance. If mothers are more permissive of girls' needs for immersion and boys' needs for autonomy, and if early pathology is continuous into adulthood, then the nature of adult attachments should vary by gender. Indeed, Kobak and Sceery (1988), but not others, have found gender differences. Females comprised 75 per cent of the "preoccupied" or anxious-ambivalent category. Perhaps females are more likely to express an ambivalently clinging, care-giving or -seeking style with attachment figures, and males to express an avoidant, self-reliant style. Whether or not gender consistently differentiates forms of insecure attachment, avoidance might be expected to correspond to the autonomy of the I stereotype and ambivalence to the relational concerns of the E stereotype.

We have thus far attempted to establish a rationale for the assumption that gender stereotypy ought to be related via object relations to insecure attachment status in adults. Our reasoning is that individuals will exhibit both if they have been parented by role-rigid individuals, whose role rigidity they acquire, and with whom a secure base for exploration of the world was not possible. We have further attempted to establish that insecure early attachment should take different forms for males and females. What we have not yet considered is whether these different forms of insecure attachments should predict different types of narcissistic features in love experiences.

It should be noted that attachment and love are not identical; e.g., infatuations, which do not end in separation distress, do not constitute attachments, and attachments without love may persist among the divorced (Weiss, 1982).

Love Experiences

The theorized differential relationships of GRSC and attachment statuses to personality pathology might be expected to be expressed in different forms of love relationships with peers. Before outlining a theoretical correspondence, it is necessary to define romantic love.

In the attempt to explicate the nature of love, researchers have developed measures based on observed manifestations of love. Some have focussed on classifying its forms. For example, Sternberg's (1986; Levinger, 1988) appealingly logical typology of love is based on all combinations of the presence or absence of passion, intimacy and commitment. It therefore spans the

spectrum from non-love and liking to consummate love. For a review of extant typologies, see Sperling's account (1989). However, few authors have attempted to specify the sources and goals of love (Murstein, 1988; Shaver, Hazan & Bradshaw, 1988).

Hatfield (1988) and others (see Sperling, 1989) have come to focus specifically on romantic love, discerning 2 types: passionate and companionate love. Hatfield's research led to a definition of passionate love as "a state of intense longing for union with another" (p.191), with strong positives (arousal, euphoria, intimacy) and strong negatives (emptiness, anxiety, self-doubt). In contrast, companionate love is defined in terms of intimacy: "the affection we feel for those with whom our lives are deeply entwined" (p. 191). On a cognitive level in companionate love, the dyad self-discloses, maximizing mutual knowledge and understanding. On an emotional level, they care deeply, and behaviourally the dyad is comfortable with or enjoys proximity and touching. Companionship is figural, while passion is occasional. Which type best characterizes an individual is a question of emphasis (Hatfield, 1988).

Passionate and companionate love have emerged as two dimensions in research. Using multiple love measures, Hendrick and Hendrick (1989) found five principal components for a college sample: passionate love with some aspects of caring love, intimacy without conflict, ambivalence-mania, secure-nonavoidant attachment, and practical-sensible love. As only the first two components accounted for substantial variance and these seem to reflect passionate and companionate love, these

results appear to support Hatfield's approach. The other components indicate that romantic love may also take insecure or stereotyped forms. In a community sample, Sternberg and Grajek (1984) found that companionate love (communication, sharing and support) was the primary dimension for two different measures, and what might be interpreted as passionate love emerged as a second or third dimension in the form of jealousy or irrational feelings. Others also found two dimensions, sometimes with passionate love splintering again (Critelli, Myers & Loos, 1986). Although six dimensions were found by Hendrick and Hendrick in their earlier research (1986), their item pools were developed to measure six forms of love. Murstein (1988) was doubtful that their 42-item measure represents the entire domain of feelings, attitudes and behaviour which signify love. He commented that the first factor in dimensional analyses tends to dwarf others and mainly comprises positive impressions of the partner, suggesting that idealizing is common in the love of young adults.

Cultural stereotypes depict women as desiring union in love or "living for love" and men as desiring to maintain independence and "living for work" (Cochran & Peplau, 1985). Benjamin (1988) proposed that females are likely to idealize the love partner, while males are likely to need idealization by love partners. Her reasons are that females project omnipotence onto others, as an outcome of their compliance in the relationship with mother, and they seek to recapture subjectivity, attempting to obtain vicarious recognition by

association with an "omnipotent" other. As an outcome of internalizing a sense of omnipotence in the relation with mother, males self-idealize, but must seek others to support their self-idealization. In Kohut's (1985, 1987) terms, this would mean that, to maintain self-cohesion, females more often exhibit "object-bound narcissism," needing to attach themselves to an overestimated other. In contrast, males exhibit "subject-bound narcissism," such that, to maintain self-cohesion, others are needed to participate in the delight in the narcissistic self. These problems would reflect different imbalances by gender of defects in the integration of grandiosity upon which self-esteem and ambition are based, and of idealized parental imagos, on which ideals and values are based. This proposed gender difference corresponds with Haaken's (1983) idea that one tending toward borderline traits will use merger to "borrow" self-esteem; while one tending toward narcissistic traits will need constant adulation to feed self-esteem, with avoidance of the intensity that would expose the core low self-worth. Thus, it might be expected that females should reveal greater intensity and merger relations than men in love experiences, and that men should reveal greater distancing and perhaps control of the other. If gender per se does not predict these differences, gender stereotyped individuals at least should reveal these gender-specific trends.

The identification of gender differences in love experiences has been inconsistent. Using Rubin's (1970) liking and loving scales, Black and Angelis (1975) corroborated their

prior findings (1974) that college females give higher ratings to both platonic and romantic partners, although Rubin (1970) had found no gender differences in college students' ratings of romantic partners. In their community sample, Sternberg and Grajek (1984) found no gender differences on Rubin's or other measures. However, the use of other measures has revealed differences. Dion and Dion (1973) found that females rated love experiences as more intense, and males' scored higher on romantic idealism. In addition, research reviewed by Coleman and Ganong (1985) has shown that, once engaged in the relationship, women are more emotional and idealizing of their mates, while men do not express feelings freely. On their 5 factors, the only gender difference found by Critelli et al. (1986) was a higher mean for college women on communicative intimacy. Hatfield and Rapson (1987) cited interview-based evidence that women in the normal population felt that they loved their partner more in a companionate manner than they were loved. Only among older couples was reciprocity reported. Using Rubin's measure, Sternberg and Barnes (1985) similarly found that college women rated their love for their partners as greater than partners' love for them, but men perceived no discrepancy.

When multivariate analyses are used or samples are subgrouped by level of romantic ideology, gender differences are found. Hendrick and Hendrick (1986) found that college women scored higher on forms of love suggesting friendship, "shopping list" pragmatism, and possessive dependency; while college males scored higher on "game-playing" love. On passion, the genders

did not differ. Shea and Adams (1984) found that, while romantic love was best predicted by thinking about the partner for both genders, for men a high level of romantic love was based upon strong intimacy needs. In a values-oriented study, Cochran and Peplau (1985) found sex differences only among subjects with romantic love ideologies. Females assigned less importance to autonomy and equality, and males assigned more importance to attachment values, perhaps also due to intimacy needs. Overall, the average college woman may be more practical and companionate than romantic females, who may be more traditional (devaluing autonomy). Both may be passionate. The average college man may be more exploitive than the romantic male with his need for intimacy. Which type is "traditional" in terms of GRSC is unclear.

In a few studies of love, GRSC was controlled. The use by Critelli et al. (1986) of a measure of attitudes toward gender roles resulted in differences between traditional and non-traditional subjects. The latter group was characterized by "genuine" love, having obtained high scores on communicative intimacy, with contents of mutual understanding and confiding. This might be related to Hatfield's companionate love. In contrast, traditionals had higher scores on indices of "pseudo-love": romantic dependency and romantic compatibility, with contents of dependency, exclusivity, and unrealistic idealization, a profile reminiscent of Hatfield's passionate love. Traditional women also scored highly on respect, suggesting support for Benjamin's notion that women, or at least

traditional women, confer power on mates. Using the BSRI and a 6-dimensional love scale with college students, Coleman and Ganong (1985) found that B subjects had the highest scores on variables suggesting healthy, companionate love: verbal expression of love, toleration, support, and interest in the other. Gender was unrelated to the love variables. The authors neglected to emphasize their finding that means of E subjects, unlike those of I subjects, were not significantly lower than those of B subjects, except on toleration of the other. This suggests that E subjects are also capable of companionate love, but that they have more difficulty accepting partners' faults due to their need to idealize. The above-noted inconsistency in the occurrence of gender differences may be due to confounding by GRSC.

E females and I males appear to exhibit passionate, idealizing love. This form of love is related to lower scores on self-actualization and self-esteem (Dion & Dion, 1988), and therefore may be related to narcissistic needs. Similarly, "desperate love" is inversely related to identity achievement and positively related to romantic ideology, idealizing, and other narcissistic tendencies (Sperling, 1985). However, evidence for different types of narcissistic needs for E females and I males, i.e., object- versus subject-bound narcissism, does not emerge from this data.

With increasing stabilization of a successful relationship or attachment, there may be a progression from passionate to companionate love. Whether or not passionate love initiates most

relationships, enduring love might be primarily companionate if the goal of passionate love, intimacy, has been achieved and sustained. Variation in duration of relationships might have contributed to inconsistencies in research results.

Shaver and Hazan (1987; Hazan & Shaver, 1989) have suggested that attachment style might underly different forms of love. Attachment theory can explain healthy and unhealthy love in terms of their basis in attachment history. According to Weiss (1987), an individual probably has only one attachment system; therefore, elements of this system should be evident in relations with new attachment figures. Shaver et al. (1988) noted parallels between infant attachment and adult passionate love; e.g., the joy, distress or anxiety-free exploration of the infant, like the lover, depends on the attachment figure's availability and responsiveness. Sperling (1989) has suggested that movement from passionate to companionate love parallels phases of attachment in children. Following the earlier egocentric stance, which resembles passionate love in its intensity, the child "companionately" shares plans and goals with the attachment figure. Individuals of secure attachment status might be expected to integrate the object of passionate love into their lives, and then their ability to trust that the bond is secure should result in companionate love becoming more figural and passionate love less consuming. At some point during passionate involvement after the initial sexual attraction has waned somewhat, individuals with insecure attachment systems may find themselves in conflict and their lovers' caregiving

"deficient," or they may withdraw, causing abortive outcomes (Shaver & Hazan, 1987). Companionate love may require a secure attachment history. To the "desperate" lover, "anything short of...omnipresent love is viewed as an active withdrawal rather than a benign inability to give love continually" (p. 745, Sperling, 1988). Idealization may be most prominent in individuals with insecure attachment systems.

The assumptions that romantic love constitutes an attachment process, and that continuity of early internal working models of attachment relationships should be evident in love experiences were upheld in the research of Hazan and Shaver (1987). In a community sample of adults, ratings of early relations with parents and attachment status corresponded as expected. Secures reported the warmest relations, avoidants the coldest, and ambivalents reported unfairness. In addition, attachment status (as measured by forced-choice among three types which correspond to those of Ainsworth et al., 1978) predicted mental models of romantic relationships and love experiences. Those with secure attachment histories and proclivities evidenced companionate love and mental models indicating faith that love can endure, even if romance waxes and wanes. Ambivalents regarded falling in love as easily done, although rarely enduring. They scored highest on the love experiences: emotional extremes, jealousy, obsessive preoccupation, sexual attraction, and desire for union and reciprocation. Avoidants appeared cynical about romance and pessimistic about finding love. They were intermediate on a

number of love experiences, lowest on acceptance of their lovers, and highest on fear of closeness. The capacity of attachment status to discriminate among love experiences was somewhat diminished in a separate sample of college students. The authors suspected that avoidants were more defensively idealizing of parents, given the more negative ratings of parents by avoidants in the adult sample. Hence, the college-age avoidants may also have been more defensive in rating their love experiences.

These findings resonate with the theorized trichotomy of (1) ambivalent or clinging E women who tend to become embedded in relationships, (2) avoidant I men who tend to remain detached, and (3) secure B individuals who are comfortable with both intimacy and separation. Although Hazan and Shaver (1987) did not find gender differences in attachment status, perhaps the capacity of attachment status to predict love experiences would have been augmented by measurement of GRSC. It is also possible that adult attachment status is more variable than a trichotomy permits. The five-fold typology of West (if we add secure attachment) might capture greater variation.

## Rationale of the Present Study

The developmental origins of the capacity for genuine or companionate love are very likely complex. Optimally supportive caregiving allows us to move from the absolute dependency of infancy toward the mutuality of mature love by gradually internalizing the functions served by the caregiver. To Kohut (1987), mature "object love" is marked by caring, empathy and

the permission to the other to differ from the self, but it is never pure of narcissistic components. Narcissistic components are necessary to healthy love, in that needs for self-confirmation and esteem are met for each partner by the other. However, excessive narcissistic needs, where the focus on the self is as if to a wound, are based in early deprivations (Kohut, 1987). Early deprivations lead to difficulties in affect regulation due to defects in self-structure and -cohesion, and these in turn lead to the seeking of others for narcissistic supplies in the unconscious hope of repairing these defects.

The nature of defects in the self should vary with gender, given the differences in object relations posited by Chodorow. Chodorow has argued that because of females' co-extensiveness with mothers, their own lack of a marker of difference from mothers, and the failure of child-rearing arrangements to allow fathers to provide an alternative identificatory love object, interpersonal relatedness becomes the focus of female experience and female preoccupations. Females may tend toward related defects in self-structure, e.g., permeable ego boundaries, merger tendencies and idealization of intimate others. Because of mothers' perceptions of males as "other" from infancy, masculine gender identity, and fathers' unsatisfactory availability as a love object, the focus of male experience is difference, separateness and autonomy. Males may tend toward related difficulties in self-cohesion, e.g., rigid ego boundaries, detachment and grandiosity. Males ought to have difficulty with interpersonal relatedness and females with

separateness and agency. Diverse sources of evidence support these contentions to some extent.

This conceptualization of the different outcomes of primary mother-rearing on each gender corresponds in part with the constructs of expressiveness and instrumentality, as applied respectively to females and males. The deficits of expressive females are the assets of instrumental males and vice versa. The literature on GRSC suggests that both expressiveness and instrumentality, and particularly the latter, have adaptive aspects with respect to psychological adjustment. However, B subjects were found to be the most flexible interpersonally, behaviourally and, perhaps, cognitively. They were also found to have non-traditional, role-blending, nurturant parents. Whether they arrive at balance through an early-laid basis of security in exploration or through transcendence of stereotypy due to significant experiences, they ought not to share equally with stereotyped subjects the deficits posited by Chodorow's theory.

Different directions of deviance from security in attachment status and from maturity in love experiences are implied by these posited differences in the nature of defects in self-structure. Attachment style ought to reflect the effects of primary mother rearing. During Mahler's rapprochement phase of separation-individuation, the child develops a working model of attachment to the primary caregiver. As this phase coincides with gender identity consolidation (Benjamin, 1988), the identification issues pointed out by Chodorow are figural at the same time as the child is in the process of internalizing the

representations of caregivers that will permit future autonomy and care. Thus, the introjected images of the parent and of the self-in-relation to the parent may be intertwined, as Bowlby (1969) has claimed. Hence, the bifurcation in outcome of object relational issues for each gender should be reflected in attachment status, with females, or expressive females in particular, tending toward clinging attachments, and males, or instrumental males in particular, tending toward avoidant attachments. Females should also reveal merger needs in love relations and males, separation needs. Merger needs might be regarded as object-bound narcissism; while separation needs might be regarded as subject-bound narcissism.

The present study was an attempt to evaluate whether indeed E females and I males evidence these different directions of deviance in attachment style and love relations, relative to each other and to their B peers. Although Kobak and Sceery (1987) found that the attachment status of females was more often a clinging type, and that of males was more often an avoidant type, others have not found gender differences. Given the above-noted parallels between expressiveness and instrumentality and these attachment types, the use of measures of expressiveness and instrumentality was considered likely to have more potential than gender to predict attachment status. Gender differences in love experiences have been found inconsistently. However, gender stereotyped subjects seem to evidence a higher level of passionate love, as opposed to the companionate love of their B peers. This suggests that

prediction of love experiences may also require measurement of expressiveness and instrumentality. Attachment status is known to predict love experiences. Therefore, the use of measures of both attachment status and gender stereotypy was considered likely to increase predictive power with respect to love experiences. Hence, measures of these three classes of variables were used.

## Hypotheses of the Present Study

Balanced individuals, who are most likely to have been reared by role-blending, nurturant parents, are more likely than gender stereotyped individuals to have had object relational experiences that have further developed early gender-based object relations. Others may become Balanced and secure due to their achievement of identity (see Schiedel & Marcia, 1985) or due to ameliorative experiences in relationships, e.g., psychotherapy. However, early disadvantages of most gender stereotyped individuals are expected to have precluded such developments. Therefore,

> Hypothesis 1: Compared to balance, gender stereotypy should be more strongly associated with psychopathology, i.e., insecurity, in attachment status.

There is reason also to expect different forms of psychopathology for each gender. Primary parenting by females should result in psychopathology featuring co-extensiveness among females, and in psychopathology featuring detachment or pseudo-autonomy among males. Hence:

Hypothesis 2: Females should be more likely than males to have attachments that reflect anxious-ambivalence. Males should be more likely than females to have attachments that reflect avoidance.

Hypothesis 3: Expressive females in particular should be more likely to have attachment statuses that reflect anxious-ambivalence than instrumental males in particular. Complementarily, instrumental males should be more likely to have attachment statuses that reflect avoidance than expressive females.

Hypothesis 4: (a) Compared to balanced females, expressive females should be more likely to have attachment statuses that reflect anxious-ambivalence. (b) Compared to balanced males, instrumental males should be more likely to have attachment statuses that reflect avoidance.

Hypothesis 5: Compared to balanced females, expressive females, particularly those whose attachment status reflects anxious-ambivalence, should evidence greater tendencies toward object-bound narcissism in their love experiences. This would be reflected in less positive and more embeddedness love experiences.

Hypothesis 6: Compared to balanced males, instrumental males, particularly those whose attachment statuses reflect avoidance, should evidence greater subject-bound narcissism in their love experiences. This would be reflected in less positive love experiences, less embeddedness, and greater fear of closeness.

Hypothesis 7: Expressive females, particularly those whose attachment statuses reflect anxious-ambivalence, should evidence greater object-bound narcissism in their love experiences compared to instrumental males, particularly those whose attachment statuses reflect avoidance. Complementarily, these males should evidence greater subject-bound narcissism. This difference would be reflected in these females' reporting greater positive love-experiences, greater embeddedness and less fear of closeness.

# PART B

# THE PRESENT STUDY

# CHAPTER I

# METHOD

## Subjects

The sample comprised 443 undergraduate students of a middle Atlantic American university, which is known to draw students of widely ranging socioeconomic status. Of these, 379 subjects (206 females, 173 males) claimed to have an attachment figure. Analysis of the data of the 59 Ss who indicated that they had no attachment figure will be reported elsewhere.

The demographic characteristics of the sample appear typical of a college population. The mean age of subjects (Ss) was 21.42 years (SD=4.75, range 17 to 48 years). As shown in Table 1, most were single. The majority designated a romantic partner as the attachment figure. The attachment relationship was, on average, more enduring than the relationship with the romantic partner because some attachment relationships were with friends and parents. Relationships with other romantic partners had lasted only 8 to 11 months on average. This was the approximate duration also reported by Hazan and Shaver (1987).

## Measures

Measures employed were intended to capture the constructs of GRSC, attachment status, and narcissism in love experiences. A measure of social desirability and a brief demographics questionnaire were also used. (See Appendix A for the latter, which was an extension of the one that accompanies the attachment questionnaire of West, Sheldon and Reiffer [1987]).

Table 1
Descriptive statistics on marital status and relationships with attachment figures and romantic partners.

| Marital Status | Single | Married or Common-law |
|---|---|---|
| (%) | 86.11 | 13.89 |

| Role of Attachment Figure | Romantic Partner | Close Friend | Parent |
|---|---|---|---|
| (%) | 73.35 | 20.58 | 5.80 |

| Duration of Attachment Versus Love Relationship | Attachment Figure | | | Romantic Partner | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | M | SD | Range | M | SD | Range |
| (years) | 5.04 | 6.27 | 0.2-44 | 2.06 | 2.43 | 0-16 |

| Durations of 2 recent love relationships, other than with the above romantic partner (months) | Most Recent | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n* | M | SD | Range |
| | 360 | 10.91 | 14.00 | 1-84 |
| | Second Most Recent | | | |
| | *n* | M | SD | Range |
| | 265 | 8.08 | 10.51 | 1-84 |

*Gender Role Self-concept*

Due to limitations in the domain and sensitivity of the best extant measure of GRSC, the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ), a second measure was used in addition to the PAQ. Both measures will be discussed.

(1) Personal Attributes Questionnaire: The PAQ of Spence et al. (1974; Spence & Helmreich, 1978) was used to assess GRSC. The measure requires that subjects rate themselves on a 5-point Likert scale for each of 24 bipolar traits; e.g., "very home oriented" versus "very worldly." The scales comprising the PAQ are: male-valued, female-valued and sex-specific, with 8 items each. The male- and female-valued scales contain items found

empirically to be socially desirable for both sexes, but more common in one or the other sex. The sex-specific scale (M-F), which is unipolar, does not contribute to E and I scores, and is rarely used. Subjects are classified as I, E, B, or U, depending whether their instrumentality (male-valued scale) and expressiveness (female-valued scale) scores are greater or less than the combined-sex medians of the sample.

Coefficient alpha reliability estimates for PAQ E and I scales vary from .80 for each (Helmreich et al., 1981) to .77 for each (Lubinski et al., 1983). Test-retest reliability over 2.5 months was .60 (Yoder, Rice, Adam, Priest, & Prince, 1982).

The construct validity of the PAQ seems to be adequate. Its E and I subscales are statistically distinct, as they should be, given that classifications are based on subscale medians. Although Gaa, Liberman and Edwards (1979) found that PAQ scores produced 4 major factors, they included in their analysis the little-used "M-F" subscale. Using high school, college and adult samples, and conducting separate analyses (excluding M-F) for each group and each sex, Helmreich et al. (1981) concluded that the PAQ was indeed 2-dimensional. Although 3 factors emerged, only 2 had eigenvalues greater than 4.0 and the third was highly correlated with the first factor. A 2-factor solution essentially reproduced the scales for each group. The construct validity of the E and I scales also derives from their relationships with other E and I traits (Taylor & Hall, 1982), and from their modest relationships with gender-role attitudes

and behaviours (Orlofsky et al., 1985), perhaps suggesting underlying gender schemata.

There are several reasons that the PAQ seems preferable to the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI, Bem, 1974; 1977). The validity of Bem's stereotypy ratings of traits, which were defined in terms of desirability for each sex, rather than typicality (as for the PAQ), has been questioned (Locksley & Colten, 1979), and replications of the original scaling procedure have failed (Edwards & Ashworth, 1977; Pedhazur & Tetenbaum, 1979; Myers & Gonda, 1982a; Heerboth & Ramanaiah, 1985), notwithstanding a questionably successful replication (by Walkup and Abbott, 1978; see Heerboth & Ramanaiah, 1985). In factor analysis, the BSRI can produce 3 dimensions (Moreland, Gulanick, Montague, & Harren, 1978; Gaudreau, 1977), largely because of the inclusion of "feminine," "masculine" and also undesirable adjectives. The I component can further divide (Feather, 1978; Waters, Waters, & Pincus, 1977; Pedhazur & Tetenbaum, 1979; Collins, Waters & Waters, 1979; Ruch, 1984), or both E and I components can fractionate (Whetton & Swindells, 1977; Gaa et al., 1979). However, the use of reduced scales (mainly desirable items, Marsh & Myers, 1986) or smallest space analysis (Ruch, 1984) has produced the desired 2 dimensions. Another drawback of the BSRI is that its scales are correlated (r=.29, Lubinski et al., 1983). Finally, the PAQ may be more sensitive than the BSRI, at least with respect to marital adjustment (Cooper, Chassin & Zeiss, 1985).

Problems of other measures are that they were not designed to assess stereotypes, their expressiveness and instrumentality scales are inversely related (Kelly & Worell, 1977), and some are multifactorial (Gill et al., 1987). Snell's (1986) Masculine Role Scale (see also Snell, Belk & Hawkins, 1986), was designed to include maladaptive traits and may have a broader item domain, but it has no feminine counterpart.

Criticisms of the BSRI may also apply to the PAQ, which has been the subject of less research. One that clearly applies to both is the issue of restricted range of items: subjects' concepts of masculinity and femininity concern not only traits, but also occupation and appearance (Myers & Gonda, 1982b). Also, opposite-gender targets are rated more stereotypically than same-sex targets (Myers & Gonda, 1982a), and ratings of abstract referents are unrelated to self-ratings (Pedhazur & Tetenbaum, 1979), suggesting that when subjects rate themselves, they are not comparing themselves to a stereotype (Myers & Gonda, 1982a). In addition, traits allow more leeway for subjects to rate themselves on the basis of different criteria (Myers & Gonda, 1982a) than perhaps explicitly stated values would. The use of a values measure in conjunction with the PAQ was expected to result in greater stringency.

(2) Survey of Interpersonal Values: Gordon's (1961) Survey of Interpersonal Values (SIV), as modified by Watts, Messe and Vallacher (1982), was also used to assess GRSC. The SIV (modified version) assesses communal and agentic values which, at least in theory, parallel expressiveness and instrumentality.

It contains 28 items (11 agency and 17 communion items) which are rated on a 4-point scale from "not at all important to me" to "very important to me." An example of an agentic item is "to make decisions for the group." An example of a communal item is "to be generous toward other people."

Vancouver (1988) reported alpha coefficients of internal consistency of .91 for both agency and communion of the modified scales.

The modified SIV appears to be a valid measure of communal and agentic values. Finding that both gender and SIV scores accounted for variance in reward allocation, Watts et al. used discriminant function analysis to determine which items best discriminated subjects' sex. Agentic and communal items best discriminated males and females, respectively. Thus, an inverse relationship between the 2 scales was forced, but it may be appropriate. In a second study, SIV scores, based on the reduced scales, predominated over gender in accounting for variance. Communion was associated with allocation of less reward to oneself, regardless of level of achievement, reflecting concern for social cohesion; whereas agency was associated with allocation of greater reward to oneself, reflecting the value of equity or reward according to achievement.

*Attachment*

Assessment of multiple dimensions of attachment behaviour was permitted by the measures used. It was expected that principal components analysis would reduce these to a small number of dimensions, perhaps resembling the secure, avoidant

and ambivalent categories found in previous research. This is the reason that hypotheses were stated in terms of 3 attachment types. Two measures of attachment status were employed.

(1) The Adult Attachment Scale: The Adult Attachment Scale (AAS) of West, Sheldon & Reiffer (1987) was used. Seventy-five items form 7 non-overlapping dimensions of attachment behaviour, and 4 pathological attachment sub-types. Fifty-nine items form 5 dimensions of non-attachment for those who claim to have no attachment figure. Subjects rate their agreement on a five-point Likert scale with positive and negative statements concerning their feelings about their attachment figure; e.g., "I feel abandoned when my attachment figure is away for a few days." The attachment figure is defined for subjects as the person with whom the subject is living or romantically involved; or the person to whom the subject would be most likely to turn for comfort, help, advice, love, or understanding; or the person on whom the subject depends.

Research involving the AAS has been focussed on reliability and subscale integrity. Comparisons with other measures to evaluate construct validity have not yet been attempted. The face validity of subscales seems clear. Items were derived from a comprehensive review of the literature on both child and adult attachment (West et al., 1987).

The 4 pathological sub-types of attachment are: Compulsive Self-Reliance, Compulsive Care-Giving, Compulsive Care-Seeking, and Angry Withdrawal (West & Sheldon, 1988). These were standardized on university students. Alpha coefficients of

reliability for the 4 patterns range from .87 to .88. They show adequate independence and are related in expected directions. Compulsive Self-Reliance and Angry Withdrawal are moderately and positively correlated and both are negatively or trivially correlated with Compulsive Care-Giving and -Seeking. The latter 2 patterns are moderately and positively related.

The 7 behavioural dimensions of attachment resemble the criteria used by Ainsworth et al. (1978) to assess infant attachment: secure base effect or independent exploration, proximity-seeking or distance reduction in times of stress, separation protest or perceived threat to the relationship due to actual or anticipated physical separation, and feared loss or the ability to sustain confidence in the future of the relationship. An additional dimension is reciprocity, which is peculiar to adult attachment. Availability and use of the attachment figure are also assessed. Initial item analysis of the AAS behavioural dimensions was based on out-patient and non-patient hospital groups. Reliabilities of reduced subscales improved in the subsequently tested normal population sample, with alphas ranging from .74 to .92 across subscales and samples, and test-re-test correlations ranged from .67 to .90. Inter-scale correlations took the expected directions and discriminant function analysis resulted in a "hit rate" (patients versus non-patients) of 80 per cent.

The 5 behavioural dimensions of non-attachment are: maintains distance in relationships, desire for closeness, fear

of closeness, self-sufficiency, and attachment decreases security. Further information is not available on these.

The main advantage of the AAS over other measures of attachment is that it does not presume a particular typology, but, rather, assesses a range of attachment behaviour. Few other measures of adult attachment exist. One that is known to be effective, in terms of reliability and consistency between infant and adult behavioural forms, is that of Main et al. (1985), but, as an interview measure, it is uneconomical. Hansberg's Separation Anxiety Test (1980) is used to assess attachment type, but its structure is questionable (Kroger, 1985). Other measures are geared to post-divorce loss experience (e.g., Kitson, 1982).

(2) Global Attachment Scale: A single-item measure of attachment, which was developed by Hazan and Shaver (1987), was also used. This will be labelled the Global Attachment Scale (GAS). Its use was intended to permit assessment of Secure attachments which can only be inferred by default from the AAS (low scores on pathological scales), and to provide a validity check on West's classifications. The GAS comprises theoretically derived descriptions of three forms of infant attachment which were geared to adults, including secure, anxious-avoidant, and anxious-ambivalent. Subjects choose the one that applies to them. The descriptions were found to be meaningfully related to memories of early relations with parents (Hazan & Shaver, 1987).

Test-retest reliability of the GAS varies from 89 per cent consistency for married adults after 6 months to a correlation

of .60 for college students after two weeks (Hazan & Shaver, personal communication). Factor analysis of the 3 descriptions, segmented into 13 statements, supported their distinctiveness and resulted in minor refinements. The GAS was modified such that Ss were not only to choose the item most applicable to themselves, but also to rate each of the 3 statements on a 7-point Likert scale from "not at all like me" to "very like me."

*Love Experiences*

Love Experiences Scales: Ss' most significant love relationships were evaluated using the Love Experiences Scales (LES) of Hazan and Shaver (1987), which assess adaptive and pathological features of love relations. The LES has 48 items which are rated on a 4-point scale of agreement, e.g., "I felt/feel almost as much pain as joy in my relationship with ____." Twelve subscales each comprise 4 items.

The main reason for choosing the LES was its breadth of domain. Its scales reflect passionate and companionate love, and more particularly, embeddedness and detachment. The 4 positive subscales, Happiness, Friendship, Trust, and Acceptance, appear to reflect companionate love. Embeddedness is suggested by Desire for Reciprocation, Love at First Sight, Desire for Union, Sexual Attraction, Obsessive Preoccupation, Emotional Extremes, and Jealousy. Although detachment would have to be indicated by low scores on these "embeddedness" scales, the final scale Fear of Closeness might be uniquely associated with it. The tendencies toward an association of Secure attachment with high scores on positive variables and low scores on Fear of

Closeness, and an association of Anxious-ambivalent attachment with high scores on embeddedness variables support this sub-division of love experiences.

The construct validity of the LES derives in part from its theoretical basis. The authors designed the LES for the purpose of assessing continuity between attachment status and relationship style. Items were adapted from extant love questionnaires of known validity, and 12 dimensions, each comprising 4 items, were expected. Principal components analysis resulted in 13 factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.0, and 12 factors corresponded to the a priori scales. The 41 items retained had loadings greater than .40 on the factors and contributed to the factors' or dimensions' internal consistency (from .64 to .84). Construct validity might also be inferred from the relationships of the LES with concurrent measures used by Hazan and Shaver (1987) of attachment type, working model of relationships, and early relations with parents. Love experiences were meaningfully differentiated by these variables.

Alternative measures assess only one type of love relation, such as fusion (Sperling, 1985, 1987), or they attempt to assess the nature of the construct of love (Rubin, 1970; Dion & Dion, 1988; Hatfield, 1988), rather than psychopathological aspects. In addition, some of these have been found to be unidimensional (Hendrick & Hendrick, 1989). Hazan and Shaver (1987) have incorporated many of these measures into theirs.

*Social Desirability*

The Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale: The Marlowe-

Crowne Social Desirability Scale (MC) of Crowne and Marlowe (1960) was used to evaluate potential response bias. It is a well-established measure of approval-seeking with 33 "good" or culturally approved items that are untrue of most people, e.g., "I never hesitate to go out of my way to help someone in trouble," and "bad" items that are true of most people, e.g., "I like to gossip at times." According to Crowne (1979), MC scores are correlated with conformity, responsiveness to social influence, and defensiveness. He cited other evidence that high-scoring Ss are not simply presenting themselves in a positive light, but that they genuinely regard themselves as adjusted, self-controlled and content. Moreover, the MC seems to be a more pure measure of approval-seeking than the Edwards Social Desirability Scale (Edwards, 1957, cited in Crowne, 1979), as its correlations with multiple measures of anxiety and depression (Tanaka-Matsumi & Kameoka, 1986) and with MMPI scales (Crowne, 1979) are much smaller than those of the Edwards. In college samples, the MC correlates moderately with the Edwards ($r=.35$), and has adequate Kuder-Richardson reliability (.88, Crowne, 1979).

Procedure

Undergraduate students were solicited in classes in many departments, and in advertisements directed at introductory psychology students, who were required to participate in research in exchange for course credit. In both situations, volunteers were informed orally and in writing of the nature of the study, which was accurately described, of the voluntariness

of their participation, and of the risks and benefits before being asked to sign a consent form. (See "Information for Subjects" and "Consent Form" in Appendices B and C). In addition, procedures to protect confidentiality were described orally. A female researcher was present for 71 percent of participants and a male researcher for 29 percent. The reason for the imbalance is that males were less successful in recruiting, as is commonly found (Rosnow and Rosenthal, 1976).

Subjects either completed questionnaires in classrooms or at home. Very few refusals occurred among students for whom class time was allotted for questionnaire completion or of whom research participation was required. It appeared that a large proportion of introductory psychology classes were represented in the sample, given that many more signed up for the present project than for others. They comprised 58.46 per cent of the sample. The remaining 41.53 per cent who volunteered to complete questionnaires at home constituted only 31.19 per cent of Ss who accepted questionnaires, and so were more self-selected than the other, larger portion of the sample.

Questionnaires were presented in a uniform order: the Marlowe-Crowne, the PAQ, the SIV, the AAS, the GAS, the LES, and lastly the demographics sheet. The fixed order reflects increasing instrusiveness of the questionnaires and was chosen to minimize carry-over reactivity.

# CHAPTER II

# RESULTS

The analyses will be discussed in the following order: (1) gender role self-concept (GRSC) categorizations based upon the expressiveness and instrumentality variables; (2) attachment categorizations; (3) the relationship of gender and GRSC with attachment status; (4) the relationships of gender, GRSC and attachment status with love experiences; and (5) post hoc exploratory findings.

## Expressiveness and Instrumentality

Because correspondence between median-split classifications based upon the PAQ with those of the SIV was inadequate (39%), principal components analysis (PCA) of both measures of expressiveness and instrumentality was used in order to classify Ss by their factor scores. Only 2 principal components had eigenvalues greater than one (1.60, 1.26, 0.79, 0.35). These 2 accounted for 71 per cent of the variance. The exclusion of factors 3 and 4 resulted in tolerable residual correlations, ranging in absolute value from .051 to .373. Varimax rotation of the 2-factor solution produced a satisfactory result with a simple structure (see Table 2).

Table 2

Principal components after varimax rotation of gender role self-concept measures.

| | Factor 1 | Factor 2 |
|---|---|---|
| PAQ Expressiveness | .90 | -.00 |
| PAQ Instrumentality | .03 | .81 |
| SIV Communion | .88 | -.04 |
| SIV Agency | -.06 | .79 |

Only corresponding variables loaded strongly on each factor. The first was labelled Expressiveness-communion (EC) and the second, Instrumentality-agency (IA).

A pilot study, based on a sample of 118 Ss from a Pacific coast Canadian university, produced a similar 2-factor structure on these variables. However, loadings were somewhat less discrete than for the present sample. Deflated scores on IA variables in the pilot study sample are the likely reason, owing to its containing disproportionately fewer men (25.42%).

As is typical, gender differences emerged in one-way analyses of variance (ANOVAs) of EC and IA factor scores (see Tables 3 and 4). Females scored significantly higher on EC than males, and males scored significantly higher on IA than females. The inclusion of researcher gender as a factor in parallel

Table 3
Means and standard deviations by gender of factor scores on Expressiveness-communion (EC) and Instrumentality-agency (IA).

| | EC | | IA | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Mean | SD | Mean | SD |
| Females (*n*=229) | 0.31 | 0.90 | -0.16 | 0.94 |
| Males (*n*=214) | -0.33 | 0.92 | 0.17 | 0.99 |

Table 4
Analyses of variance of the "effects" of gender on Expressiveness-communion (EC) and Instrumentality-agency (IA).

| | Source | SS | df | MS | F | p |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) EC | Gender | 44.85 | 1 | 44.85 | 49.81 | .0000 |
| | Error | 397.14 | 441 | 0.90 | | |
| (2) IA | Gender | 12.00 | 1 | 12.00 | 12.31 | .0005 |
| | Error | 429.99 | 441 | 0.98 | | |

ANOVAs reproduced these results. Researcher gender had no effect or interaction in either analysis.

Correlations of EC and IA with the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability index (MC) were small for both genders combined, respectively, $r=.28$, $p<.001$, and $r=.17$, $p<.001$. They were about the same for each gender. For females, the MC correlated $r=.28$, $p<.001$, with EC and $r=.11$ with IA (not significant), and for males $r=.25$, $p<.001$, and $r=.18$, $p<.001$, respectively.

For further analyses, factor score means (M=0, SD=1) were used as cut-offs to classify Ss as high or low on each factor, producing 4 groups: Expressive (E, high only on EC), Instrumental (I, high only on IA), Balanced (B, high on both factors), and Undifferentiated (U, low on both factors).

Attachment Status

Principal components analysis (PCA) of variables from the Adult Attachment Scale (AAS) of West et al. (1987) was used for several reasons. Cut-offs for the 4-fold typology were indefinite. Of these 4 variables, 3 were intercorrelated and the fourth correlated with one other. In addition, the relationships of the other 7 variables with these 4 was unknown. Pooling the 11 West variables with the Global Attachment Scale (GAS) of Hazan and Shaver (1987) in PCA would have been a desirable solution, but for excessive missing data on the GAS. Many subjects rated themselves only on the single item, of 3, that best described them.

In PCA of the 11 AAS variables, only the first 2 factors had eigenvalues greater than one (3.78, 3.17, 0.87, 0.61, 0.54,

0.49, 0.41, 0.37, 0.28, 0.25, 0.23); hence, a 2-factor solution was chosen. The 2-factor solution, which accounted for 63 per cent of the variance, was subjected to varimax rotation. The result is displayed in Table 5. This represents a relatively

Table 5
Factor structure after varimax rotation resulting from principal components analysis of Adult Attachment Scale variables.

| | Factor 1 | Factor 2 |
|---|---|---|
| Compulsive Care-seeking | -.02 | .74 |
| Compulsive Care-giving | -.41 | .63 |
| Compulsive Self-reliance | .85 | -.04 |
| Angry Withdrawal | .70 | .47 |
| Separation Protest | .21 | .78 |
| Lack of Use of AF * | .80 | -.15 |
| Perceived Lack of Availability of AF | .79 | .12 |
| Lack of Reciprocity | .68 | -.09 |
| Lack of a Secure Base | .17 | .86 |
| Feared Loss | .50 | .53 |
| Proximity Seeking | -.26 | .80 |

* AF=Attachment Figure

simple structure, with only 3 of 11 variables loading greater than .30 on both factors. Residual correlations ranged in absolute value from .002 to .537. Factor 1 was labelled Avoidance, given that Compulsive Self-reliance and Angry Withdrawal suggest an avoidant orientation to the attachment figure, as do Perceived Lack of Availability, Lack of Reciprocity, Lack of Use, and associated low levels of Proximity Seeking. Factor 2 was labelled Clinging, given that the loadings of Compulsive Care-seeking, Compulsive Care-giving, Separation Protest, and Proximity Seeking suggest a clinging orientation to the attachment figure. The loadings of Lack of a Secure Base, Feared Loss, and Angry Withdrawal indicate associated anxiety and anger. Avoidance might parallel the Avoidant and Dismissing

attachment statuses found by other researchers. Clinging might parallel Anxious-ambivalent and Preoccupied attachment statuses. Of the 3 variables loading on both factors, Compulsive Caregiving is opposite in sign between the factors. Feared Loss ought to be associated with both insecure statuses, as it is, and other loadings indicate different ways of coping with it. The contrast in the size of the loading of Angry Withdrawal with each factor appears consistent with their natures, with greater intensity associated with Avoidance than Clinging.

The pilot study sample produced a nearly identical 2-factor structure on AAS variables. As with the expressiveness and instrumentality variables, the 2 factors were somewhat less discrete. This similarity occurred despite demographic differences between the 2 samples. The pilot study sample was older, with a mean age of 27.46 (SD=8.20) compared to the present sample (M=21.42, SD=4.75), and a larger proportion was cohabiting with romantic partners (44.30%) compared to the present sample (13.89%). Considering the small *n*, pilot study data were not further analyzed.

Correlations of Avoidance and Clinging with the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale were trivial, respectively, $r=-.10$, $p<.05$, and $r=-.17$, $p<.01$.

For the purpose of further analyses, a cut-off score of 0.6 (relative to a mean of 0, SD=1) was used to classify Ss as high or low on each factor. This resulted in 3 groups: Secure (low on both factors), Avoidant, and Clinging. Conflicting cases (high scores on both) were eliminated, as they comprised only 7 per

cent of the sample. The choice of the cut-off was determined by the proportion of Secures produced, in this case 54 per cent of the total sample who had attachment figures. Others have reported 50 to 56 per cent Secures among young adults (Kobak & Sceery, 1988; Hazan & Shaver, personal communication).

Forty-three per cent of Ss were categorized the same way by the GAS and the AAS factors. The GAS produced 58 per cent Secures, 28 per cent Avoidants, and 14 per cent Anxious-Ambivalents (the latter parallels Clinging). The AAS factors respectively produced 55 per cent, 19 per cent, and 20 per cent (the remainder were high on both).

Gender and Gender Role Self-concept Differences in Attachment

Hypotheses 2, 3, and 4 predicted that men should more often be Avoidant than women, and that I men should more often be Avoidant than B men and E women. In these hypotheses, it was also predicted that women should more often be Clinging than men, and that E women should more often be Clinging than B women and I men. Tests involved both parametric and non-parametric analyses. Two additional variables were taken into account in parallel analyses: researcher gender and whether or not the attachment figure was the same person as the romantic partner (AFRP-same or -different).

Visual inspection of differences among Avoidant and Clinging means appears to support these predictions (see Table 6). However, in ANOVAs of the "effects" of gender, EC, and IA on attachment factor scores, support was found only with respect to Avoidance (see Table 7).

Table 6

Descriptive statistics by gender and gender role self-concept on Avoidance and Clinging.

| | Females | | | Males | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD |
| Avoidance | | | | | | |
| Undifferentiated | 36 | 0.40 | 1.03 | 36 | 0.44 | 1.12 |
| Expressive | 81 | -0.38 | 0.79 | 24 | 0.17 | 0.97 |
| Instrumental | 28 | 0.07 | 1.20 | 65 | 0.32 | 0.94 |
| Balanced | 61 | -0.34 | 0.97 | 48 | -0.12 | 0.85 |
| Clinging | | | | | | |
| Undifferentiated | 36 | 0.01 | 0.92 | 36 | 0.24 | 1.05 |
| Expressive | 81 | 0.14 | 0.94 | 24 | 0.11 | 0.96 |
| Instrumental | 28 | -0.28 | 1.08 | 65 | -0.18 | 0.90 |
| Balanced | 61 | -0.10 | 0.99 | 48 | 0.06 | 1.19 |

Table 7

Analyses of variance of the "effects" of gender, Expressiveness-communion (EC), and Instrumentality-agency (IA) on Avoidance and Clinging.

| | Source | SS | df | MS | F | p |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) Avoidance | Gender | 5.51 | 1 | 5.51 | 6.04 | .0144 |
| | EC | 18.41 | 1 | 18.41 | 20.17 | .0000 |
| | IA | 2.53 | 1 | 2.53 | 2.77 | NS |
| | Gender x EC | 1.12 | 1 | 1.12 | 1.22 | NS |
| | Gender x IA | 0.08 | 1 | 0.08 | 0.09 | NS |
| | EC x IA | 0.20 | 1 | 0.20 | 0.22 | NS |
| | Gender x EC x IA | 1.44 | 1 | 1.44 | 1.58 | NS |
| | Error | 338.60 | 371 | 0.91 | | |
| (2) Clinging | Gender | 1.02 | 1 | 1.02 | 1.03 | NS |
| | EC | 0.87 | 1 | 0.87 | 0.88 | NS |
| | IA | 5.04 | 1 | 5.04 | 5.06 | .0250 |
| | Gender x EC | 0.19 | 1 | 0.19 | 0.19 | NS |
| | Gender x IA | 0.01 | 1 | 0.01 | 0.01 | NS |
| | EC x IA | 0.84 | 1 | 0.84 | 0.84 | NS |
| | Gender x EC x IA | 0.51 | 1 | 0.51 | 0.51 | NS |
| | Error | 369.01 | 371 | 0.99 | | |

On Avoidance, main effects of gender and EC occurred, due to the lower scores of females and high-EC (B and E) Ss. Bonferroni *t*'s for 2 comparisons, each at $p<.025$, revealed that the mean of I males was significantly higher than that of E females ($t=4.37$) and of B males ($t=2.44$), as predicted. Although researcher gender was not significant in a parallel ANOVA, its inclusion reduced the effect of subject gender to a non-significant trend, as did the inclusion of AFRP. AFRP was significant due to higher scores of AFRP-different Ss.

On Clinging, a main effect of IA occurred, due to the lower scores of high-IA Ss (B and I). The 2 planned comparisons of the mean of E females with I males' ($t=1.93$) and with B females' ($t=1.42$) failed to result in significance, contrary to prediction. In parallel analyses, researcher gender was not significant and did not detract from the significance of IA, but the inclusion of AFRP, which was significant, reduced the IA effect to a non-significant trend. The reason was that Ss with AFRP-different tended to have lower scores on Clinging than Ss with AFRP-same. This was the case among high-IA Ss.

The frequencies of Ss categorized by gender, EC, IA, and attachment status (AS) are listed in Table 8. In order to evaluate hypothesis 1, that stereotyped Ss should more frequently have Insecure AS's than B Ss, non-parametric statistics were used. A subset of Table 8 was used to make this comparison, with E females and I males together classified as stereotyped, versus B Ss, and Avoidant and Clinging groups classifed together as Insecure versus Secure Ss (see Table 9).

Table 8

Frequencies of subjects in each classification of gender x gender role self-concept x attachment status. Column-wise per cents are listed for each cell and for columns. Row-wise per cents are listed after row-wise totals.

| | Females | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | U1 | E | I | B | Total |
| S2 | 15 (46.88) | 47 (59.49) | 17 (62.96) | 41 (71.93) | 120 (61.00) |
| A | 11 (34.38) | 8 (10.13) | 7 (25.93) | 7 (12.28) | 33 (16.92) |
| C | 6 (18.75) | 24 (30.38) | 3 (11.11) | 9 (15.79) | 42 (21.54) |
| | 32 (16.41) | 79 (40.51) | 27 (13.85) | 57 (29.23) | 195 (100) |
| | Males | | | | |
| | U | E | I | B | Total |
| S | 13 (41.94) | 11 (50.00) | 35 (59.32) | 26 (56.52) | 85 (53.80) |
| A | 11 (35.48) | 5 (22.73) | 16 (27.12) | 7 (15.22) | 39 (24.68) |
| C | 7 (22.58) | 6 (27.27) | 8 (13.56) | 13 (28.26) | 34 (21.52) |
| | 31 (19.62) | 22 (13.92) | 59 (37.34) | 46 (29.11) | 158 (100) |

1 U=Undifferentiated; E=Expressive; I=Instrumental;B=Balanced.
2 S=Secure; A=Avoidant; C=Clinging

Table 9

Column-wise per cents of Balanced versus Stereotyped Ss in Secure versus Insecure Attachment Statuses for the 2 genders combined and for each.

| | | Balanced | Stereotyped |
|---|---|---|---|
| Both Genders | | | |
| | Secure | 65.05 | 59.71 |
| | Insecure | 34.95 | 40.29 |
| Females | | | |
| | Secure | 71.93 | 60.00 |
| | Insecure | 28.07 | 40.00 |
| Males | | | |
| | Secure | 56.52 | 59.32 |
| | Insecure | 43.48 | 40.68 |

Contrary to prediction, in these 2 x 2 chi-square analyses, observed versus expected frequencies were not significantly different overall (X2=0.72, df=1) or within each gender (for

females, X2=2.08, df=1; for males X2=0.08, df=1). Non-significance also obtained when Ss were subdivided by AFRP status.

Additional within-gender contrasts involved Insecure groups only. (Table 9 has already shown that stereotyped and B Ss were similar in proportions of Secures.) Hypothesis 4 states that E females should be categorized as Clinging more often than B females, and that I males should be categorized as Avoidant more often than B males. Table 10 presents proportions for these comparisons. For women, differences were not significant overall (X2=1.75, df=1), or for groups with AFRP-same or -different. Insecure I men were significantly more often Avoidant than Insecure B men, and Insecure B men were more often Clinging than I men (X2=4.39, df=1, p<.0363), but when males were subdivided by AFRP, chi-squares were not significant, although the direction of differences was the same. Thus, only partial and uncertain support was found for the expected within-gender differences.

Table 10

Column-wise per cents of Balanced versus Stereotyped Ss in Avoidant versus Clinging Attachment Statuses for each gender.

| | Balanced Women | Expressive Women |
|---|---|---|
| Avoidant | 43.75 | 25.00 |
| Clinging | 56.25 | 75.00 |
| | **Balanced Men** | **Instrumental Men** |
| Avoidant | 35.00 | 66.67 |
| Clinging | 65.00 | 33.33 |

Proportion differences in AS by gender were examined. Hypotheses 2 and 3 posited that women should more often be Clinging, while men should more often be Avoidant; and that this gender difference should be marked for E women versus I men. These chi-square contrasts are displayed in Table 11. Gender

Table 11
Column-wise per cents for each gender and for Expressive women versus Instrumental men over Attachment Status.

By Gender

| | Female | Male |
|---|---|---|
| Secure | 61.54 | 53.80 |
| Avoidant | 16.92 | 24.68 |
| Clinging | 21.54 | 21.52 |

By Gender Role Self-concept

| | Expressive Women | Instrumental Men |
|---|---|---|
| Secure | 60.00 | 59.32 |
| Avoidant | 10.00 | 27.12 |
| Clinging | 30.00 | 13.56 |

differences were not significant overall ($X2=3.48$, $df=2$) or in groups subdivided by AS. However, the expected contrast between E women and I men did occur as predicted ($X2=9.75$, $df=2$, $p<.0076$). When Ss were subdivided by AFRP, significance held only for the group with AFRP-same. When the Secure groups, which were about equal in proportion, were excluded for 2 x 2 contrasts, gender differences were again non-significant in the tabled results ($X2=1.32$, $df=1$) and in parallel analyses. However, in the contrast of E women versus I men on Avoidance versus Clinging, the significance level rose in the main ($p<.0018$) and parallel analyses.

*Subjects Lacking an Attachment Figure*

The minority of Ss who claimed to have no attachment figure ($n$=59), as noted, completed a different form concerning their feelings about attachment figures, and therefore were excluded from the analyses from the point when attachment was included. Most were male (63.90%). However, the proportion whose relationship with the romantic partner had ended was about the same as in the larger sample (78.40% and 79.51% respectively). PCA of the 5 variables in their questionnaire resulted in a 2-factor structure. The first factor comprised positive loadings of Attachment Decreases Security, Self-sufficiency, Maintains Distance in Relationships, and a negative loading of Desire for Closeness, suggesting an entrenched avoidant stance. The second factor comprised positive loadings of Fear of Closeness, Maintains Distance in Relationships, and Self-sufficiency, also suggesting an avoidant stance, but a more anxious one. The similarity may be due to restricted range, given that only Desire for Closeness appears non-avoidant in nature. As the AS's of these Ss may be qualitatively different from those of the larger sample, no further discussion of their results will follow.

*Summary*

Only partial support for predictions concerning the relationship between GRSC and AS was found. Hypothesis 1, that B Ss should more often be Secure than stereotyped Ss, was not supported, with or without regard to gender or to AFRP.

Hypothesis 2, that women should score higher on Clinging and men on Avoidance, was only supported somewhat dubiously for Avoidance in ANOVAs. Concerning hypotheses 3 and 4, that this gender difference should be marked for E females versus I males and for each of these groups relative to their same-sex B counterparts, means for GRSC groups on Avoidance and Clinging appeared to differ in the expected directions. Although these differences were significant only for Avoidance in ANOVAs, chi-square contrasts affirmed that E women versus I men were categorized on AS in the manner predicted by hypothesis 3. This was the case for each AFRP group. Hypothesis 4 received only dubious support. Although chi-square contrasts of B versus stereotyped Ss within each gender over Insecure AS's resulted in significance for males (and not females), this difference was not upheld when males were subdivided by AFRP.

Gender, Gender Role Self-concept, Attachment Status, and Love Experiences

Four-way ANOVAs of the "effects" of gender, EC, IA, and AS (2 x 2 x 2 x 3) were conducted separately for each of the 12 Love Experience variables. Although all 4 GRSC groups, i.e., U, E, I, and B, were included to permit complete factorial ANOVAs, comparisons of means excluded U Ss, I females, and E males, as hypotheses did not concern these groups. Comparisons of means planned a priori employed Bonferroni *t*'s with $p<.05$ per family of comparisons. A family was defined as all comparisons pertaining to one love experience.

Parallel ANOVAs were conducted to determine whether two factors may have had effects or interactions with the factors of interest: researcher gender and whether or not the attachment figure and romantic partner were the same or different (AFRP). Because of cell size constraints, one factor of interest was excluded from each parallel ANOVA. For example, one of subject gender, EC, or IA was omitted in order to include researcher gender in each of 3 ANOVAs, and the same procedure produced 3 ANOVAs that included AFRP, for a total of 6 parallel ANOVAs for each love experience. (AS was never omitted.) The incompleteness of these ANOVAs implies unreliability; therefore, they will not be reported in detail. As a group, they provide information on the reliability of effects and interactions found among gender, EC, IA, and AS, as these should have emerged in all parallel analyses in which the involved factors were present. Unexpected findings concerning researcher gender and AFRP will be reported in a later section.

*Within-Gender Differences Between Stereotyped and Balanced Groups in Positive Love Experiences*

Hypotheses 5 and 6 stated that stereotyped Ss should report less positive love experiences than B Ss. On the positive experiences of Friendship, Happiness, Acceptance, and Trust, AS was more important than GRSC, usually emerging as a main effect. This meant that the 6 comparisons planned for each of these 4 variables failed to reach significance, as these contrasted B and stereotyped groups for each gender, holding AS constant. Nevertheless, GRSC had an influence, if a lesser one.

On Friendship, an AS effect and 3- and 4-way interactions occurred (see Tables 12 and 13). The lower scores of Avoidant Ss were responsible for the AS effect, which was significant in all parallel analyses. It appears from Figure 1 that the main source of the interactions was variation between genders in the ordering of means within Insecure male groups and Clinging female groups, which had the most scatter. With regard to predicted differences, only within Avoidance did B males exceed I males, but B females consistently scored higher than E females. However, none of these differences was significant.

Only AS had a significant effect on Happiness (see Tables 14 and 15 and Figure 2), which was verified in the parallel analyses employing researcher gender and AFRP. The AS effect is evident again in the lower scores of Avoidant Ss, relative to both Secure and Clinging Ss. B and I males appear similar within each AS. Although B females exceeded other females, as predicted, these differences were not significant in planned comparisons.

Both AS and EC were related to scores on Acceptance (see Tables 16 and 17). A trend toward a main effect of AS is evident in a tendency for Avoidant Ss to have lower means, but this is less pronounced than on the other positive love experiences and the effect did not emerge in parallel analyses. A main effect of EC also occurred and this was verified in all parallel analyses. As illustrated in Figure 3, the EC effect was expressed in higher scores of high-EC groups, particularly B-Avoidant females and B- and E- Avoidant males. These differences appear to meet

Table 12
Descriptive Statistics on Friendship for Ss grouped by gender, gender role self-concept, and attachment status.

Females

| | Secure | | | Avoidant | | | Clinging | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD |
| U* | 15 | 14.00 | 2.07 | 11 | 12.00 | 1.18 | 6 | 15.33 | 0.52 |
| E | 46 | 14.20 | 2.56 | 7 | 12.14 | 2.41 | 23 | 14.04 | 2.82 |
| I | 15 | 14.07 | 1.87 | 7 | 13.00 | 2.38 | 3 | 13.33 | 3.79 |
| B | 41 | 14.56 | 1.48 | 7 | 13.57 | 1.90 | 9 | 14.89 | 1.45 |

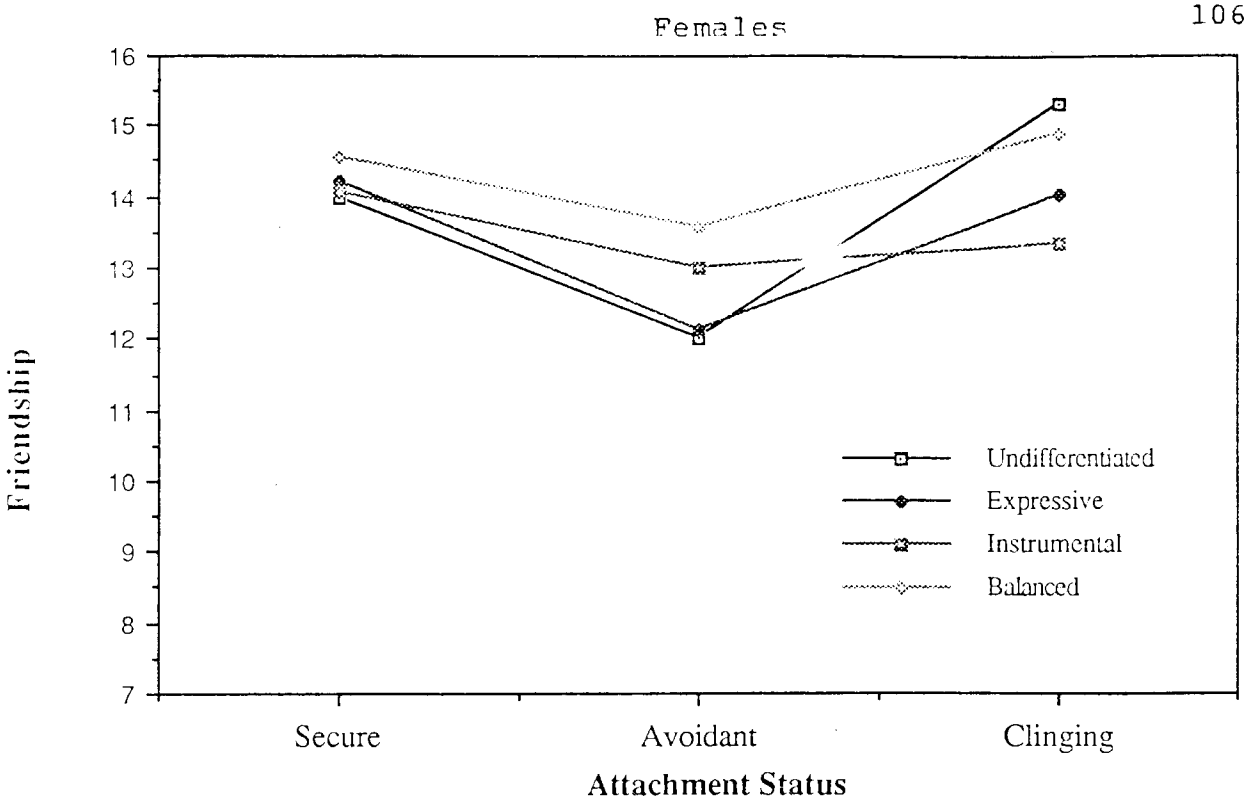
Males

| | Secure | | | Avoidant | | | Clinging | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD |
| U | 11 | 14.73 | 2.05 | 11 | 11.45 | 1.97 | 7 | 12.29 | 3.40 |
| E | 11 | 13.27 | 2.80 | 4 | 12.50 | 2.89 | 6 | 15.33 | 0.82 |
| I | 33 | 14.42 | 1.56 | 16 | 12.38 | 2.19 | 8 | 14.38 | 1.41 |
| B | 26 | 14.42 | 1.68 | 7 | 14.43 | 1.90 | 13 | 13.85 | 2.30 |

* U=Undifferentiated; E=Expressive; I=Instrumental; B=Balanced

Table 13
Analysis of variance of the "effects" of gender, Expressiveness-communion (EC), Instrumentality-agency (IA), and attachment status (AS) on Friendship.

| Source | SS | df | MS | F | p |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gender | 5.12 | 1 | 5.12 | 1.17 | NS |
| AS | 144.84 | 2 | 72.42 | 16.56 | .0000 |
| EC | 5.52 | 1 | 5.52 | 1.26 | NS |
| IA | 6.02 | 1 | 6.02 | 1.38 | NS |
| Gender x AS | 3.62 | 2 | 1.81 | 0.41 | NS |
| Gender x EC | 0.09 | 1 | 0.09 | 0.02 | NS |
| AS x EC | 9.80 | 2 | 4.90 | 1.12 | NS |
| Gender x IA | 0.13 | 1 | 0.13 | 0.03 | NS |
| AS x IA | 6.60 | 2 | 3.30 | 0.75 | NS |
| EC x IA | 0.08 | 1 | 0.08 | 0.02 | NS |
| Gender x AS x EC | 13.43 | 2 | 6.72 | 1.54 | NS |
| Gender x AS x IA | 5.15 | 2 | 2.58 | 0.59 | NS |
| Gender x EC x IA | 16.80 | 1 | 16.80 | 3.84 | .0508 |
| AS x EC x IA | 5.83 | 2 | 2.91 | 0.67 | NS |
| Gender x AS x EC x IA | 36.17 | 2 | 18.09 | 4.14 | .0169 |
| Error | 1,394.98 | 319 | 4.37 | | |



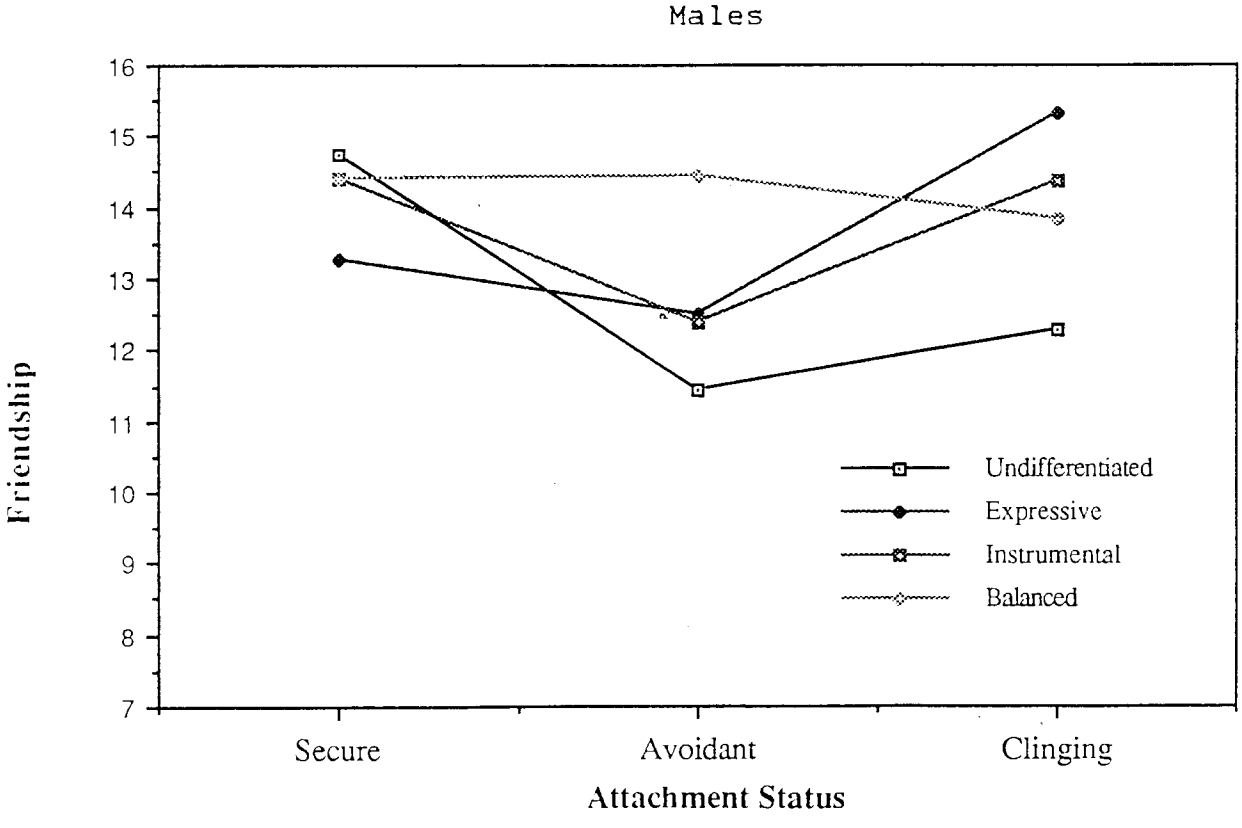




Figure 1
Friendship as a function of attachment status for each GRSC group and for each gender.

Table 14

Descriptive Statistics on Happiness for Ss grouped by gender, gender role self-concept, and attachment status.

Females

| | Secure | | | Avoidant | | | Clinging | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD |
| U* | 15 | 13.67 | 2.02 | 11 | 11.18 | 2.71 | 6 | 14.67 | 1.21 |
| E | 46 | 13.63 | 2.76 | 7 | 11.29 | 2.36 | 23 | 13.39 | 3.31 |
| I | 15 | 13.47 | 1.88 | 7 | 12.00 | 3.56 | 3 | 13.00 | 3.61 |
| B | 41 | 14.51 | 2.03 | 7 | 12.86 | 3.13 | 9 | 15.00 | 2.00 |

Males

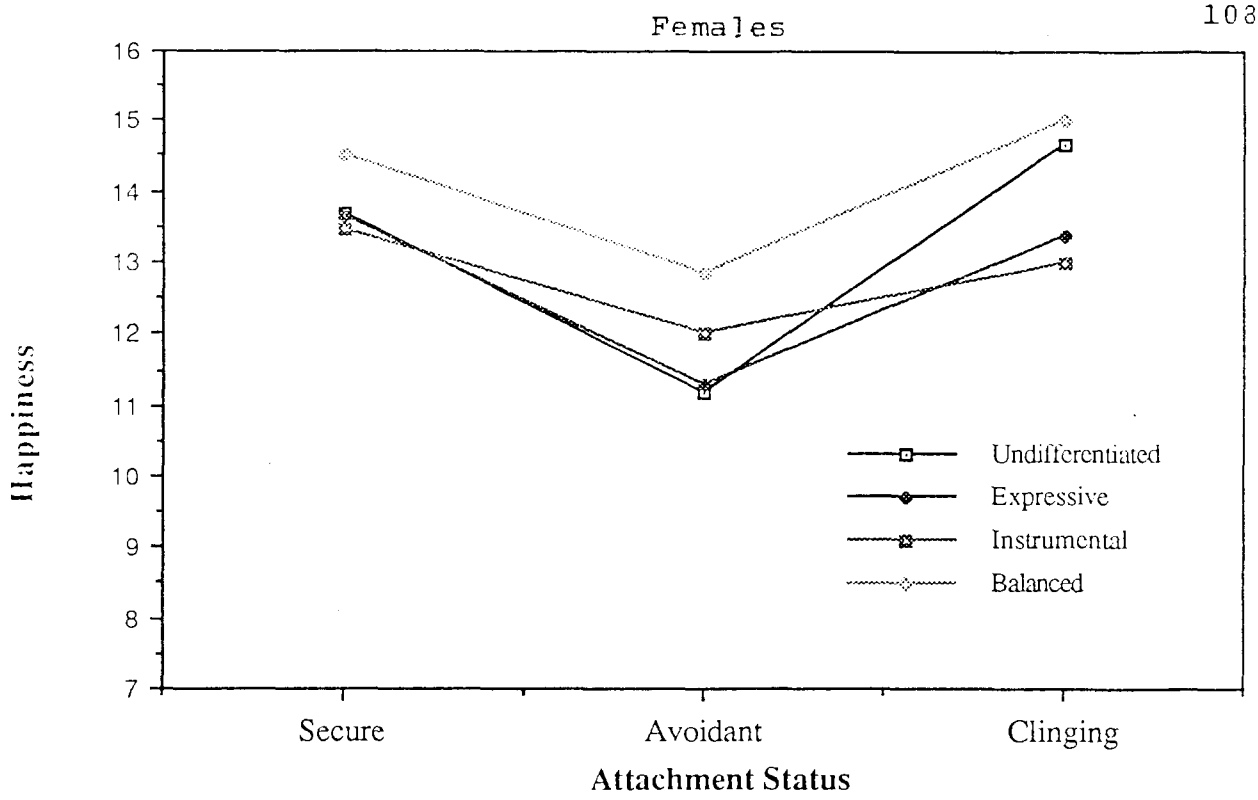
| | Secure | | | Avoidant | | | Clinging | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | n | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD |
| U | 11 | 14.18 | 2.09 | 11 | 11.36 | 2.42 | 7 | 13.14 | 4.10 |
| E | 11 | 12.55 | 3.45 | 4 | 12.50 | 3.11 | 6 | 14.33 | 2.25 |
| I | 33 | 13.33 | 1.90 | 16 | 12.50 | 2.03 | 8 | 14.88 | 1.13 |
| B | 26 | 14.00 | 2.30 | 7 | 12.57 | 1.62 | 13 | 14.54 | 2.44 |

* U=Undifferentiated; E=Expressive; I=Instrumental; B=Balanced

Table 15

Analysis of variance of the "effects" of gender, Expressiveness-communion (EC), Instrumentality-agency (IA), and attachment status (AS) on Happiness.

| Source | SS | df | MS | F | p |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gender | 0.57 | 1 | 0.57 | 0.09 | NS |
| AS | 151.22 | 2 | 75.61 | 12.41 | .0000 |
| EC | 5.39 | 1 | 5.39 | 0.88 | NS |
| IA | 17.19 | 1 | 17.19 | 2.82 | NS |
| Gender x AS | 6.37 | 2 | 3.19 | 0.52 | NS |
| Gender x EC | 0.97 | 1 | 0.97 | 0.16 | NS |
| AS x EC | 3.61 | 2 | 1.81 | 0.30 | NS |
| Gender x IA | 0.20 | 1 | 0.20 | 0.03 | NS |
| AS x IA | 3.57 | 2 | 1.78 | 0.29 | NS |
| EC x IA | 8.73 | 1 | 8.73 | 1.43 | NS |
| Gender x AS x EC | 4.78 | 2 | 2.39 | 0.39 | NS |
| Gender x AS x IA | 4.69 | 2 | 2.35 | 0.39 | NS |
| Gender x EC x IA | 10.95 | 1 | 10.95 | 1.80 | NS |
| AS x EC x IA | 9.36 | 2 | 4.68 | 0.77 | NS |
| Gender x AS x EC x IA | 24.19 | 2 | 12.09 | 1.98 | NS |
| Error | 1,944.01 | 319 | 6.09 | | |



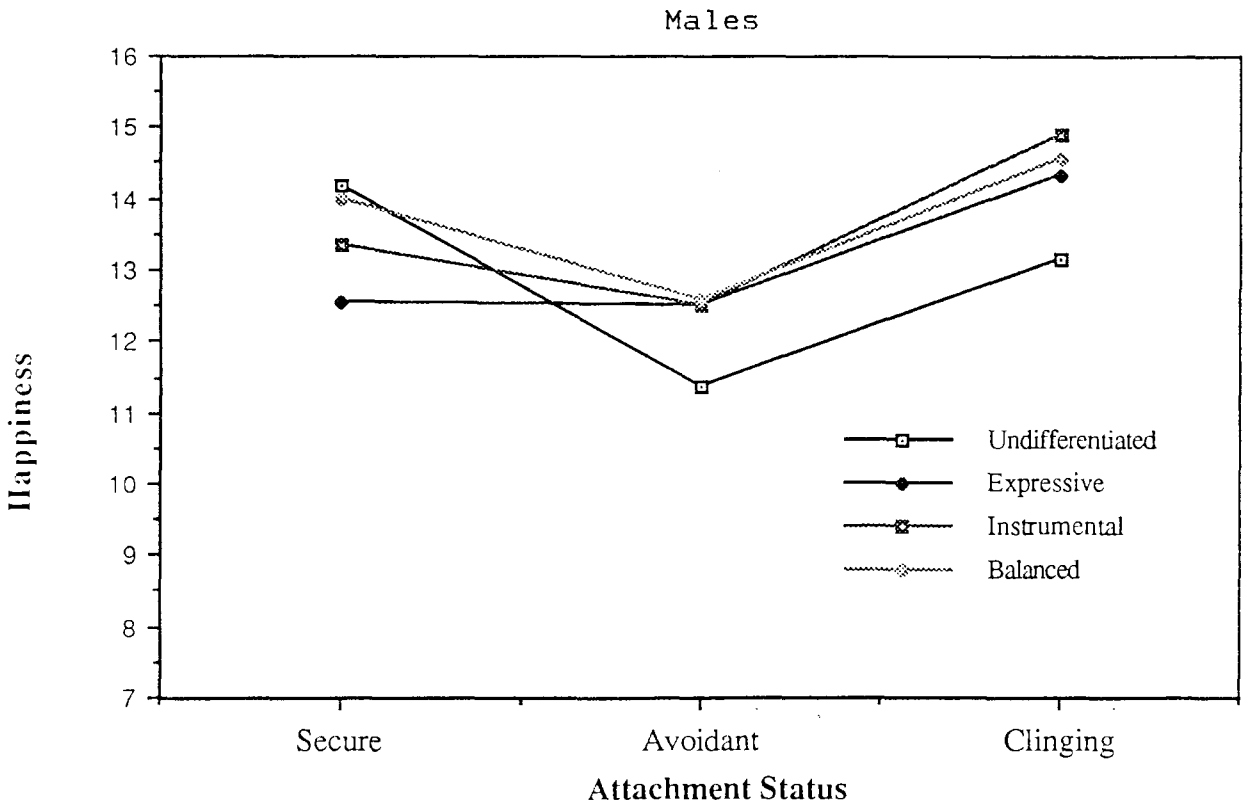




Figure 2
Happiness as a function of attachment status for each GRSC group and for each gender.

Table 16

Descriptive Statistics on Acceptance for Ss grouped by gender, gender role self-concept, and attachment status.

Females

| | Secure | | | Avoidant | | | Clinging | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD |
| U* | 15 | 11.87 | 2.36 | 11 | 10.55 | 1.63 | 6 | 13.17 | 1.94 |
| E | 46 | 12.78 | 1.82 | 7 | 11.71 | 0.76 | 23 | 12.91 | 2.07 |
| I | 15 | 12.60 | 1.72 | 7 | 11.43 | 2.44 | 3 | 12.67 | 0.58 |
| B | 41 | 12.85 | 1.96 | 7 | 13.00 | 0.82 | 9 | 13.11 | 1.90 |

Males

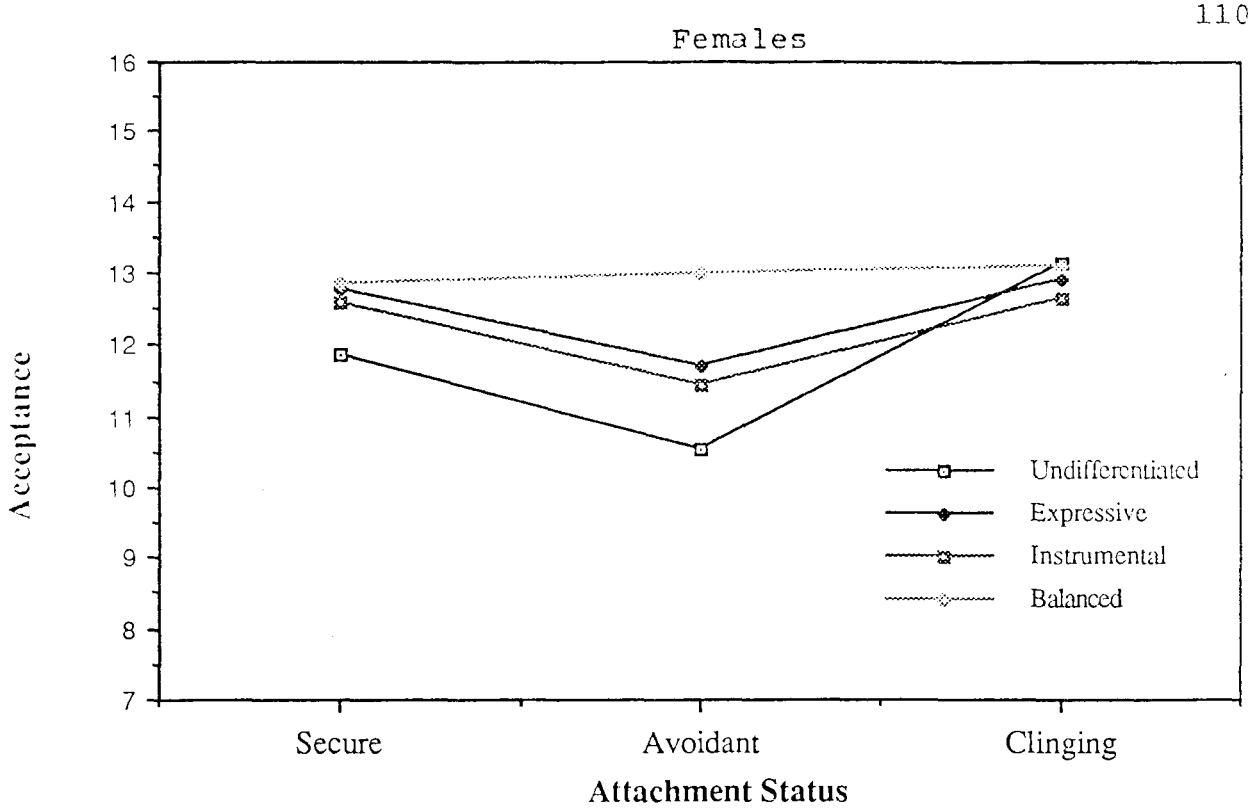
| | Secure | | | Avoidant | | | Clinging | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD |
| U | 11 | 12.36 | 2.20 | 11 | 11.27 | 1.27 | 7 | 12.29 | 2.56 |
| E | 11 | 12.36 | 2.11 | 4 | 12.25 | 2.06 | 6 | 12.67 | 1.51 |
| I | 33 | 11.79 | 1.62 | 16 | 11.50 | 2.16 | 8 | 12.00 | 1.20 |
| B | 26 | 12.00 | 1.77 | 7 | 13.14 | 2.04 | 13 | 12.69 | 1.75 |

* U=Undifferentiated; E=Expressive; I=Instrumental; B=Balanced

Table 17

Analysis of variance of the "effects" of gender, Expressiveness-communion (EC), Instrumentality-agency (IA), and attachment status (AS) on Acceptance.

| Source | SS | df | MS | F | p |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gender | 2.03 | 1 | 2.03 | 0.58 | NS |
| AS | 20.16 | 2 | 10.08 | 2.90 | .0567 |
| EC | 24.08 | 1 | 24.08 | 6.92 | .0089 |
| IA | 2.52 | 1 | 2.52 | 0.73 | NS |
| Gender x AS | 7.82 | 2 | 3.91 | 1.12 | NS |
| Gender x EC | 0.01 | 1 | 0.01 | 0.00 | NS |
| AS x EC | 11.66 | 2 | 5.83 | 1.68 | NS |
| Gender x IA | 2.84 | 1 | 2.84 | 0.82 | NS |
| AS x IA | 9.19 | 2 | 4.60 | 1.32 | NS |
| EC x IA | 1.00 | 1 | 1.00 | 0.29 | NS |
| Gender x AS x EC | 2.21 | 2 | 1.10 | 0.32 | NS |
| Gender x AS x IA | 2.03 | 2 | 1.02 | 0.29 | NS |
| Gender x EC x IA | 0.21 | 1 | 0.21 | 0.06 | NS |
| AS x EC x IA | 2.25 | 2 | 1.13 | 0.32 | NS |
| Gender x AS x EC x IA | 1.05 | 2 | 0.52 | 0.15 | NS |
| Error | 1,110.29 | 319 | 3.48 | | |



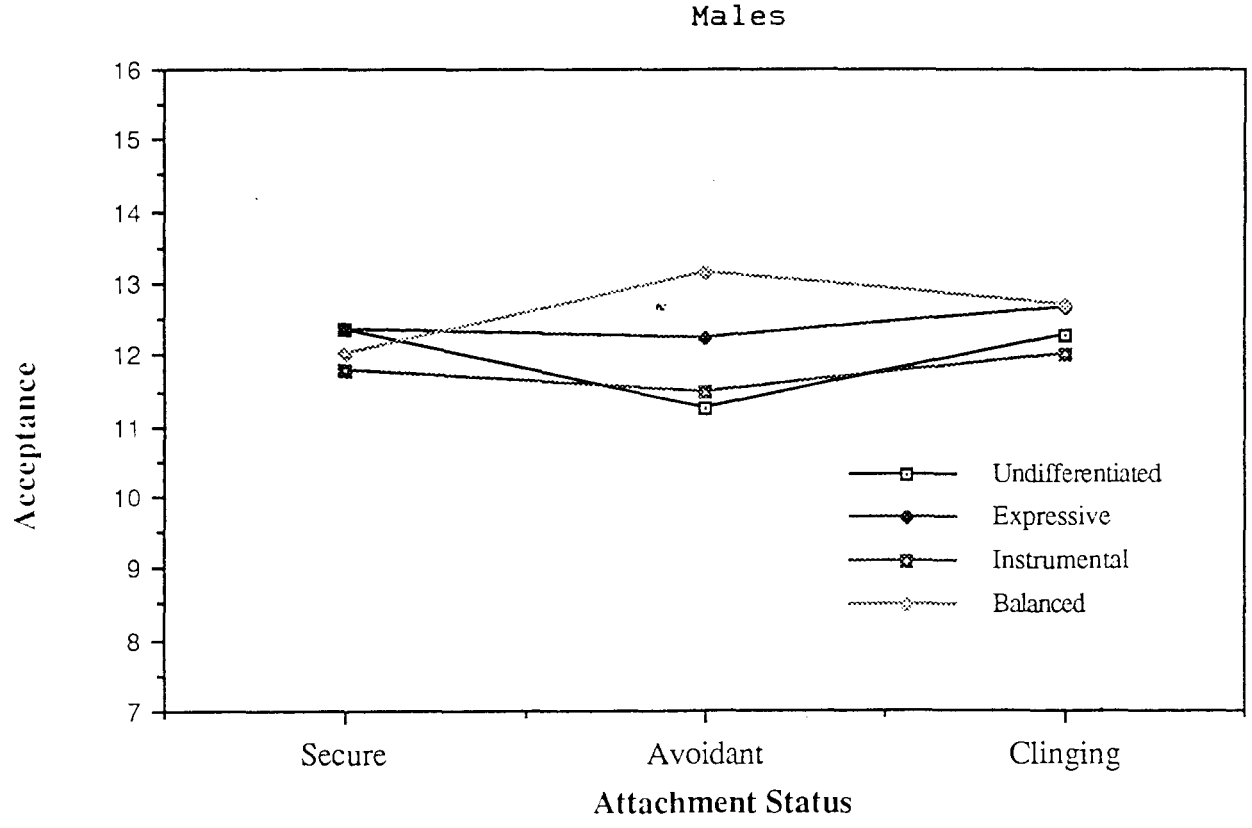




Figure 3
Acceptance as a function of attachment status for each GRSC group and for each gender.

in part the expectation of B Ss' superiority. However, they were unverified in a priori comparisons.

On Trust, a main effect of AS is evident in the tendency for Avoidant Ss to have lower means, as they did on Friendship and Happiness (see Tables 18 and 19). The effect of AS on Trust was duplicated in all parallel analyses. From Figure 4, a 3-way interaction of gender, EC, and IA is reflected in different results for GRSC per gender and in outlying low means of Clinging I females and U males. Insecure males were more variable. I-Avoidant males had a particularly elevated score, contrary to hypothesis 6. AS seems more obviously to have determined the scores of females than males. Support for predictions was not found on Trust, with similarity between B and E females across AS, and, at least with respect to Avoidant males, a suggestion of refutation.

In conclusion, a Balanced GRSC seemed to elevate scores of Avoidants in several cases, but their differences from other Avoidants were not significant in planned comparisons. The emphasis on AS in these results precluded obtaining significance in the within-gender, planned comparisons, which held AS constant. Generally, Secure and Clinging groups reported more positive experiences than Avoidant groups.

*Within-Gender Differences Between Stereotyped and Balanced Groups in Love Experiences Reflecting Embeddedness*

E females and I males did not evidence the expected

Table 18

Descriptive Statistics on Trust for Ss grouped by gender, gender role self-concept, and attachment status.

Females

| | Secure | | | Avoidant | | | Clinging | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | n | Mean | SD | n | Mean | SD | n | Mean | SD |
| U* | 15 | 13.40 | 1.92 | 11 | 11.27 | 1.95 | 6 | 14.33 | 1.03 |
| E | 46 | 13.61 | 1.86 | 7 | 11.71 | 2.14 | 23 | 13.82 | 2.31 |
| I | 15 | 13.67 | 1.63 | 7 | 11.86 | 2.79 | 3 | 12.67 | 4.16 |
| B | 41 | 14.12 | 1.73 | 7 | 12.14 | 2.79 | 9 | 14.89 | 1.17 |

Males

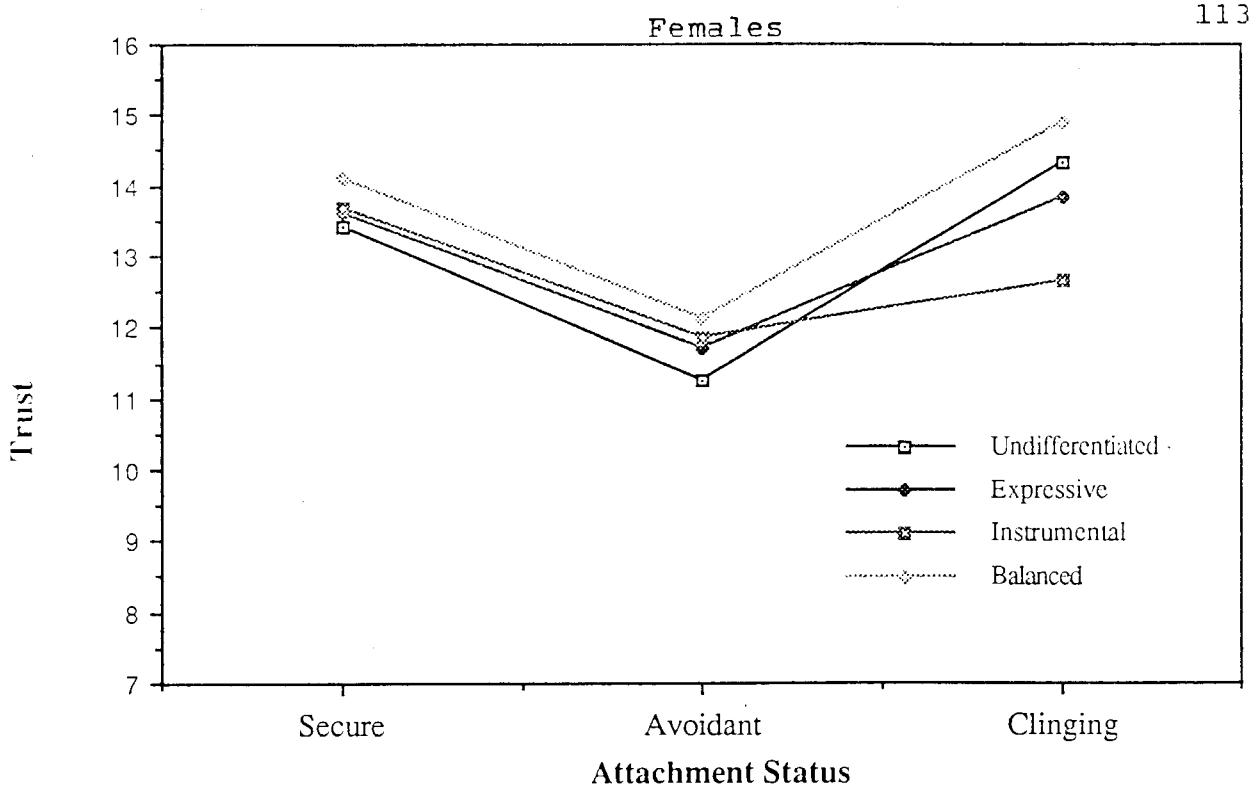
| | Secure | | | Avoidant | | | Clinging | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | n | Mean | SD | n | Mean | SD | n | Mean | SD |
| U | 11 | 13.45 | 1.69 | 11 | 11.45 | 1.75 | 7 | 12.57 | 3.15 |
| E | 11 | 13.82 | 1.40 | 4 | 11.75 | 2.99 | 6 | 13.83 | 0.98 |
| I | 33 | 13.88 | 1.47 | 16 | 13.19 | 1.83 | 8 | 14.13 | 1.25 |
| B | 26 | 13.38 | 1.96 | 7 | 12.43 | 1.27 | 13 | 13.85 | 1.99 |

* U=Undifferentiated; E=Expressive; I=Instrumental; B=Balanced

Table 19

Analysis of variance of the "effects" of gender, Expressiveness-communion (EC), Instrumentality-agency (IA), and attachment status (AS) on Trust.

| Source | SS | df | MS | F | p |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gender | 0.02 | 1 | 0.02 | 0.01 | NS |
| AS | 136.97 | 2 | 68.48 | 19.05 | .0000 |
| EC | 4.59 | 1 | 4.59 | 1.28 | NS |
| IA | 9.99 | 1 | 9.99 | 2.78 | NS |
| Gender x AS | 4.85 | 2 | 2.43 | 0.67 | NS |
| Gender x EC | 2.77 | 1 | 2.77 | 0.77 | NS |
| AS x EC | 3.46 | 2 | 1.73 | 0.48 | NS |
| Gender x IA | 2.90 | 1 | 2.90 | 0.81 | NS |
| AS x IA | 4.93 | 2 | 2.47 | 0.69 | NS |
| EC x IA | 0.15 | 1 | 0.15 | 0.04 | NS |
| Gender x AS x EC | 0.13 | 2 | 0.06 | 0.02 | NS |
| Gender x AS x IA | 6.89 | 2 | 3.44 | 0.96 | NS |
| Gender x EC x IA | 14.78 | 1 | 14.78 | 4.11 | .0434 |
| AS x EC x IA | 2.88 | 2 | 1.44 | 0.40 | NS |
| Gender x AS x EC x IA | 7.09 | 2 | 3.55 | 0.99 | NS |
| Error | 1,146.57 | 319 | 3.59 | | |



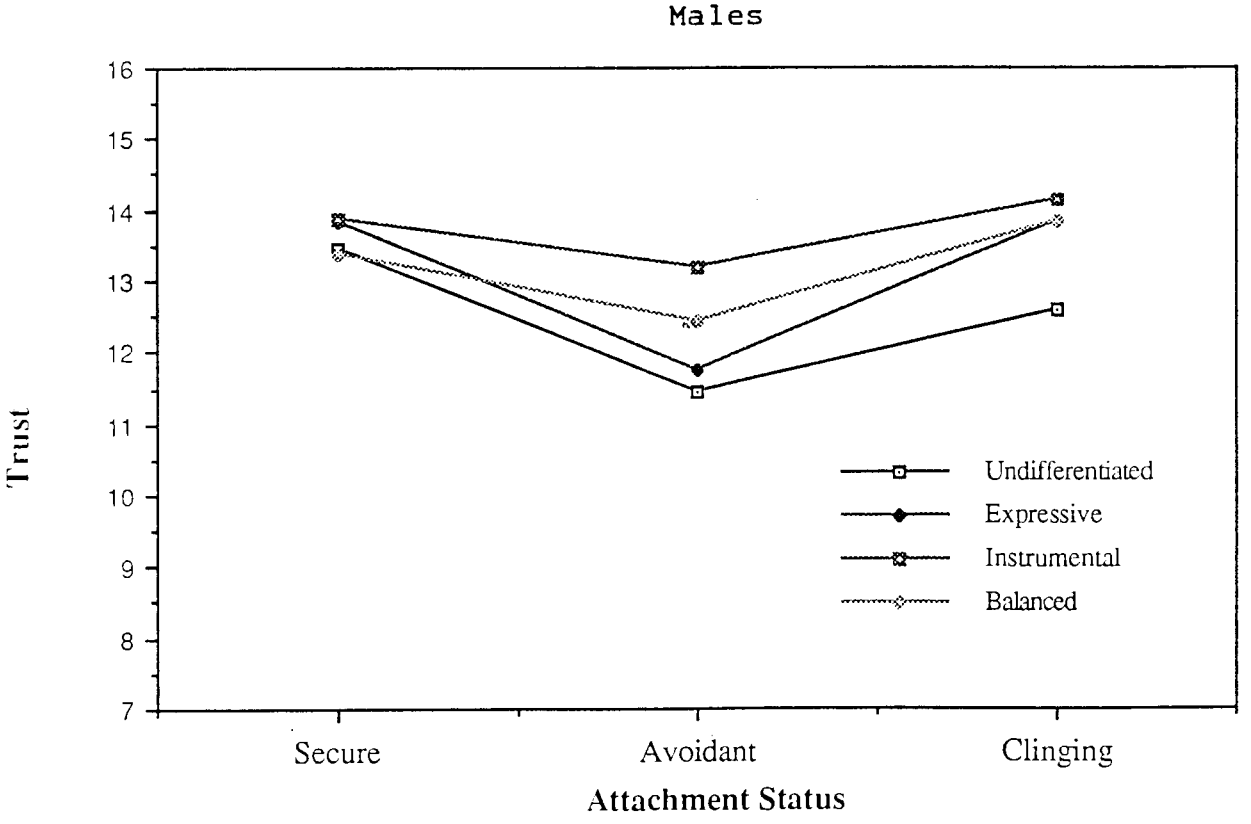




Figure 4
Trust as a function of attachment status for each GRSC group and for each gender.

differences from their B counterparts on love experiences reflecting embeddedness. AS was more important than GRSC overall, having a main effect on each variable. Because of this, none of the 6 planned comparisons (again of stereotyped versus B Ss within gender and within AS) for each of the 7 variables reached significance. However, EC or IA or their interaction had effects on some of these variables.

On Desire for Reciprocation, results were complex. Main effects of AS, EC, and IA were obtained (see Tables 20 and 21). These 3 effects also emerged in parallel analyses. Figure 5 clearly illustrates the AS effect, with Clinging Ss tending toward higher scores. The IA effect appears to be due to the higher means of B Ss, Insecure I females, and I-Clinging males. The EC effect is evident in the higher scores of both B and E males, and also B females. The pattern of means suggests that among Insecure Ss, B females exceeded E females, contrary to hypothesis 5, and that B males exceeded I males, in line with hypothesis 6, but these differences were not supported in comparisons of means.

Results appear to disconfirm predictions for females and only to partially support those for males on Desire for Union (see Tables 22 and 23 and Figure 6). Both AS and IA had main effects, due to tendencies toward lower means of Avoidant Ss and higher means of I and B Ss. These effects were duplicated in all parallel analyses. Overall, the means of B females exceeded those of E females on all 3 AS's, contrary to prediction. Among males, B and I Ss appear similar, except where Avoidant B males

Table 20

Descriptive Statistics on Desire for Reciprocation for Ss grouped by gender, gender role self-concept, and attachment status.

Females

| | Secure | | | Avoidant | | | Clinging | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD |
| U* | 15 | 12.73 | 2.02 | 11 | 11.36 | 1.36 | 6 | 13.67 | 1.37 |
| E | 46 | 12.93 | 1.64 | 7 | 11.71 | 1.25 | 23 | 13.65 | 1.94 |
| I | 15 | 13.07 | 2.02 | 7 | 12.71 | 2.56 | 3 | 14.33 | 1.53 |
| B | 41 | 13.46 | 1.98 | 7 | 12.57 | 1.72 | 9 | 15.33 | 0.87 |

Males

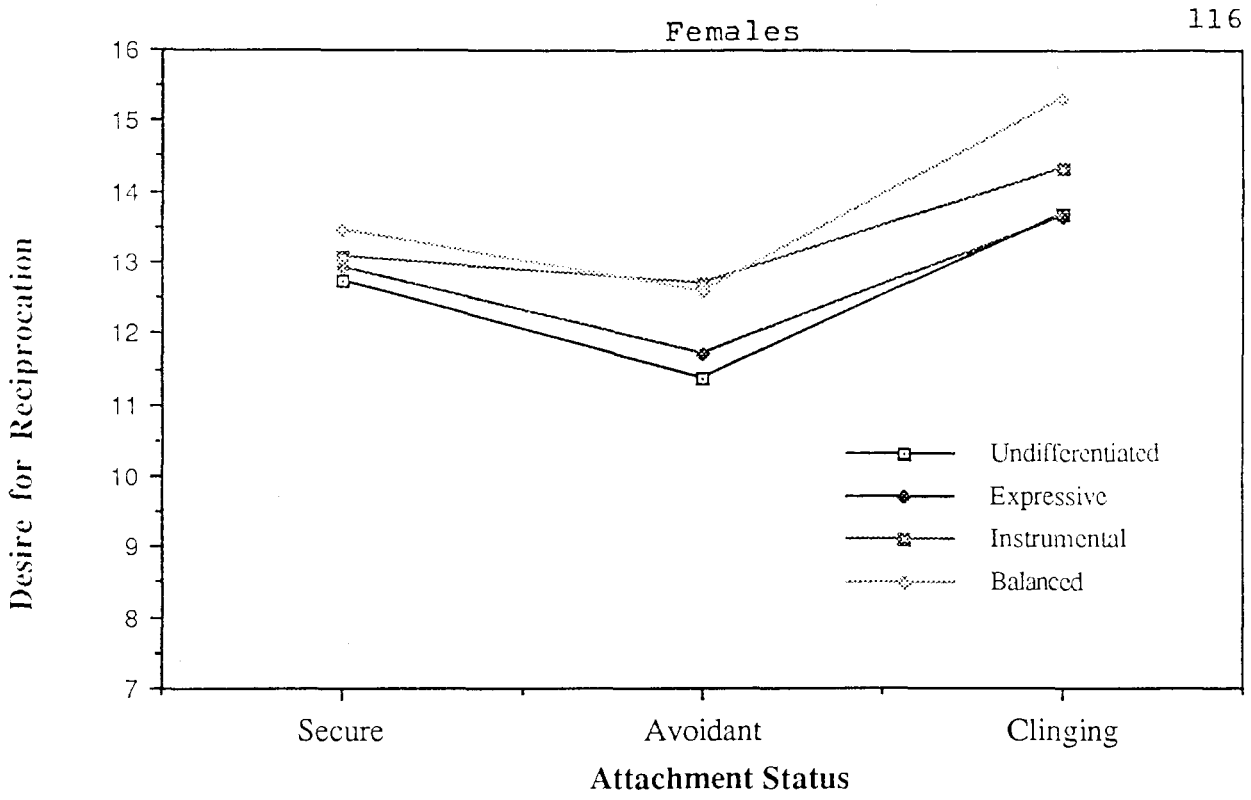
| | Secure | | | Avoidant | | | Clinging | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD |
| U | 11 | 12.27 | 1.95 | 11 | 11.91 | 1.30 | 7 | 13.00 | 2.24 |
| E | 11 | 13.82 | 1.40 | 4 | 13.25 | 2.50 | 6 | 14.67 | 0.82 |
| I | 33 | 12.70 | 1.47 | 16 | 11.94 | 1.84 | 8 | 14.25 | 1.16 |
| B | 26 | 13.15 | 2.26 | 7 | 13.14 | 2.04 | 13 | 14.92 | 1.66 |

* U=Undifferentiated; E=Expressive; I=Instrumental; B=Balanced

Table 21

Analysis of variance of the "effects" of gender, Expressiveness-communion (EC), Instrumentality-agency (IA), and attachment status (AS) on Desire for Reciprocation.

| Source | SS | df | MS | F | p |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gender | 0.82 | 1 | 0.82 | 0.25 | NS |
| AS | 106.87 | 2 | 53.43 | 16.70 | .0000 |
| EC | 28.30 | 1 | 28.30 | 8.85 | .0032 |
| IA | 16.39 | 1 | 16.39 | 5.12 | .0243 |
| Gender x AS | 3.21 | 2 | 1.61 | 0.50 | NS |
| Gender x EC | 9.76 | 1 | 9.76 | 3.05 | NS |
| AS x EC | 0.33 | 2 | 0.17 | 0.05 | NS |
| Gender x IA | 6.72 | 1 | 6.72 | 2.10 | NS |
| AS x IA | 6.84 | 2 | 3.42 | 1.07 | NS |
| EC x IA | 0.85 | 1 | 0.85 | 0.26 | NS |
| Gender x AS x EC | 0.65 | 2 | 0.33 | 0.10 | NS |
| Gender x AS x IA | 1.18 | 2 | 0.59 | 0.18 | NS |
| Gender x EC x IA | 3.23 | 1 | 3.23 | 1.01 | NS |
| AS x EC x IA | 0.52 | 2 | 0.26 | 0.08 | NS |
| Gender x AS x EC x IA | 2.77 | 2 | 1.39 | 0.43 | NS |
| Error | 1,020.58 | 319 | 3.20 | | |



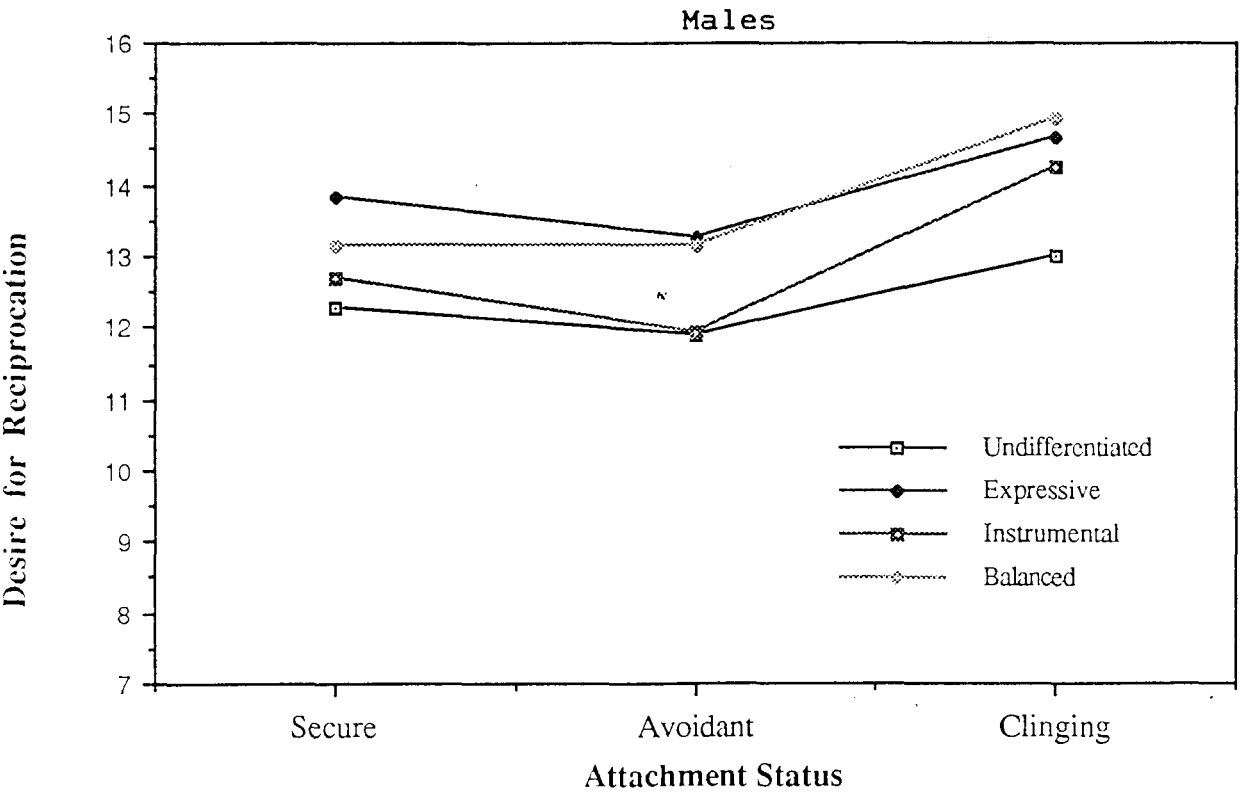




Figure 5
Desire for Reciprocation as a function of attachment status for each GRSC group and for each gender.

Table 22

Descriptive Statistics on Desire for Union for Ss grouped by gender, gender role self-concept, and attachment status.

Females

| | Secure | | | Avoidant | | | Clinging | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD |
| U* | 15 | 10.93 | 2.25 | 11 | 9.36 | 1.50 | 6 | 12.67 | 2.16 |
| E | 46 | 11.50 | 2.26 | 7 | 10.29 | 1.50 | 23 | 12.35 | 2.19 |
| I | 15 | 10.13 | 2.33 | 7 | 11.71 | 2.21 | 3 | 14.67 | 1.53 |
| B | 41 | 12.61 | 2.58 | 7 | 11.86 | 2.19 | 9 | 14.44 | 2.40 |

Males

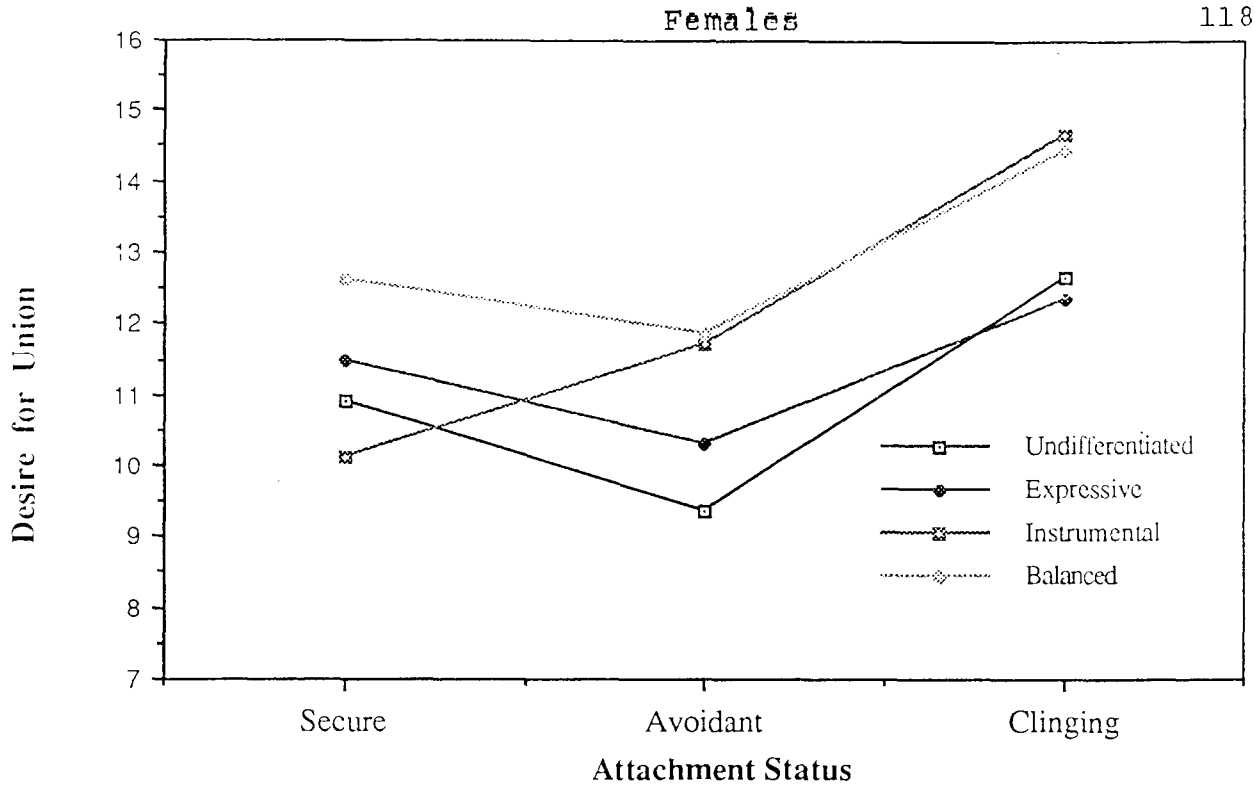
| | Secure | | | Avoidant | | | Clinging | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD |
| U | 11 | 11.45 | 2.02 | 11 | 11.91 | 1.76 | 7 | 12.00 | 2.89 |
| E | 11 | 11.09 | 2.51 | 4 | 11.50 | 3.00 | 6 | 12.50 | 2.07 |
| I | 33 | 11.85 | 1.95 | 16 | 10.69 | 2.60 | 8 | 13.13 | 2.30 |
| B | 26 | 12.15 | 2.66 | 7 | 12.71 | 2.36 | 13 | 13.77 | 2.83 |

* U=Undifferentiated; E=Expressive; I=Instrumental; B=Balanced

Table 23

Analysis of variance of the "effects" of gender, Expressiveness-communion (EC), Instrumentality-agency (IA), and attachment status (AS) on Desire for Union.

| Source | SS | df | MS | F | p |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gender | 1.87 | 1 | 1.87 | 0.35 | NS |
| AS | 140.45 | 2 | 70.22 | 13.05 | .0000 |
| EC | 14.77 | 1 | 14.77 | 2.75 | NS |
| IA | 55.66 | 1 | 55.66 | 10.35 | .0014 |
| Gender x AS | 18.55 | 2 | 9.28 | 1.72 | NS |
| Gender x EC | 0.28 | 1 | 0.28 | 0.05 | NS |
| AS x EC | 3.64 | 2 | 1.82 | 0.34 | NS |
| Gender x IA | 7.56 | 1 | 7.56 | 1.40 | NS |
| AS x IA | 14.54 | 2 | 7.27 | 1.35 | NS |
| EC x IA | 7.53 | 1 | 7.53 | 1.40 | NS |
| Gender x AS x EC | 18.41 | 2 | 9.20 | 1.71 | NS |
| Gender x AS x IA | 18.54 | 2 | 9.27 | 1.72 | NS |
| Gender x EC x IA | 1.54 | 1 | 1.54 | 0.29 | NS |
| AS x EC x IA | 3.49 | 2 | 1.74 | 0.32 | NS |
| Gender x AS x EC x IA | 13.27 | 2 | 6.64 | 1.23 | NS |
| Error | 1,716.34 | 319 | 5.38 | | |



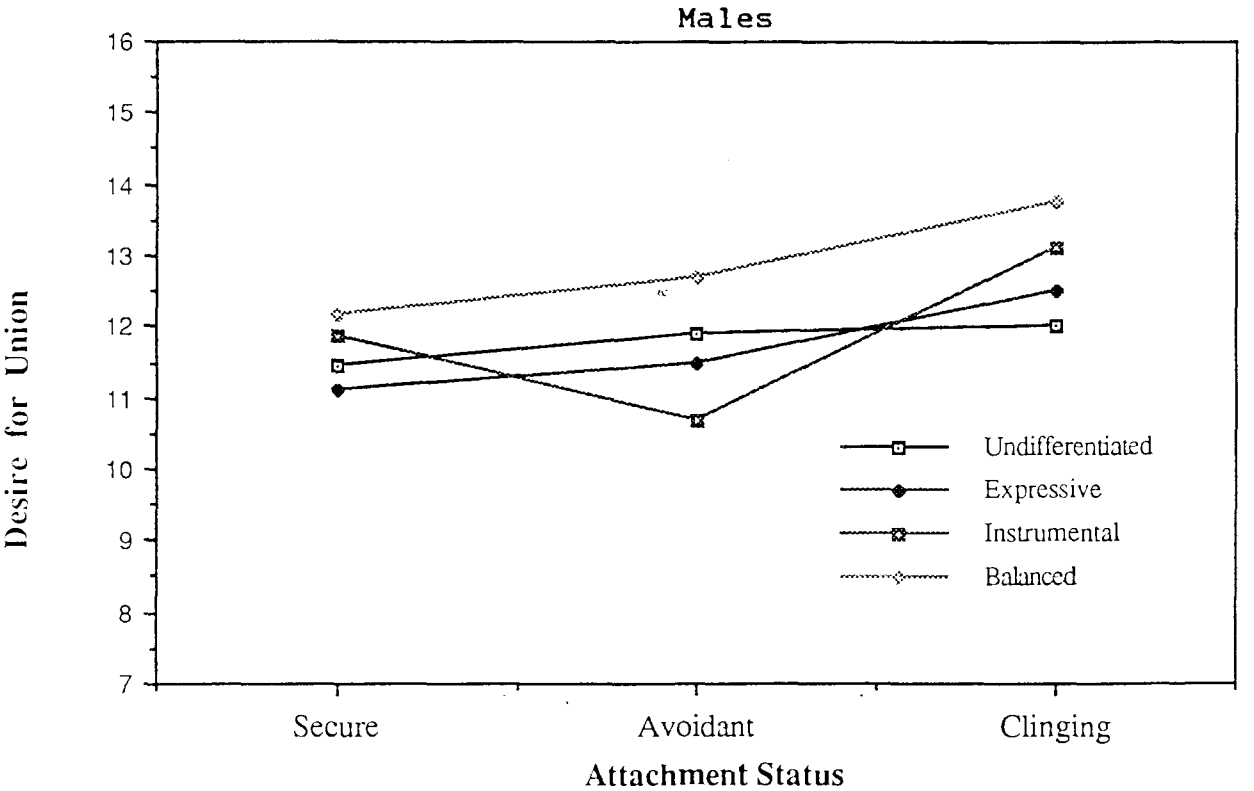




Figure 6
Desire for Union as a function of attachment status for each GRSC group and for each gender.

exceeded I males, as predicted. None of these differences was confirmed in within-AS planned comparisons.

On Love at First Sight, results were simpler (see Tables 24 and 25 and Figure 7). A main effect of AS was evident in the tendency of Clinging Ss to obtain higher scores and this effect was supported by results of parallel analyses. A trend toward an interaction of EC and IA also emerged, but this was not duplicated in parallel analyses. In the Clinging AS, B females exceeded E females, contrary to prediction, and B males also exceeded I males, as predicted. These differences parallel those on Desire for Reciprocation, and, again were not significant.

Results on Sexual Attraction failed to support predictions. Main effects of AS and IA emerged (see Tables 26 and 27). While AS was significant in parallel analyses, IA was only significant in a subset of them. Figure 8 illustrates tendencies toward lower means of Avoidant Ss and higher means of high-IA Ss (B and I). However, B and I males were similar across AS, failing to support predictions; and B females non-significantly exceeded E females in the Insecure AS's, suggesting refutation.

AS was the only factor to have effects on the embeddedness variables of Obsessive Preoccupation, Emotional Extremes, and Jealousy. Figures 9, 10, and 11, respectively, illustrate some differences in functions.

On Obsessive Preoccupation, no support for hypotheses was found (see Tables 28 and 29 and Figure 9). In all analyses, AS had a main effect, with Clinging groups tending to have higher means than the other 2 groups. E females were similar to B

Table 24

Descriptive Statistics on Love at First Sight for Ss grouped by gender, gender role self-concept, and attachment status.

Females

| | Secure | | | Avoidant | | | Clinging | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD |
| U* | 15 | 10.87 | 1.60 | 11 | 10.73 | 2.05 | 6 | 13.50 | 1.52 |
| E | 46 | 11.39 | 2.11 | 7 | 10.43 | 2.51 | 23 | 11.48 | 2.04 |
| I | 15 | 10.67 | 2.16 | 7 | 10.71 | 3.82 | 3 | 12.33 | 2.08 |
| B | 41 | 11.56 | 2.53 | 7 | 10.86 | 3.13 | 9 | 12.44 | 1.59 |

Males

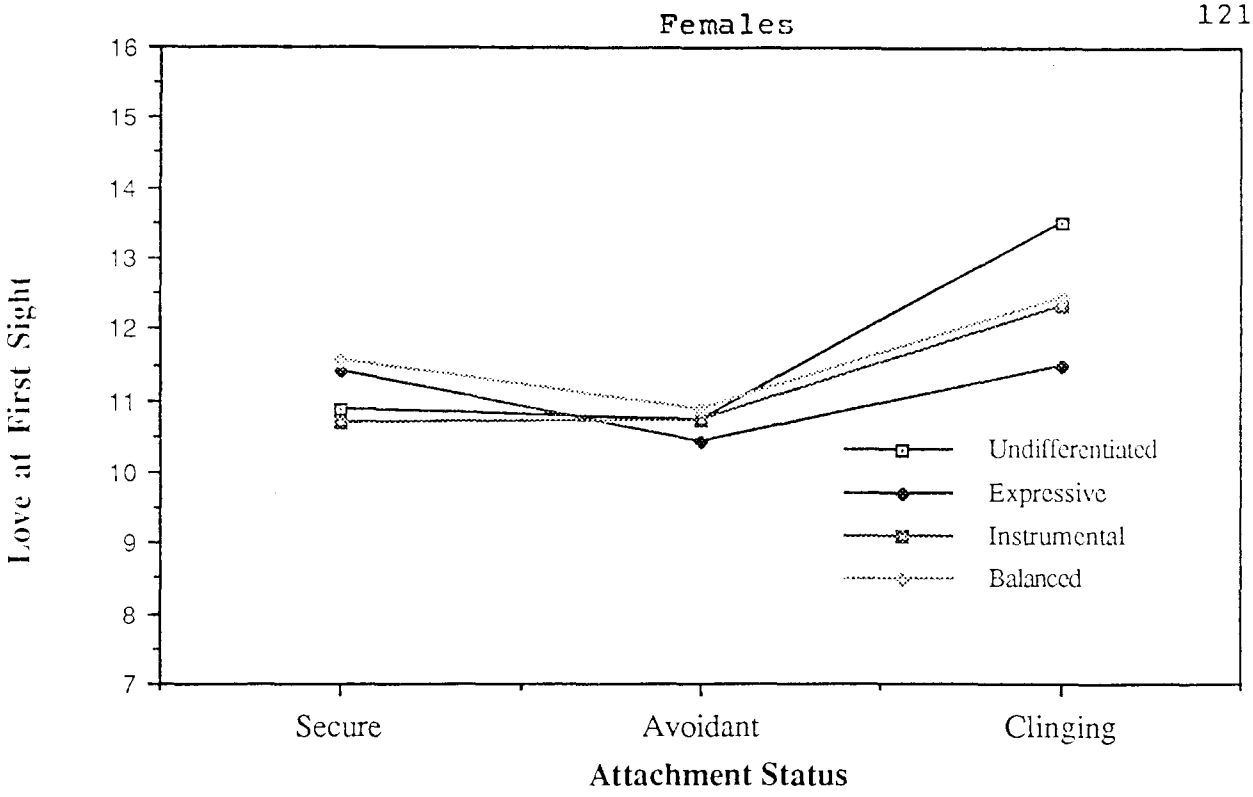
| | Secure | | | Avoidant | | | Clinging | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD |
| U | 11 | 11.09 | 2.30 | 11 | 10.91 | 2.21 | 7 | 12.00 | 2.31 |
| E | 11 | 10.55 | 2.84 | 4 | 10.75 | 3.86 | 6 | 10.33 | 2.16 |
| I | 33 | 11.30 | 2.05 | 16 | 11.31 | 1.74 | 8 | 12.63 | 1.69 |
| B | 26 | 11.88 | 2.18 | 7 | 11.29 | 2.69 | 13 | 13.92 | 1.61 |

* U=Undifferentiated; E=Expressive; I=Instrumental; B=Balanced

Table 25

Analysis of variance of the "effects" of gender, Expressiveness-communion (EC), Instrumentality-agency (IA), and Attachment Status (AS) on Love At First Sight.

| Source | SS | df | MS | F | p |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gender | 0.37 | 1 | 0.37 | 0.07 | NS |
| AS | 71.48 | 2 | 35.74 | 7.16 | .0009 |
| EC | 0.51 | 1 | 0.51 | 0.10 | NS |
| IA | 17.83 | 1 | 17.83 | 3.57 | NS |
| Gender x AS | 2.59 | 2 | 1.30 | 0.26 | NS |
| Gender x EC | 0.00 | 1 | 0.00 | 0.00 | NS |
| AS x EC | 9.19 | 2 | 4.60 | 0.92 | NS |
| Gender x IA | 15.97 | 1 | 15.97 | 3.20 | NS |
| AS x IA | 4.40 | 2 | 2.20 | 0.44 | NS |
| EC x IA | 19.30 | 1 | 19.30 | 3.87 | .0501 |
| Gender x AS x EC | 5.59 | 2 | 2.80 | 0.56 | NS |
| Gender x AS x IA | 7.44 | 2 | 3.72 | 0.74 | NS |
| Gender x EC x IA | 0.62 | 1 | 0.62 | 0.12 | NS |
| AS x EC x IA | 10.72 | 2 | 5.36 | 1.07 | NS |
| Gender x AS x EC X IA | 0.86 | 2 | 0.43 | 0.09 | NS |
| Error | 1592.35 | 319 | 4.99 | | |



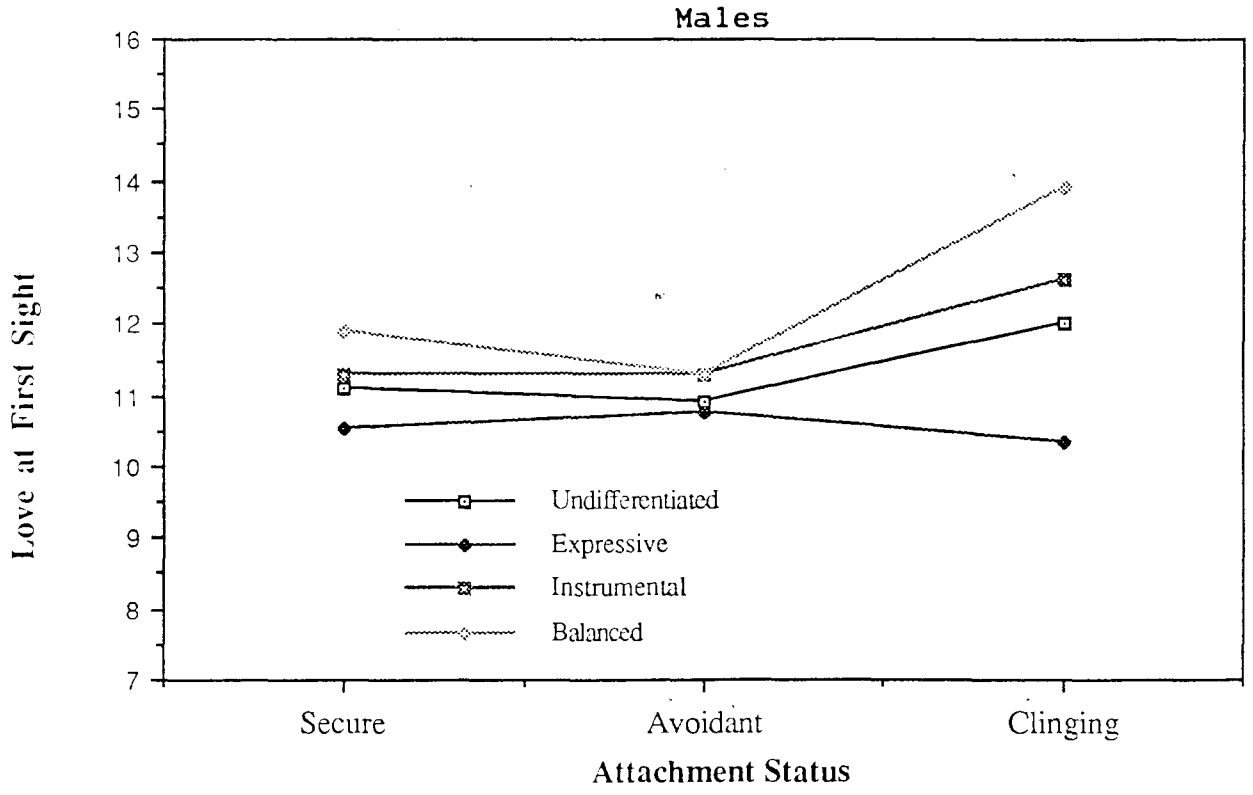




Figure 7
Love at First Sight as a function of attachment status for each GRSC group and for each gender.

Table 26

Descriptive Statistics on Sexual Attraction for Ss grouped by gender, gender role self-concept, and attachment status.

Females

| | Secure | | | Avoidant | | | Clinging | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD |
| U* | 15 | 12.80 | 1.78 | 11 | 11.18 | 2.14 | 6 | 14.00 | 1.41 |
| E | 46 | 13.46 | 1.85 | 7 | 11.29 | 1.89 | 23 | 12.91 | 2.21 |
| I | 15 | 13.27 | 1.79 | 7 | 12.57 | 2.76 | 3 | 12.00 | 2.65 |
| B | 41 | 13.49 | 2.06 | 7 | 12.43 | 2.88 | 9 | 13.89 | 2.42 |

Males

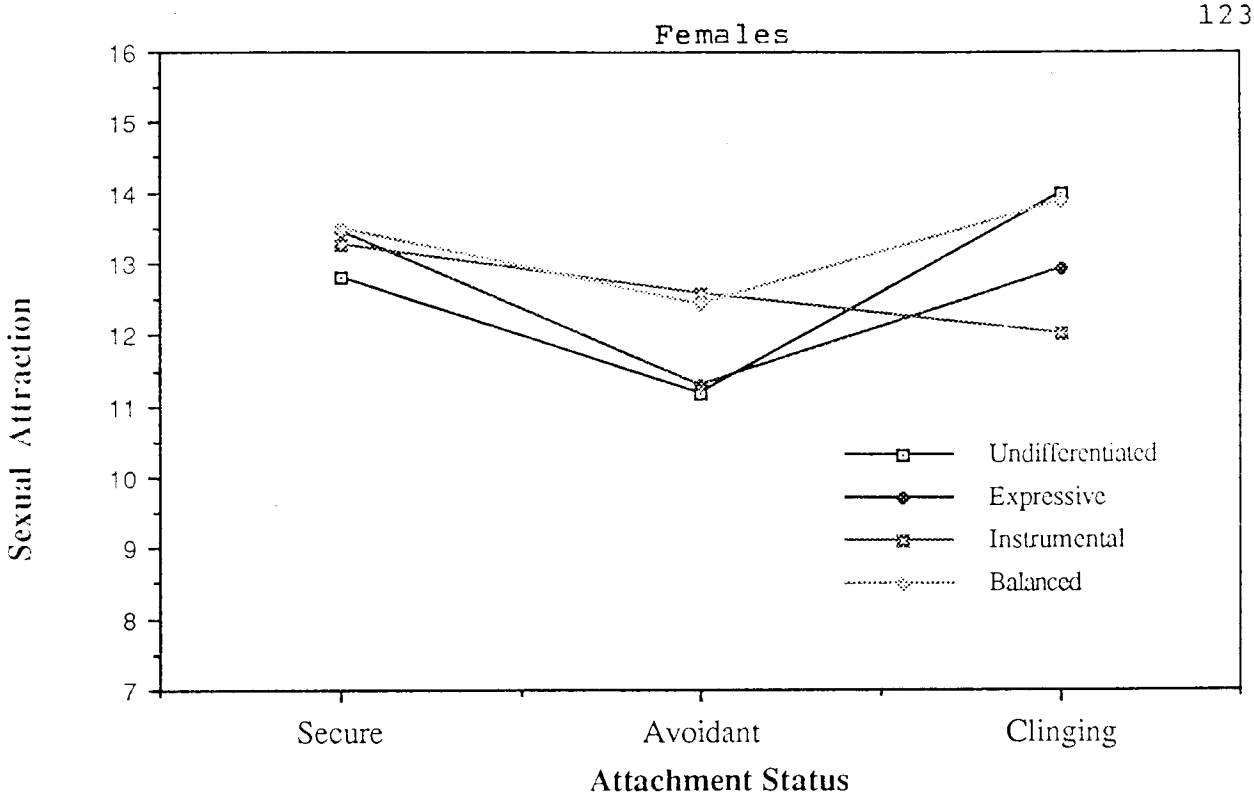
| | Secure | | | Avoidant | | | Clinging | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD |
| U | 11 | 12.36 | 1.75 | 11 | 12.18 | 2.14 | 7 | 13.71 | 1.98 |
| E | 11 | 12.18 | 2.48 | 4 | 10.75 | 4.57 | 6 | 14.17 | 1.72 |
| I | 33 | 13.33 | 1.73 | 16 | 12.19 | 2.29 | 8 | 14.13 | 2.36 |
| B | 26 | 13.23 | 1.90 | 7 | 12.71 | 1.98 | 13 | 14.54 | 1.61 |

* U=Undifferentiated; E=Expressive; I=Instrumental; B=Balanced

Table 27

Analysis of variance of the "effects" of gender, Expressiveness-communion (EC), Instrumentality-agency (IA), and attachment status (AS) on Sexual Attraction.

| Source | SS | df | MS | F | p |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gender | 1.83 | 1 | 1.83 | 0.43 | NS |
| AS | 92.91 | 2 | 46.46 | 10.97 | .0000 |
| EC | 0.65 | 1 | 0.65 | 0.15 | NS |
| IA | 17.26 | 1 | 17.26 | 4.07 | .0444 |
| Gender x AS | 20.36 | 2 | 10.18 | 2.40 | NS |
| Gender x EC | 1.45 | 1 | 1.45 | 0.34 | NS |
| AS x EC | 3.14 | 2 | 1.57 | 0.37 | NS |
| Gender x IA | 2.87 | 1 | 2.87 | 0.68 | NS |
| AS x IA | 10.16 | 2 | 5.08 | 1.20 | NS |
| EC x IA | 6.92 | 1 | 6.92 | 1.63 | NS |
| Gender x AS x EC | 0.94 | 2 | 0.47 | 0.11 | NS |
| Gender x AS x IA | 3.43 | 2 | 1.72 | 0.41 | NS |
| Gender x EC x IA | 0.03 | 1 | 0.03 | 0.01 | NS |
| AS x EC x IA | 7.80 | 2 | 3.90 | 0.92 | NS |
| Gender x AS x EC x IA | 12.86 | 2 | 6.43 | 1.52 | NS |
| Error | 1,350.95 | 319 | 4.23 | | |



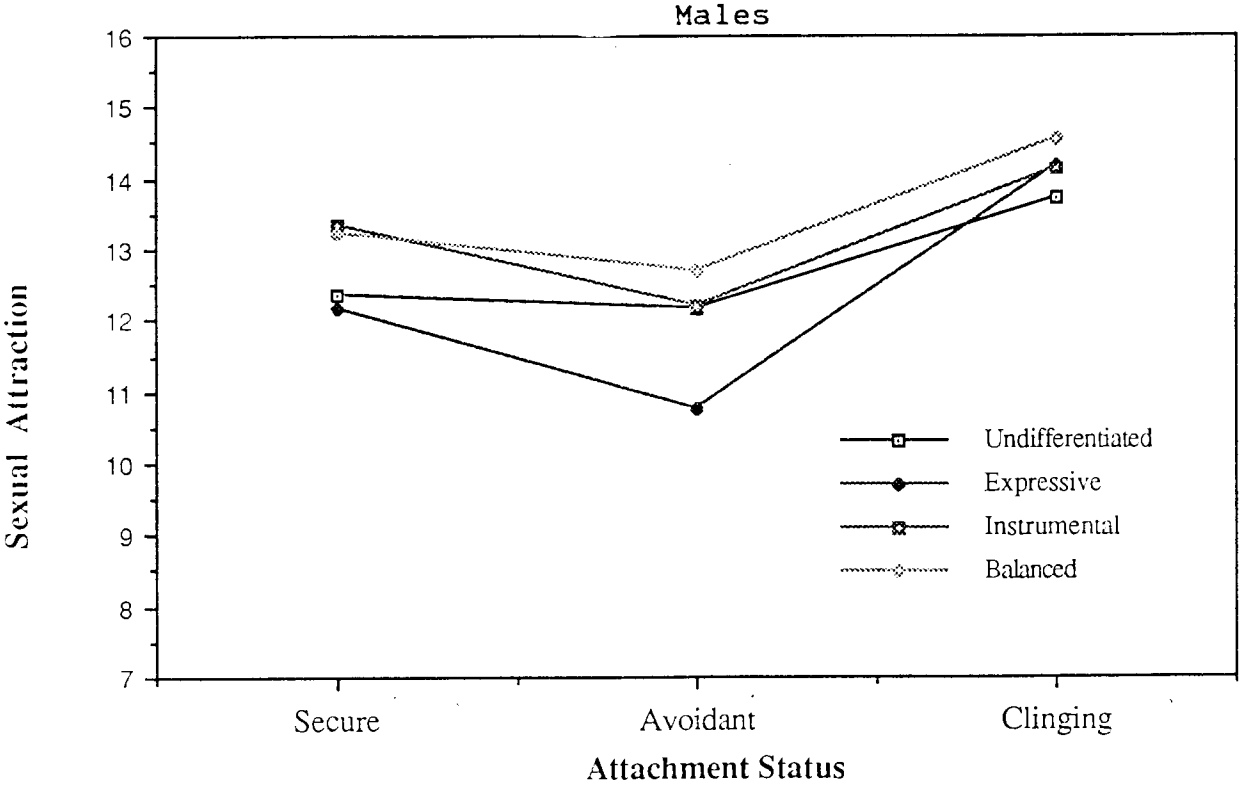




Figure 8
Sexual Attraction as a function of attachment status for each GRSC group and for each gender.

Table 28

Descriptive Statistics on Obsessive Preoccupation for Ss grouped by gender, gender role self-concept, and attachment status.

Females

| | Secure | | | Avoidant | | | Clinging | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD |
| U* | 15 | 11.33 | 2.19 | 11 | 11.73 | 2.05 | 6 | 13.83 | 1.72 |
| E | 46 | 12.02 | 2.42 | 7 | 10.29 | 1.98 | 23 | 12.96 | 2.23 |
| I | 15 | 11.87 | 1.19 | 7 | 12.71 | 2.98 | 3 | 13.00 | 0.00 |
| B | 41 | 12.34 | 1.98 | 7 | 12.43 | 2.30 | 9 | 13.33 | 2.87 |

Males

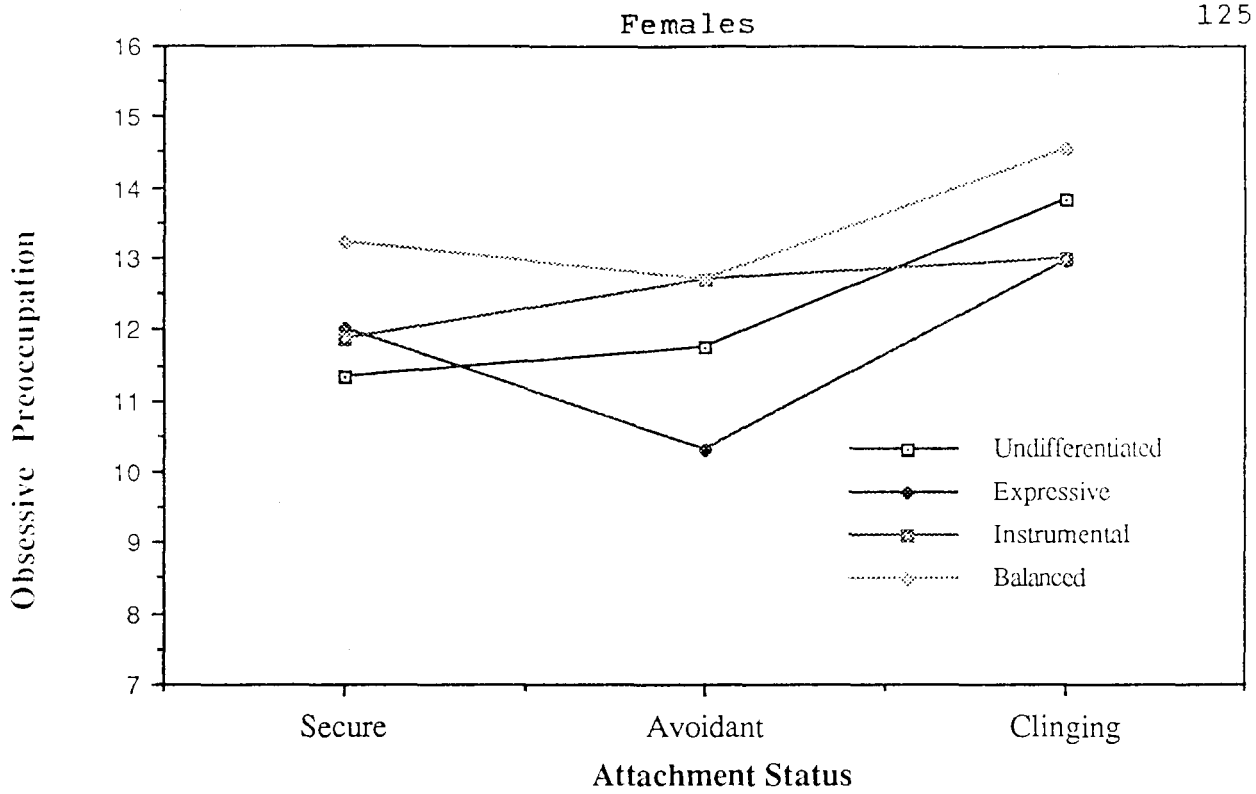
| | Secure | | | Avoidant | | | Clinging | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD |
| U | 11 | 10.36 | 1.91 | 11 | 11.27 | 2.61 | 7 | 13.57 | 1.81 |
| E | 11 | 12.09 | 2.34 | 4 | 11.25 | 2.06 | 6 | 12.83 | 1.83 |
| I | 33 | 11.79 | 1.80 | 16 | 10.81 | 2.54 | 8 | 13.00 | 2.27 |
| B | 26 | 12.15 | 2.46 | 7 | 11.71 | 2.43 | 13 | 14.38 | 1.56 |

* U=Undifferentiated; E=Expressive; I=Instrumental; B=Balanced

Table 29

Analysis of variance of the "effects" of gender, Expressiveness-communion (EC), Instrumentality-agency (IA), and attachment status (AS) on Obsessive Preoccupation.

| Source | SS | df | MS | F | p |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gender | 2.55 | 1 | 2.55 | 0.54 | NS |
| AS | 125.05 | 2 | 62.53 | 13.22 | .0000 |
| EC | 2.37 | 1 | 2.37 | 0.50 | NS |
| IA | 13.51 | 1 | 13.51 | 2.86 | NS |
| Gender x AS | 3.59 | 2 | 1.80 | 0.38 | NS |
| Gender x EC | 8.39 | 1 | 8.39 | 1.77 | NS |
| AS x EC | 13.91 | 2 | 6.95 | 1.47 | NS |
| Gender x IA | 0.42 | 1 | 0.42 | 0.09 | NS |
| AS x IA | 3.26 | 2 | 1.63 | 0.34 | NS |
| EC x IA | 5.53 | 1 | 5.53 | 1.17 | NS |
| Gender x AS x EC | 1.91 | 2 | 0.96 | 0.20 | NS |
| Gender x AS x IA | 11.86 | 2 | 5.93 | 1.25 | NS |
| Gender x EC x IA | 0.08 | 1 | 0.08 | 0.02 | NS |
| AS x EC x IA | 19.03 | 2 | 9.51 | 2.01 | NS |
| Gender x AS x EC x IA | 2.75 | 2 | 1.38 | 0.29 | NS |
| Error | 1,508.58 | 319 | 4.73 | | |



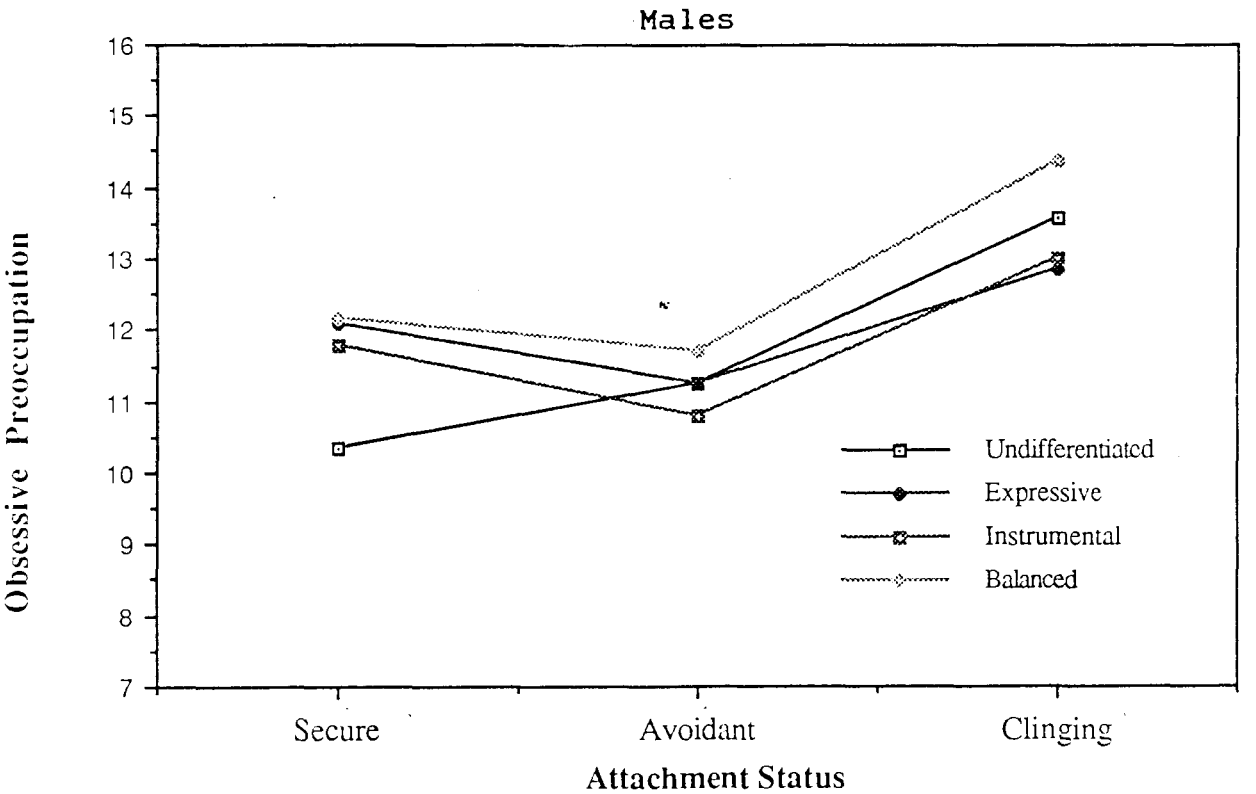




Figure 9
Obsessive Preoccupation as a function of attachment status for each GRSC group and for each gender.

females within the Secure and Clinging categories, but, contrary to prediction, E females were lower than B females within the Avoidant group, albeit not significantly by a priori tests. The I and B male groups appear similar within each level of AS.

The curves for Emotional Extremes are inversions of those seen on the positive variables, with Avoidant Ss tending to score higher (see Tables 30 and 31 and Figure 10). This was due to the main effect of AS, which was supported by parallel analyses. Stereotyped and B Ss within each gender appeared similar.

AS had pronounced effects on Jealousy (see Tables 32 and 33 and Figure 11). The ascending slope over AS of the curves reflect the main effect of AS, suggesting a tendency for higher scores among Insecure AS's, particularly Clinging Ss. AS effects emerged in all parallel analyses. The means of stereotyped Ss are indistinguishable from those of their B counterparts within each AS.

In summary, results for embeddedness variables reflect only a modicum of support for predictions concerning within-gender differences between stereotyped and B groups. On Desire for Reciprocation, Love at First Sight, and Desire for Union, Insecure, usually Avoidant, I males tended to have lower scores than B males. However, these differences were not supported in comparisons of means. B and I males were indistinguishable on Sexual Attraction and Obsessive Preoccupation. No hypothesized differences occurred for either gender on Jealousy or Emotional Extremes. Among females, differences in the direction opposite

Table 30

Descriptive Statistics on Emotional Extremes for Ss grouped by gender, gender role self-concept, and attachment status.

Females

| | Secure | | | Avoidant | | | Clinging | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD |
| U* | 15 | 9.40 | 2.75 | 11 | 11.73 | 1.79 | 6 | 9.50 | 1.97 |
| E | 46 | 9.33 | 3.06 | 7 | 11.71 | 2.14 | 23 | 10.35 | 2.50 |
| I | 15 | 9.40 | 2.72 | 7 | 10.71 | 3.20 | 3 | 11.67 | 2.89 |
| B | 41 | 9.32 | 2.81 | 7 | 10.86 | 2.73 | 9 | 11.11 | 3.02 |

Males

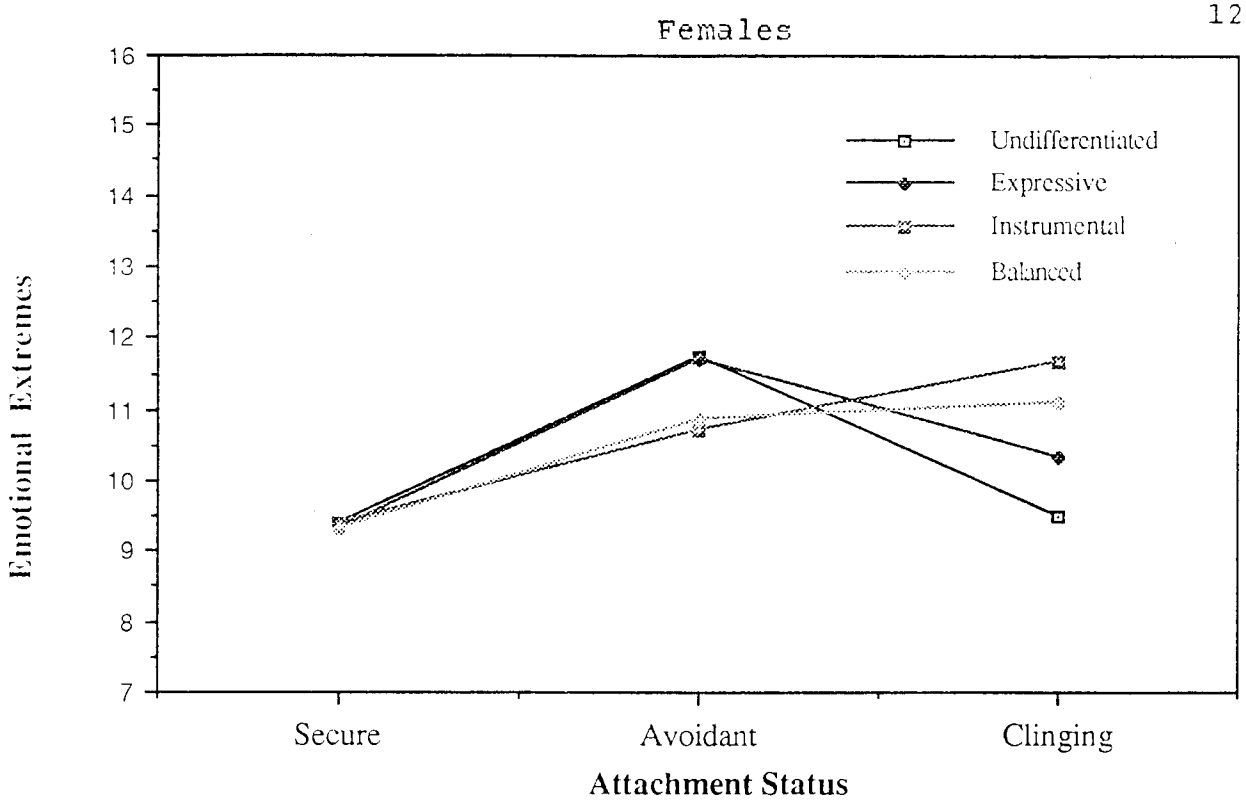
| | Secure | | | Avoidant | | | Clinging | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD |
| U | 11 | 8.18 | 2.82 | 11 | 11.00 | 2.76 | 7 | 10.71 | 3.64 |
| E | 11 | 9.73 | 2.37 | 4 | 11.00 | 4.08 | 6 | 10.17 | 1.83 |
| I | 33 | 9.36 | 2.56 | 16 | 10.13 | 2.63 | 8 | 9.88 | 0.64 |
| B | 26 | 9.27 | 2.65 | 7 | 11.29 | 2.56 | 13 | 10.85 | 2.67 |

* U=Undifferentiated; E=Expressive; I=Instrumental; B=Balanced

Table 31

Analysis of variance of the "effects" of gender, Expressiveness-communion (EC), Instrumentality-agency (IA), and attachment status (AS) on Emotional Extremes.

| Source | SS | df | MS | F | p |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gender | 4.67 | 1 | 4.67 | 0.64 | NS |
| AS | 164.57 | 2 | 82.29 | 11.25 | .0000 |
| EC | 4.09 | 1 | 4.09 | 0.56 | NS |
| IA | 0.40 | 1 | 0.40 | 0.05 | NS |
| Gender x AS | 0.33 | 2 | 0.17 | 0.02 | NS |
| Gender x EC | 2.88 | 1 | 2.88 | 0.39 | NS |
| AS x EC | 0.23 | 2 | 0.11 | 0.02 | NS |
| Gender x IA | 0.44 | 1 | 0.44 | 0.06 | NS |
| AS x IA | 12.72 | 2 | 6.36 | 0.87 | NS |
| EC x IA | 0.02 | 1 | 0.02 | 0.00 | NS |
| Gender x AS x EC | 1.39 | 2 | 0.69 | 0.09 | NS |
| Gender x AS x IA | 10.96 | 2 | 5.48 | 0.75 | NS |
| Gender x EC x IA | 1.98 | 1 | 1.98 | 0.27 | NS |
| AS x EC x IA | 6.44 | 2 | 3.22 | 0.44 | NS |
| Gender x AS x EC x IA | 14.43 | 2 | 7.21 | 0.99 | NS |
| Error | 2,332.93 | 319 | 7.31 | | |



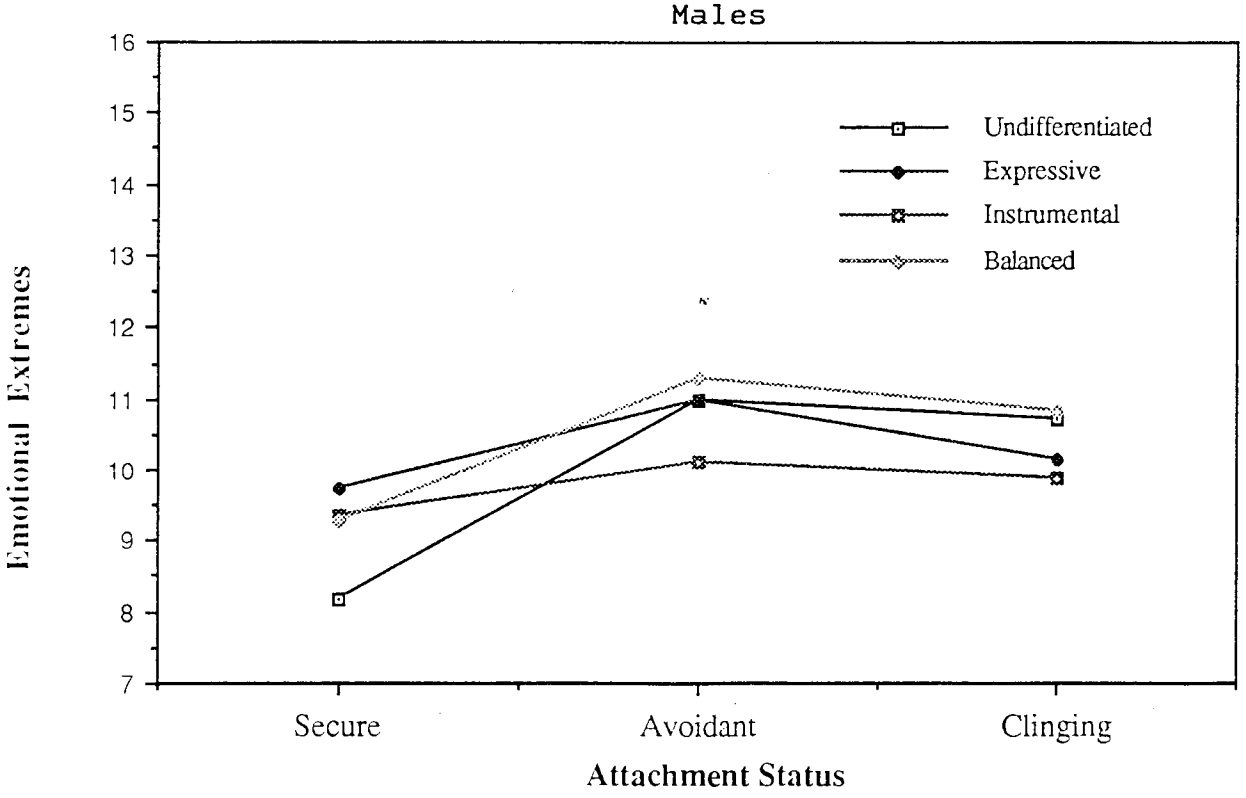




Figure 10
Emotional Extremes as a function of attachment status for each GRSC group and for each gender.

Table 32

Descriptive Statistics on Jealousy for Ss grouped by gender, gender role self-concept, and attachment status.

Females

| | Secure | | | Avoidant | | | Clinging | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD |
| U* | 15 | 8.87 | 2.72 | 11 | 9.36 | 1.80 | 6 | 9.00 | 1.90 |
| E | 46 | 8.93 | 2.50 | 7 | 10.43 | 2.57 | 23 | 11.22 | 2.73 |
| I | 15 | 9.47 | 2.90 | 7 | 9.86 | 2.12 | 3 | 12.67 | 2.31 |
| B | 41 | 8.88 | 2.47 | 7 | 9.71 | 1.80 | 9 | 11.11 | 3.92 |

Males

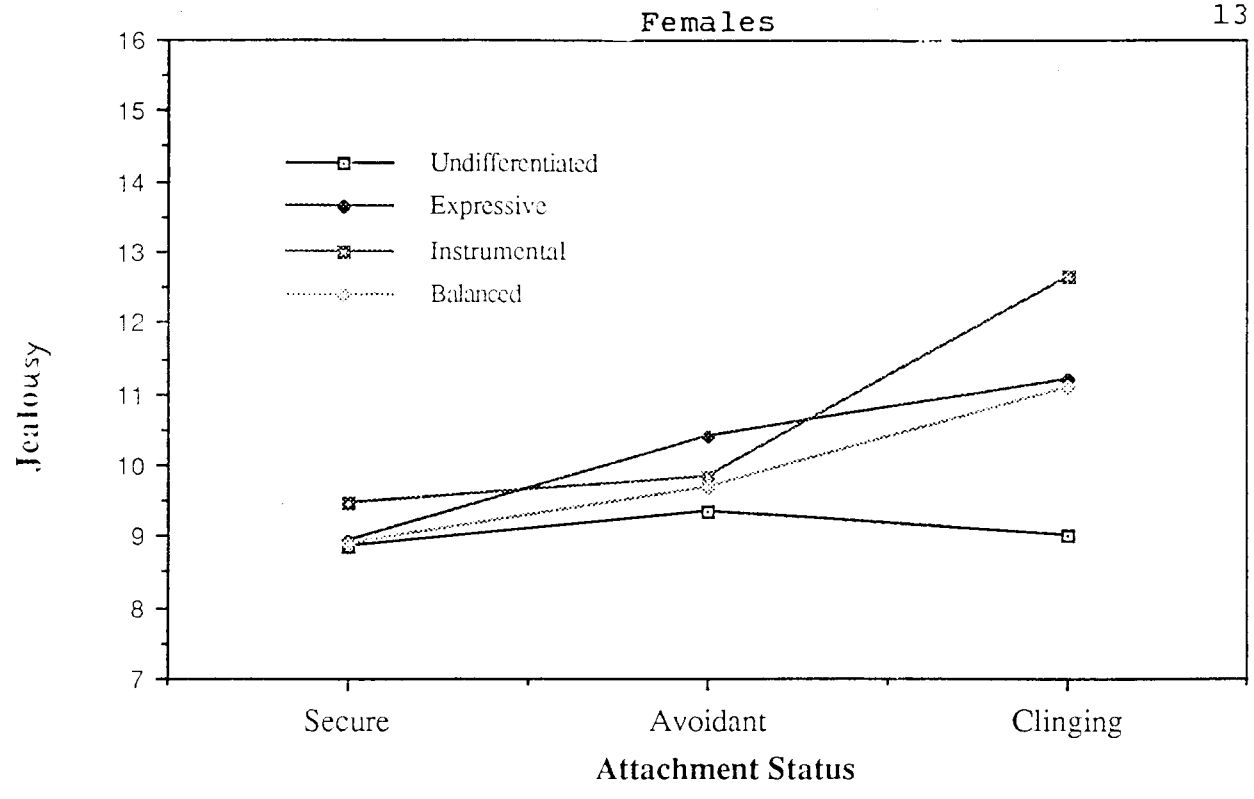
| | Secure | | | Avoidant | | | Clinging | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD |
| U | 11 | 8.09 | 2.39 | 11 | 10.36 | 2.34 | 7 | 12.00 | 2.83 |
| E | 11 | 9.00 | 3.07 | 4 | 9.75 | 4.79 | 6 | 12.17 | 2.14 |
| I | 33 | 9.67 | 2.57 | 16 | 10.69 | 2.24 | 8 | 12.38 | 0.92 |
| B | 26 | 8.81 | 2.56 | 7 | 10.71 | 2.43 | 13 | 12.23 | 2.80 |

* U=Undifferentiated; E=Expressive; I=Instrumental; B=Balanced

Table 33

Analysis of variance of the "effects" of gender, Expressiveness-communion (EC), Instrumentality-agency (IA), and attachment status (AS) on Jealousy.

| Source | SS | df | MS | F | p |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gender | 15.14 | 1 | 15.14 | 2.29 | NS |
| AS | 286.63 | 2 | 143.32 | 21.65 | .0000 |
| EC | 0.11 | 1 | 0.11 | 0.02 | NS |
| IA | 18.37 | 1 | 18.37 | 2.78 | NS |
| Gender x AS | 19.19 | 2 | 9.60 | 1.45 | NS |
| Gender x EC | 0.94 | 1 | 0.94 | 0.14 | NS |
| AS x EC | 1.01 | 2 | 0.51 | 0.08 | NS |
| Gender x IA | 0.22 | 1 | 0.22 | 0.03 | NS |
| AS x IA | 4.15 | 2 | 2.07 | 0.31 | NS |
| EC x IA | 18.81 | 1 | 18.81 | 2.84 | NS |
| Gender x AS x EC | 3.15 | 2 | 1.57 | 0.24 | NS |
| Gender x AS x IA | 12.02 | 2 | 6.01 | 0.91 | NS |
| Gender x EC x IA | 6.62 | 1 | 6.62 | 1.00 | NS |
| AS x EC x IA | 5.57 | 2 | 2.79 | 0.42 | NS |
| Gender x AS x EC x IA | 15.27 | 2 | 7.63 | 1.15 | NS |
| Error | 2,112.13 | 319 | 6.62 | | |



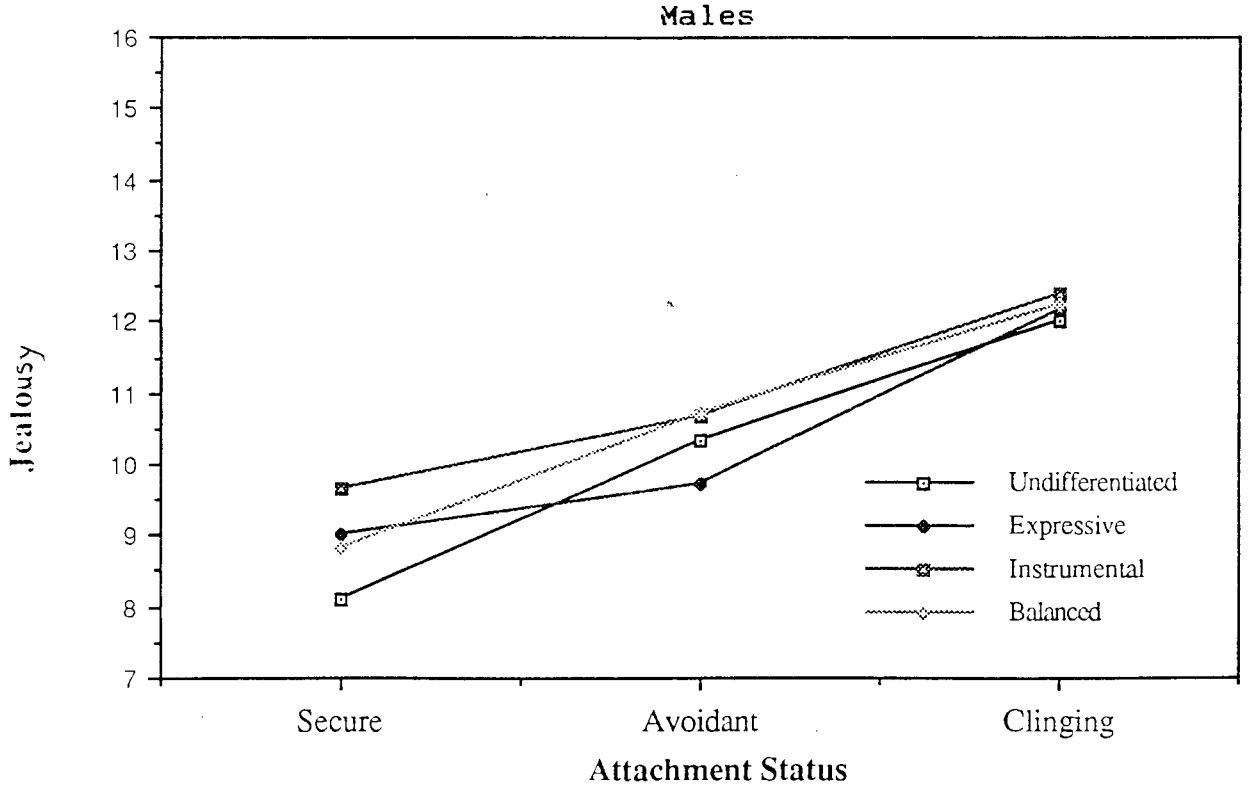




Figure 11
Jealousy as a function of attachment status for each GRSC group and for each gender.

to that hypothesized were actually found on Desire for Reciprocation, Love at First Sight, Desire for Union, Sexual Attraction, and Obsessive Preoccupation. However, these were not significant.

*Within-Gender Differences Between Stereotyped and Balanced Groups on Fear of Closeness*

As noted, the only love experience variable that might positively, as opposed to negatively, reflect detachment in terms of low scores on embeddedness, was Fear of Closeness. I males were expected to exceed B males within each AS. No prediction was made for females on Fear of Closeness. A main effect of AS and several interactions or near-interactions emerged, gender by AS, gender by EC, and EC by IA (see Tables 34 and 35). Judging from Figure 12, AS governed the means of males with Avoidant Ss scoring highest. The interactions appear to be due to the different pattern of means among females, with I and B females relatively invariant across AS. Only the AS main effect and the EC x IA interaction emerged in parallel analyses. I and B males appear similar within each AS, and, indeed, planned comparisons for males revealed no within-AS differences.

*Gender Differences in Love Experiences Among Stereotyped Groups*

Hypothesis 7 concerns gender differences. E females were expected to report more positive love experiences and greater embeddedness than I males. I males were expected to evidence greater detachment than E females. Three a priori tests

Table 34
Descriptive Statistics on Fear of Closeness for Ss grouped by gender, gender role self-concept, and attachment status.

Females

| | Secure | | | Avoidant | | | Clinging | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD |
| U* | 15 | 8.60 | 3.02 | 11 | 10.00 | 2.05 | 6 | 9.33 | 1.21 |
| E | 46 | 8.54 | 2.02 | 7 | 10.86 | 1.35 | 23 | 8.74 | 3.02 |
| I | 15 | 9.87 | 1.06 | 7 | 10.43 | 2.07 | 3 | 10.00 | 4.36 |
| B | 41 | 7.76 | 2.26 | 7 | 8.57 | 2.57 | 9 | 8.33 | 3.35 |

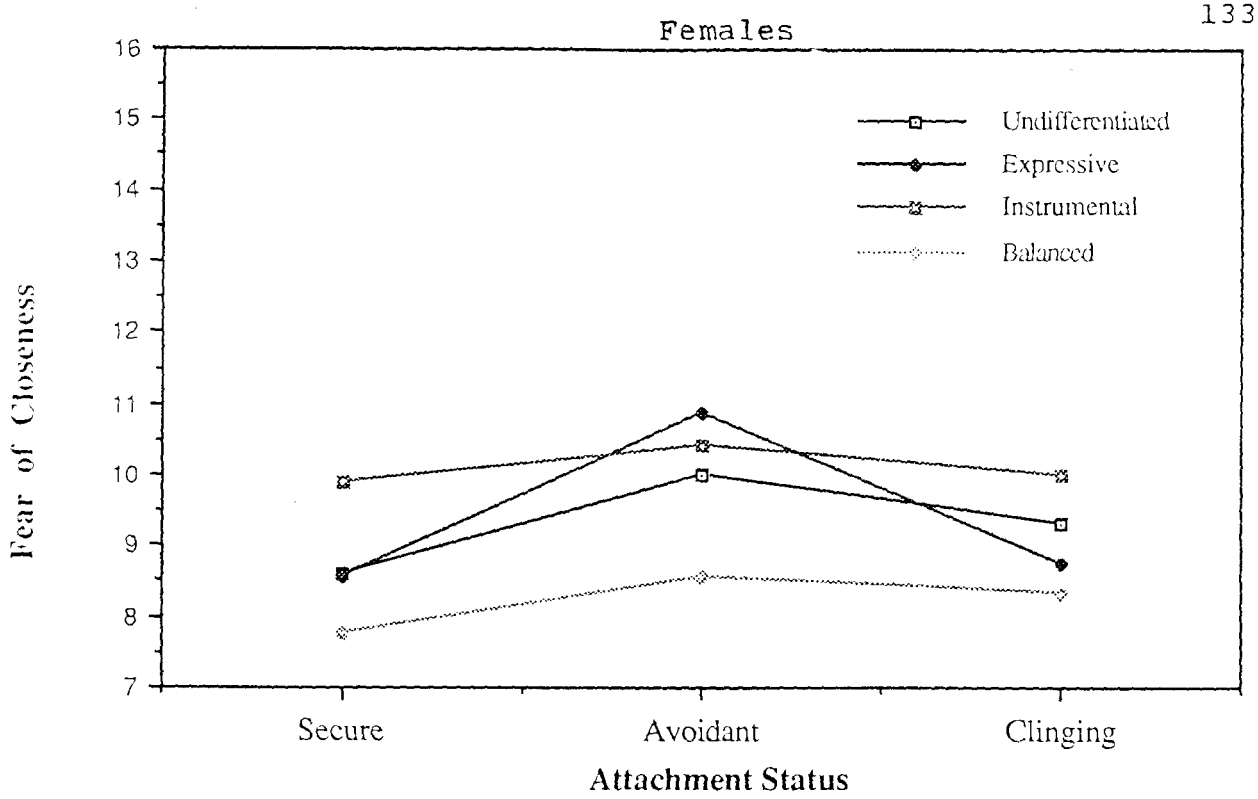
Males

| | Secure | | | Avoidant | | | Clinging | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD | *n* | Mean | SD |
| U | 11 | 8.09 | 2.55 | 11 | 10.18 | 2.23 | 7 | 7.71 | 2.87 |
| E | 11 | 9.36 | 2.25 | 4 | 12.50 | 2.52 | 6 | 8.83 | 1.72 |
| I | 33 | 8.94 | 2.60 | 16 | 10.88 | 2.19 | 8 | 8.50 | 2.14 |
| B | 26 | 8.77 | 2.44 | 7 | 11.29 | 2.29 | 13 | 7.69 | 2.53 |

* U=Undifferentiated; E=Expressive; I=Instrumental; B=Balanced

Table 35
Analysis of variance of the "effects" of gender, Expressiveness-communion (EC), Instrumentality-agency (IA), and attachment status (AS) on Fear of Closeness.

| Source | SS | df | MS | F | p |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gender | 1.11 | 1 | 1.11 | 0.20 | NS |
| AS | 163.03 | 2 | 81.52 | 14.37 | .0000 |
| EC | 0.62 | 1 | 0.62 | 0.11 | NS |
| IA | 1.14 | 1 | 1.14 | 0.20 | NS |
| Gender x AS | 33.75 | 2 | 16.87 | 2.98 | .0525 |
| Gender x EC | 34.41 | 1 | 34.41 | 6.07 | .0143 |
| AS x EC | 7.15 | 2 | 3.58 | 0.63 | NS |
| Gender x IA | 0.09 | 1 | 0.09 | 0.02 | NS |
| AS x IA | 6.48 | 2 | 3.24 | 0.57 | NS |
| EC x IA | 46.44 | 1 | 46.44 | 8.19 | .0045 |
| Gender x AS x EC | 0.61 | 2 | 0.30 | 0.05 | NS |
| Gender x AS x IA | 2.11 | 2 | 1.05 | 0.19 | NS |
| Gender x EC x IA | 0.12 | 1 | 0.12 | 0.02 | NS |
| AS x EC x IA | 1.30 | 2 | 0.65 | 0.11 | NS |
| Gender x AS x EC x IA | 1.60 | 2 | 0.80 | 0.14 | NS |
| Error | 1,809.16 | 319 | 5.67 | | |



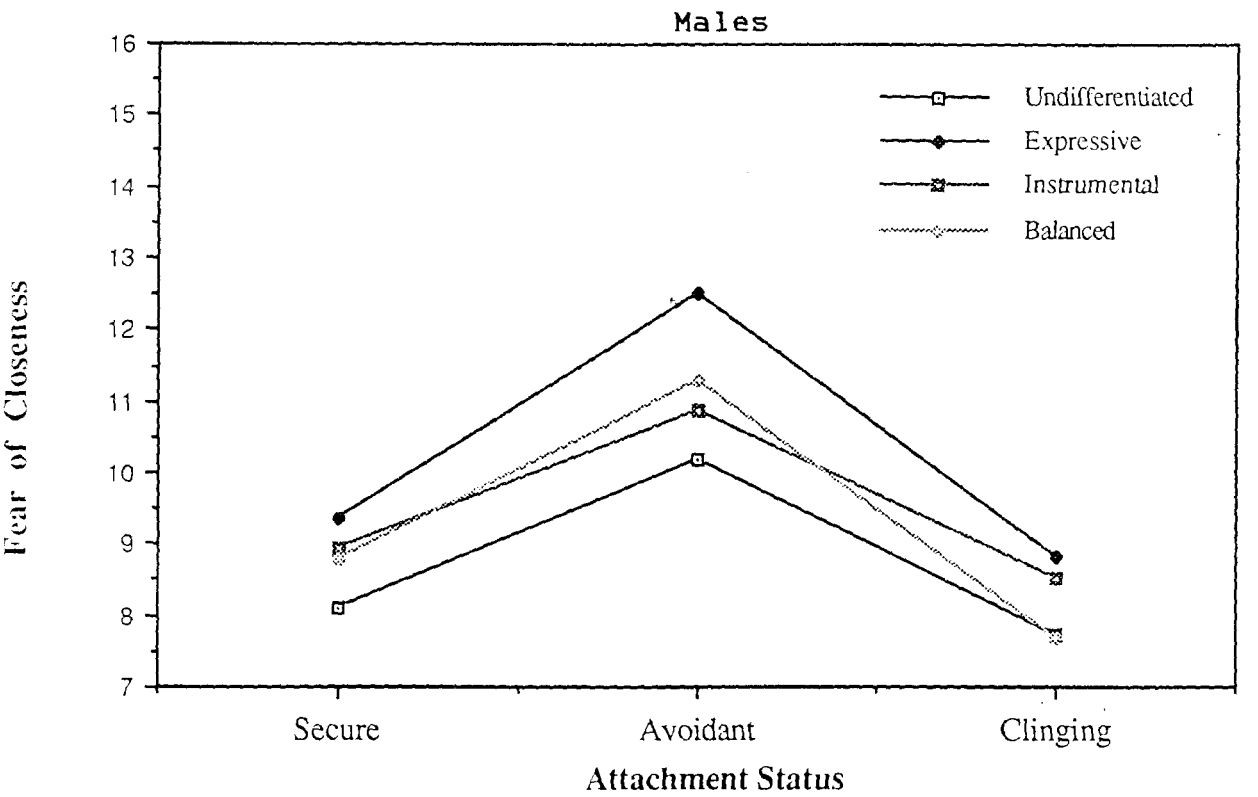




Figure 12
Fear of Closeness as a function of attachment status for each GRSC group and for each gender.

contrasted the means of E females and I males for each love experience, holding AS constant. An additional comparison of particular interest was of I-Avoidant males versus E-Clinging females.

Results do not support predictions for a general difference between E females and I males. With respect to positive love experiences (see Figures 1 to 4), E females had greater means than I males within each AS only on Acceptance, due to a main effect of EC. On embeddedness variables, E females did not exceed I males; the reverse more often occurred (see Figures 5 to 11). Only among Avoidant Ss on Emotional Extremes did the mean of E females appear greater than that of I males. With respect to Fear of Closeness, the expectation that I males would obtain higher scores was not met (see Figure 12). As no planned comparison resulted in significance, both the meagre supportive results and those indicating refutation are dubious.

In comparing E-Clinging females and I-Avoidant males, only marginal support for predictions was found. Although E-Clinging females exceeded I-Avoidant males on positive love experiences, as predicted, this was likely due to the AS main effects and not GRSC, given that these females resembled other Clinging groups (Figures 1 to 4). Examination of Figures 5 to 11 reveals that E-Clinging females tended to exceed I-Avoidant males on Desire for Reciprocation, Desire for Union, and Obsessive Preoccupation, as predicted. With respect to the former 2 variables (but not the latter), the groups' different AS may not be the sole reason, as EC or IA had an effect on each. Finally, on Fear of Closeness,

I-Avoidant males obtained higher scores than E-Clinging females, as predicted. The complex effects on this variable may indicate that AS was not entirely responsible for this difference. However, as none of these apparent differences between means was significant, their replicability is doubtful.

In summary, gender comparisons resulted in little support for and even some suggestions of refutation of hypothesis 7, with respect to a general difference attributable to GRSC. Findings pertaining to predictions specifically concerning E-Clinging versus I-Avoidant males are more positive, but only with respect to 3 of 12 variables do these groups' differences appear to be due to GRSC and not AS. Moreover, no support for any apparent differences was found in comparisons of means.

Post hoc Findings

Three types of post hoc explorations were conducted: (1) comparisons of pairs of means about which no hypotheses had been formulated, (2) evaluation of the relationships of the concomitant variables, researcher gender and attachment figure-romantic partner identicality, with other variables, and (3) multivariate analyses of the relationships among GRSC, AS and love experiences. Concerning (1), Clinging groups, who were often extreme scorers, were usually involved. Although the concomitant variables (2) had little effect on the results reported above, they were involved in additional effects on love experiences.

Concerning the latter post hoc exploration (3), the choice

of principal components analysis (PCA) among multivariate methods involved the following considerations. Results overall indicated that gender predicted GRSC, GRSC predicted AS, and AS predicted love experiences. However, in this chain of relationships, no larger steps, such as between gender and AS or GRSC and love experiences, represented meaningful relationships. Although path analysis might have been used to further explore this chain of relationships, it would not have aided in testing hypotheses, most of which concerned specific sub-groups of the sample. Moreover, these links between variables were already established by the planned analyses. Canonical correlation would have preserved the distinction between predictors (GRSC and AS) and criteria (love experiences). However, the purely correlational design of the present study renders somewhat arbitrary this distinction, which had already proven to be in part meaningless, with the failure of GRSC to predict love experiences. PCA of all variables was selected as a less restricted way of examining all inter-relationships together. PCA had the potential to identify sub-group profiles over the 3 sets of variables which might pose alternatives to the sub-group profiles expected which were not found.

*The Clinging Group*

Post hoc comparisons of means, which were mostly between different AS's, largely involved Clinging Ss. For these comparisons, Tukey's "Honestly Significant Difference" test was used, with $p<.05$ per family. A family was defined as all comparisons pertaining to one love experience. Criteria for

choosing post-hoc tests were that pairs of means should be at least 10 apart, with priority given to contrasting E-Clinging females versus other E and B females, and I-Avoidant males versus other I and B males. Cross-gender contrasts emphasized Insecure AS's among E females and I males. U Ss, I females, and E males were again ignored. Given 24 means, p levels were stringent, and only 10 comparisons or fewer for each love experience were made.

A stronger form of the present hypotheses might have been that GRSC should be more important than AS. This would imply no need to hold AS constant for comparisons.

Of comparisons for positive Love Experiences, the only significant difference found was on Happiness. B-Clinging females scored higher than E-Avoidant females ($q=5.25$, $p<.05$), probably due to their different AS's and not GRSC, given that only AS had a significant effect on Happiness. Notably, Clinging Ss were rarely compared to Secures because their means were so close. They were never found to have lower scores than Secures.

Clinging Ss tended to exceed other groups on embeddedness variables. On Desire for Reciprocation, 4 within-gender post-hoc tests were significant. B-Clinging females scored higher than both E-Avoidant ($q=5.68$, $p<.05$) and E-Secure ($q=5.20$, $p<.05$) females. B-Clinging males scored higher than both I-Avoidant and I-Secure males (respectively, $q=6.32$, $p<.05$; $q=5.38$, $p<.05$). Significant gender differences were also found for these Clinging Ss: B-Clinging females scored higher than I-Avoidant males ($q=6.44$, $p<.05$), and B-Clinging males scored higher than

E-Avoidant females ($q$=5.41, $p<.05$). The fact that B-Clinging Ss exceeded several groups, together with the established influence of EC and IA on this variable, suggests that differences may be partly due to their Balanced GRSC and not only to AS. The result for females appears to refute the stronger form of the present hypothesis; whereas that for males appears to support it.

On Desire for Union, B-Clinging females scored significantly higher than I-Avoidant males ($q$=5.50, $p<.05$). These Ss had several factors elevating their scores: AS, IA, and, to a lesser extent, EC, all of which had main effects.

On Obsessive Preoccupation, 3 comparisons resulted in significance: B-Clinging males scored significantly higher than I-Avoidant males, I-Secure males, and E-Avoidant females (respectively, $q$=6.22, $p<.05$; $q$=5.16, $p<.05$; $q$=5.69, $p<.05$). These findings are likely due to the main effect of AS and not to GRSC, given that all male groups were high on IA, which was the only factor other than AS tending toward a main effect.

On Jealousy, only 1 comparison was significant: I-Clinging males scored higher than B-Secure males ($q$=5.54, $p<.05$). This result was clearly due to AS, since within each AS, male GRSC groups were indistiguishable.

None of the post-hoc tests for Love at First Sight, Emotional Extremes or Sexual Attraction resulted in significance.

On Fear of Closeness, I-Avoidant males scored significantly higher than B-Secure females ($q$=6.28, $p<.05$), due to the generally low scores of B females.

In summary, Clinging Ss resembled Secures in their scores on positive variables and on Fear of Closeness. B-Clinging Ss in particular tended to score higher than both Avoidants and Secures on embeddedness variables. There are indications that this may be due to their GRSC in addition to AS.

*Researcher Gender and Attachment Figure-Romantic Partner Identicality*

As noted above, the incompleteness of the parallel ANOVAs that included researcher gender or attachment figure-romantic partner identicality (AFRP) as factors renders their reliability doubtful. Therefore, only those main effects and interactions (with subject gender, AS, EC, and IA) of these concomitant variables which emerged consistently across ANOVAs, will be discussed below. As these are uncertain results at best, which, moreover, derive from exploratory analyses, the sub-group differences discussed concern only the most obvious tendencies implied by the effects and not formal comparisons of means.

Researcher Gender: On 2 of 4 positive love experiences, researcher gender was relevant. It was involved with AS and IA in a 3-way interaction on Friendship. Similarly, on Trust, researcher gender interacted with AS and also, whenever IA was present as a factor, with AS and IA. For both Friendship and Trust, Avoidants, especially low-IA Avoidants, who had worked with female researchers had lower scores than the other groups. This contrast was especially marked for low-IA Avoidants. On Happiness and Acceptance, researcher gender had no effects or interactions.

On only 3 embeddedness variables was researcher gender relevant. On Desire for Reciprocation, it had no consistently emerging interactions with other factors, but it did have a main effect. This was due to higher scores of Ss who had worked with a male researcher. On Love at First Sight, a 3-way interaction of researcher gender, AS and IA was due to the higher scores of low- and high-IA Clinging Ss who had worked with a female researcher and of high-IA Clinging Ss who had worked with a male researcher, relative to other groups. On Sexual Attraction, a 3-way interaction of researcher gender, subject gender and AS was due to the lower scores of Avoidant women who had worked with a male researcher and the lower scores of Avoidant men and women who had worked with a female researcher. On Desire for Union, Obsessive Preoccupation, Emotional Extremes, Jealousy, and Fear of Closeness, researcher gender had no main effect and no interaction, or no consistently emerging interaction, with any other variable.

Attachment Figure-Romantic Partner Identicality: On all 4 positive love experiences, AFRP had a main effect due to the higher scores of AFRP-same Ss. AFRP also interacted with AS on these variables. The means of Avoidants varied little as a function of AFRP; whereas both Secure and Clinging Ss had higher scores if their attachment figure and romantic partner were the same than if they were different people.

For 4 embeddedness variables, AFRP was relevant. On Desire for Reciprocation, AFRP had a main effect, due to Ss with AFRP-same having higher scores than Ss with AFRP-different. On Desire

for Union, AFRP tended to interact with gender, AS, EC, and IA, depending which variables were included in the ANOVA. The reason for this complexity is difficult to unravel, but Clinging men tended to score higher than other groups if their attachment figure was the same as their romantic partner. On Sexual Attraction, AFRP interacted with EC, due to higher scores among high-EC, AFRP-same Ss. On Emotional Extremes, AFRP had a main effect due to AFRP-same Ss having lower scores. An interaction of AFRP and AS on Emotional Extremes was evident in the invariance of Avoidants with respect to AFRP and the lower scores of Secure and Clinging Ss with AFRP-same. On Love at First Sight, Obsessive Preoccupation, Jealousy, AFRP had no main effects or consistent interactions.

On Fear of Closeness, AFRP had a main effect, due to higher scores among AFRP-different Ss, and an interaction with AS due to the exception to the latter rule of Avoidants who were invariant over AFRP.

To summarize, researcher gender had only a minor role, relative to the variables of interest in effects on love experiences. AFRP was important in its own right and in interactions, most often with AS, on love experiences.

*A Gestaltic View of All Variables*

In order to gain a gestaltic view of the pattern of results, principal components analyses were performed separately for each gender on EC, IA, Avoidance, Clinging, and the 12 love experiences.

For females, a 3-component solution with eigenvalues greater than 1 (eigenvalues were 5.32, 2.79, 1.20, 0.99, 0.96, 0.71, 0.63, 0.58, etc.) accounted for 58.14 per cent of the variance (see Table 36). Although the size of eigenvalues might

Table 36
Factor structure after varimax rotation resulting from principal components analysis of all variables for females.

| | Factor 1 | Factor 2 | Factor 3 |
|---|---|---|---|
| EC | .19 | .28 | .45 |
| IA | .18 | .01 | -.65 |
| Avoidance | -.01 | -.73 | -.22 |
| Clinging | .33 | -.17 | .68 |
| Friendship | .34 | .79 | -.06 |
| Happiness | .58 | .66 | -.07 |
| Acceptance | .59 | .40 | .12 |
| Trust | .43 | .73 | -.02 |
| Desire for Reciprocation | .73 | .25 | .23 |
| Desire for Union | .73 | .14 | .29 |
| Love at First Sight | .67 | .06 | .02 |
| Sexual Attraction | .79 | .10 | -.07 |
| Obsessive Preoccupation | .77 | -.09 | .05 |
| Emotional Extremes | .27 | -.73 | .17 |
| Jealousy | .34 | -.52 | .37 |
| Fear of Closeness | -.24 | -.64 | -.11 |

point to a 5-component solution, and this would account for 70.30 per cent of the variance, only 2 variables loaded meaningfully on the fifth factor. In addition, the 3-component solution was considered most interpretable. The first factor suggests intensity or passion in attachment and love. It comprised Clinging and positive and embeddedness love experiences. The second factor suggests low-intensity companionship. EC loaded moderately, indicating a degree of interpersonal focus. All positive love experiences loaded highly; while unpleasant love experiences (Fear of Closeness, Emotional Extremes, Jealousy) loaded negatively. Of embeddedness

variables, only Desire for Reciprocation loaded positively. The third factor suggests the traditional E woman, with its high EC and low IA loadings, and Clinging. Of love experiences, only the 2 embeddedness variables, Desire for Union and Jealousy, loaded meaningfully, if moderately. Overall, the weakness of relationships between GRSC and other variables is obvious in the failure of EC and IA to load on the first factor, on which love experiences loaded heavily. For women, Clinging was important in its positive relationships with love experiences; while Avoidance was important only insofar as it negatively related to the companionship factor.

For males, a 4-component solution with eigenvalues greater than 1 (eigenvalues were 5.60, 2.85, 1.13, 1.05, 0.96, 0.69, 0.56, 0.55, 0.49, etc.) accounted for 66.45 per cent of the variance (see Table 37). The first factor, as for females, suggests intensity or passion, as it comprised Clinging, 3 of 4 positive, and all 7 embeddedness love experiences. The second factor might suggest serenity and warmth. Although Clinging has a trivial loading, Avoidance has a strong negative loading, Acceptance is high, and 4 embeddedness love experiences loaded positively, but at a lower level than on the first factor. Unpleasant love experiences (Fear of Closeness, Emotional Extremes) tended to load negatively. The third factor is the first on which a GRSC variable loads meaningfully. EC is very high and is accompanied by a negative loading of Avoidance, and positive loadings of Acceptance and Desire for Reciprocation. The nondescriptness of this combination might suggest that EC is

Table 37
Factor structure after varimax rotation resulting from principal components analysis of all variables for males.

| | Factors | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| EC | .06 | .08 | .92 | .08 |
| IA | .02 | .13 | .07 | .90 |
| Avoidance | .11 | -.67 | -.33 | -.07 |
| Clinging | .67 | .02 | .05 | -.39 |
| Friendship | .09 | .83 | .16 | .21 |
| Happiness | .41 | .74 | .03 | .12 |
| Acceptance | .30 | .54 | .30 | -.11 |
| Trust | .25 | .75 | .09 | .18 |
| Desire for Reciprocation | .56 | .36 | .46 | -.05 |
| Desire for Union | .73 | .31 | .17 | .04 |
| Love at First Sight | .74 | .26 | -.08 | .22 |
| Sexual Attraction | .70 | .35 | .07 | .24 |
| Obsessive Preoccupation | .82 | .11 | .16 | -.04 |
| Emotional Extremes | .48 | -.61 | .07 | -.09 |
| Jealousy | .78 | -.20 | -.10 | -.08 |
| Fear of Closeness | -.16 | -.66 | .14 | .14 |

associated with a "lukewarm" attitude toward love. However, the small number of loadings is mainly due to the independence of love experiences and GRSC, rather than low levels of the former. This independence is the basis of the sparse loadings appearing on the fourth factor, including IA and a negative loading of Clinging.

A 5-component solution might have been viable for males, given the size of the eigenvalues. For both genders, increasing the number of factors expanded the number of those comprising AS and love experiences and forced EC and IA to load on the last in the series, which, of course, account for the least variance. Four factors in the 5-factor solution are near-replicas of those in the 4-factor solution. The new factor suggests the Avoidant male who has had few positive love experiences (negative

loadings), is Fearful of Closeness, and experiences Emotional Extremes.

The relationships among all variables differ somewhat between genders. For males, as for females, the relative independence of GRSC and love experiences is clear. Love experiences loaded most heavily on initial factors, on which EC and IA failed to load. For females, high EC was associated with high Clinging; but for males, high EC was associated with low Avoidance. High IA was associated with low Clinging among males. For both genders, Clinging was strongly related to embeddedness. Low Avoidance was also related to embeddedness among males (and low Fear of Closeness), but to a lesser extent. This was not so for females, for whom low Avoidance was associated with low-intensity companionship and low Fear of Closeness.

Conclusions

The two scales of EC and IA, based on a combination of 2 measures, succeeded in discriminating gender and maintaining independence of subscales, as traditional GRSC measures do. Although the PAQ and SIV measure different aspects of expressiveness and instrumentality, i.e., traits and values, respectively, their subscales were found to be well related in PCA.

The two Insecure AS's generated by PCA seemed to parallel previous findings in attachment research and were relatively discrete.

Gender appeared to be related to scores on the Avoidance AS factor, as posited in hypothesis 2, but not to scores on Clinging.

When AS was used in combination with EC and IA, few predictions concerning their relationship were upheld. Hypothesis 1, the expectation that more B than stereotyped Ss would be categorized as Secure than Insecure was not supported. Hypothesis 3 was supported, in terms of proportions assigned to attachment categories and in terms of scores on Avoidance, if not scores on Clinging. That is, Insecure E females were more likely to be categorized as Clinging than Insecure I males, who were more likely to be categorized as Avoidant. The predictions of hypothesis 4, that E females were more likely to be Clinging than B females and that I males were more likely to be Avoidant than B males, were only tentatively upheld with respect to males in both parametric and non-parametric analyses.

When love experiences were analyzed, results did not tend to support the remaining hypotheses. In dubious support of hypothesis 6, which concerned I and B males, only within Avoidant groups did I Ss tend to have the lower means on embeddedness variables. Contrary to hypothesis 5, which concerned E and B females, E females tended to have the lower means on embeddedness. None of these apparent differences was confirmed in comparisons of means. On positive love experiences and Fear of Closeness, hypotheses 5 and 6 were clearly not supported.

In contrasting E females and I males, essentially no support was found for hypothesis 7. With respect to the more specific prediction of hypothesis 7 concerning E-Clinging females and I-Avoidant males, marginal support was found, but cmparisons of means failed to corroborate apparent differences.

Findings that were not predicted concerned Clinging Ss. They resembled Secures on positive love experiences. Clinging Ss tended to have higher means on embeddedness variables and lower means on Fear of Closeness. The fact that these were usually B Ss in particular, suggests that GRSC contributed to their distinctiveness.

The inclusion of researcher gender and attachment figure-romantic partner identicality (AFRP) in the ANOVAs on love experiences diminished few of the reported effects. In their own right, researcher gender had little relevance to love experiences, but AFRP was relevant.

Overall, gender predicted GRSC, GRSC predicted AS, and AS predicted love experiences. No larger steps in this chain involved meaningful relationships. In evaluating the gestalt of all variables using principal components analysis, these conclusions were re-affirmed. EC and IA tended to load on the last factors, as they accounted for least variance in other variables. If other variables loaded with them, they were most likely to be attachment variables and not love experiences. Attachment variables tended to load with love experiences, and love experiences loaded mainly on the first and second factors. Thus, attachment was related to GRSC and to love experiences.

# CHAPTER III

# DISCUSSION

The results of the present study are discussed in terms of the aspects of Chodorow's theory that were and were not supported. Interpretations of the meaning of the findings are offered, as are some implications for future research.

## Gender Role Self-Concept and Attachment Status

The measure of gender role self-concept (GRSC) effectively discriminated attachment status (AS) as a categorical variable as follows: Expressive (E) women were more often Clinging than Instrumental (I) men, and I men were more often Avoidant than E women. In parametric analyses on Avoidance, results were parallel, in that I men scored higher than E women and higher than Balanced (B) men. However, the failure to find significant differences between E women and I men in parametric analysis of Clinging detracts somewhat from the finding of a relationship between GRSC and AS. Nevertheless, these results appear to support the assertion discussed above that both adaptive features and psychopathology are involved in female relatedness and male separation. The E or interpersonally oriented style, among Insecure females, is likely to be associated with a sense of continuity with the attachment figure and comfort in intimacy. Their Clinging AS also might reflect regressive self-other boundary diffusion and anxiety over maintenance of the bond with the attachment figure, as indicated by the nature of this AS. Compensating for the lack of a secure

base takes the form of proximity maintenance through care-seeking and -giving. The I or autonomy-oriented style of males, who if Insecure were likely to be Avoidant, reflects their apparent independence, sense of separation and perceived lack of availability of the attachment figure. The self-reliance, angry withdrawal, and the lack of use of and involvement with the attachment figure, also associated with the AS, suggest that their stance may be based upon fear of rejection and anticipatory hostility.

Support for the theory is limited in that more general gender differences in attachment status were not found. This was also the case in the study of Hazan and Shaver (1987). Kobak and Sceery (1988) found gender differences, with a preponderance of females in the AS that parallels Clinging and of males in the AS that parallels Avoidance. The interview measure that they used may be more subtle and more thorough than the self-report measures used in the present study and by Hazan and Shaver. Kobak and Sceery classified subjects on the basis of Ss' discussion of early relations with parents, and on the basis of the manner in which these were described, e.g., idealization, coherence and integration of contradictory experiences.

Discrimination power with respect to women began to disintegrate before the examination of the third set of variables concerning love experiences. Although it seemed to recover when attachment status was simplified to categories for comparisons of E women and I men, this was not the case in comparisons of E and B women. Obviously, many of the E women's

Clinging scores, which were used to assign them to that attachment status, were near the cut-off, given that their mean did not reach expected elevations over those of B women and I men. This suggests that for many E women, the Clinging orientation did not reach levels which would indicate psychopathology. Perhaps, given their relatedness focus, many of these women are more likely than I men to have had ameliorative relationships. Another interpretation is that the tendency toward Clinging of many E females reflects an interpersonal style and not necessarily psychopathology. Perhaps the fact that very few B women had Insecure AS's and that those who did so were about equally distributed between them (7 and 8) was more the problem. However, an *n* for females of 195 ought to provide a true proportion of Insecure B females in the college population.

GRSC discriminated the AS's of men, in both parametric and non-parametric contrasts of I men with B men and E women, with the finding that I men are more often Avoidant compared to both groups. However, when I and B men were subdivided into groups whose attachment figure was the same as or different from the romantic partner (AFRP-same or -different), these chi-square tests were not significant. Overall, GRSC was more robust with respect to the AS of men than women. The tendency for Insecure B males to be classed more often as Clinging than Avoidant might be related to the E component of their GRSC, considering that both Clinging and expressiveness reflect investments in relationships with intimate others.

The possibility that some individuals may not have internalized or may have transcended the gender-based object relations posited by Chodorow was expressed in the hypotheses that concerned B subjects. Both parents of B individuals are known to blend roles and provide nurturance. A lesser emphasis on isolated, primary mother-rearing should reduce the likelihood of B individuals manifesting the consequences posited by Chodorow. However, the expectation that more B individuals would have a Secure attachment status than gender stereotyped individuals was not supported for either gender. Only for females did the difference in proportion even take the expected direction. Gender stereotyped Ss, especially I males, were as likely as B Ss to be Secure. This finding is reminiscent of the common empirical finding that I subjects fare well in studies of self-reported psychopathology. It evokes the interpretation that instrumentality is an adaptive orientation in western culture. I behaviour may receive the social reinforcement necessary to maintenance of self-esteem. Perhaps many E females' investments in relationships provide sufficient self-cohesion for them to feel as secure as their B peers.

In summary, the contrast between E women and I men over AS was the sharpest, persisting whether attachment figures were the same as romantic partners or not. This difference supports the hypothesis of gender polarity and complementarity in object relations. The failure to find robust differences between B and stereotyped Ss indicates that AS is independent of GRSC within each gender.

## Attachment and Love Experiences

AS was a strong predictor of many aspects of love experiences. On positive love experiences, Avoidant Ss almost always scored lower than other groups. On embeddedness love experiences, Avoidants usually scored lower than Secures, and Clinging Ss were highest. On Fear of Closeness, Avoidants scored highest. The tendency for Avoidants to score lowest on most love experiences and highest on Fear of Closeness roughly parallels results reported by Hazan and Shaver (1987) for their college sample. They similarly did not find that Secures were significantly higher than Clinging Ss on positive love experiences in their college sample (except on Friendship), as was found in their adult sample (except on Acceptance). This might suggest that late-adolescents who are Clinging are optimistic in reflecting on their love relations, and that they find their warmth and intensity welcomed in love relations. Perhaps they have not yet suffered the severity of disappointments that the needy adult who tends toward excessive involvement seems certain to endure, particularly considering that the lost relationships of many of these young people tend to have been relatively short-lived.

## Gender Role Self-concept and Love Experiences

### *Within-gender Differences in Love Experiences*

Within AS, gender stereotyped Ss did not differ significantly from B Ss of the same gender on love experiences, contrary to prediction. This was the case with respect to the

positive love experiences of Friendship, Happiness, Acceptance, and Trust, which might reflect companionate love. Perhaps the reason is the known tendency of stereotyped groups to idealize the love relationship (Critelli et al., 1986). This tendency may have induced them to exaggerate positive experiences. However, on variables reflecting companionate love, traditional Ss were found by Critelli et al. to score lower than non-traditional Ss. This finding is partially inconsistent with earlier work by Coleman and Ganong (1985), who found that B Ss scored significantly higher than I Ss but non-significantly higher than E Ss on variables related to companionate love. A more direct interpretation of the present failure to find differences might be more appropriate: that stereotyped Ss were genuinely about equal to B Ss on positive love experiences. The literature on GRSC might support this interpretation, as it indicates that at least I Ss evidence adequate psychological adjustment and therefore may have the capacity to experience intimate relationships as rewarding.

On several embeddedness love experiences, B females actually exceeded E females, refuting the present hypotheses. To speculate, perhaps the I component of the GRSC of B females activates their E component in the context of relationships. Purely E females can be inhibited (Bem, 1977). If their inhibition is related to a sense of disentitlement (Wine, 1985), then they would not be as demanding or demonstrative as B females, although they may be equally preoccupied with the partner. However, this interpretation does not heed the fact

that the differences discussed were not significant. More conservatively, AS appears to be more important than GRSC in determining whether B and E females demonstrate embeddedness. Object-bound narcissism can not be said to characterize either group relative to the other.

B males were expected to exceed I males on embeddedness variables and to score lower on Fear of Closeness, but they did so only within a subset of the Insecure AS's and non-significantly. This suggests that the autonomy orientation of I males does not preclude passion and intimacy. Again, maladaptation inherent in the I orientation is not demonstrated by these findings. Moreover, no evidence of subject-bound narcissism can be adduced.

*Gender Differences in Love Experiences*

The gender difference of greatest interest concerned E-Clinging females and I-Avoidant males. These were the largest Insecure groups of stereotyped Ss for each gender. However, the prediction that this specific female group would exceed the male group on positive and embeddedness love experiences and would score lower on Fear of Closeness received only dubious support. Although differences took the expected direction on all four positive love experiences, on several embeddedness love experiences and on Fear of Closeness, most of these non-significant differences between means were attributable to different AS's and not to GRSC.

In other comparisons of E females versus I males, which held AS constant for each comparison, the same predictions as

made for the more specific comparisons of E-Clinging females and I-Avoidant males were not supported generally. E females scored higher than I males on only one positive love experience and I males actually scored higher than E females on several embeddedness variables. Not even apparent differences existed on Fear of Closeness. Moreover, none of these apparent differences was significant.

Hence, evidence of object-bound narcissism in the love relations of E-Clinging females, relative to I-Avoidant males' subject-bound narcissism, is minimal.

## Additional Findings

### *The Balanced-Clinging Group*

Post hoc contrasts involved B Ss of both genders, E females, and I males. These were conducted in order to evaluate more precisely the unexpected finding that B-Clinging Ss were the group whose love experience profile came closest to approximating that expected of E-Clinging females in particular. The net result was the finding that B-Clinging Ss were the group that was most distinct from others in love experiences. On the positive love experience Happiness, B-Clinging females scored higher than E-Clinging females. On several embeddedness variables, B-Clinging Ss scored higher than other groups. They were lower on Fear of Closeness. Given suggestions that, at least on some of these variables, GRSC contributed to the higher scores of B-Clinging Ss, perhaps a B orientation is associated with an intense interest in and capacity for intimate involvement. For females, this may produce Happiness. However,

for males, it was associated not with enhanced positive love experiences, but only with embeddedness. These results are reminiscent of the findings of Jones et al. (1978) and Anderson (1986) that B men were less cognitively flexible and more dependent than B women and I Ss. Perhaps the investment in relationships of B men is due to dependency needs more than is the case for B females. This would suggest that B-Clinging males exhibit object-bound narcissism to some extent, perhaps related to the E component of their GRSC. The B-Clinging females were somewhat different from the males. They scored highly only on the two embeddedness variables most strongly suggesting merger relations, Desires for Reciprocation and Union, indicating that they may expect more intensity and one-ness from relationships. Whether their high level of Happiness indicates that they can maintain their objectivity and enjoy companionate as well as passionate love, or whether their Happiness suggests idealization is uncertain. If they had also scored higher than other groups on other positive love experiences, then the former interpretation might be merited.

A Gestalt of All Variables

In principal components analyses of all variables for each gender, it was possible to gain a perspective on the data. The first factor for both genders appeared to represent Clinging attachment and passionate love. Females produced two additional factors, one suggesting low-intensity companionship and the other traditionalism. The traditionalism factor involved the highest levels of Expressiveness and Clinging, as well as

Jealousy and Desire for Union. Three additional factors for males comprised serenity-warmth, expressiveness-non-avoidance, and instrumentality-non-Clinging. These results confirm the finding that GRSC failed to predict love experiences well. However, they suggest that moderate expressiveness in females is associated perhaps with security and with companionship in love; while a higher level of expressiveness is associated with insecure Clinging and moderate merger tendencies. In males, a high level of expressiveness was associated with non-Avoidance. A high level of Instrumentality in males was inversely associated with Clinging and was independent of Avoidance.

Gender differences in the structure of inter-relations among GRSC, AS and love experiences are apparent. Passionate love exists in both genders in similar form and is associated with Clinging attachment. A previous finding of passionate love among traditional subjects (Critelli et al., 1986) was not supported. For males, gender stereotypy was independent of passionate love, and, for females, gender stereotypy was associated with only a moderate level of passionate love. Companionate love also exists in both genders, but in different forms. A previous finding that a moderate level of companionate love can exist among traditional females (Coleman & Ganong, 1985) was corroborated, but only for moderately stereotyped females. In males, companionate love was independent of gender stereotypy and was associated with a moderate degree of passionate love, but without the latter's unpleasant components.

Theoretical Versus Investigation Validity

There are alternative explanations of the essentially negative results concerning GRSC and its relationship to love experiences. The first is to assume the validity of the present study and to regard the theory upon which it is based as incorrect or too general. The second is to assume that the measures used in the study are not valid vis-a-vis the constructs under consideration. A third possibility is that both the theory and the study are invalid. Each interpretation will be discussed.

In a general way, other research cited above supports the thesis that women, more commonly than men, are cognitively and affectively interpersonally oriented, and men are more cognitively and affectively oriented toward autonomy and separation. These differences in turn suggest support for Chodorow's assertion of different internal worlds for each gender. In addition, evidence concerning differential treatment of each gender by parents appears to support the theorized basis of these differences. The attempt in the present study to establish whether these orientations indeed have different bases in object relations was only successful in establishing a link between GRSC and AS. Although AS was in turn related to love experiences, GRSC was not related in the predicted manner, nor even in any orderly manner, to love experiences. If AS were considered to reflect stylistic individual differences, as GRSC might, then the conjecture might be made that gender role socialization is responsible for both, and that object relations

theory is unnecessary or irrelevant. Related to this issue is Jean Baker Miller's (1984) denial that the feminine self-in-relation implies merger or a poorly delineated sense of self. She has insisted that it is masculine separation that is abnormal. Miller may be correct that a core sense of self usually exists; otherwise, personality pathology leans toward grave narcissistic defects. However, she went on to describe how the relational selves of female clients can lead to many problems, such as "annihilation as a person" (p. 12) when with others. This experience suggests defective self structure or faulty object relations. Whether or not such phenomena as this or the GRSC-AS link are due to an object relational basis in primary mother rearing or to role learning and stylistic differences cannot be decided by the present data. The failure to find clear indications of psychopathology may derive from the population sampled. College students probably are well adapted, relative to their age cohort. On the other hand, the present hypotheses only required that relative differences emerge in love experiences, which would place the stereotyped, insecure subjects at an intermediate point between normalcy and serious psychopathology. The high embeddedness scores of Ss in the Clinging AS's suggest that pathology can be assessed by both the attachment and love experiences measures.

The strong form of Chodorow's theory appears to have been essentially refuted in that gender differences did not emerge, neither in attachment status nor in love experiences. However, a weaker form was partially supported. The weaker form allowed

that many individuals might have transcended gender-based object relations, and it averred that mainly gender stereotyped men and women should deviate in different directions from security in AS, as was the case. Given that other support for the theory exists in addition to this present finding, it might be premature to accept theory invalidity as an explanation for the negative findings of the present study. The problem in predicting love experiences from GRSC may reside in unanticipated measure invalidity with respect to the theory, primarily the measure of GRSC. This leads to the second explanation for the failure to find support for all hypotheses of the present study.

The GRSC measure of the present study has both assets and liabilities with respect to present purposes. Its basis in self-rated traits and values is more "distant" from love experiences than the attachment measure. The attachment measure inquires about overt behaviour in relation to the attachment figure, and the love experience measure inquires about one's feelings in relation to the romantic partner. These feelings ought to be related to attachment behaviour more strongly than an individual's self-concept in terms of traits and values. Another factor pointing to the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ), which was a component of the GRSC measure used, as the source of the prediction problem is its variable performance. The meta-analytic reviews cited above were undertaken in order to settle questions raised by inconsistencies in results with this instrument and others. Its author, Janet Spence (1984), has

frequently minimized the PAQ's generality as a predictor. As noted above, Whitley (1988) found that the PAQ variables were more strongly related to self-esteem than to more behaviourally oriented measures of gender role. The statistical properties of the other component of the GRSC measure, the modified Survey of Interpersonal Values (SIV), are less well-known and may have contributed to the difficulty. Notwithstanding these problems, it was expected that both reliability and validity would be augmented by expanding the content and number of items of the PAQ with the communal and agentic values of the SIV, and using factor scores derived from the objectively obtained E and I components. An asset of the PAQ is that the networks of constructs related to expressiveness and instrumentality appear clearly related to the feminine and masculine social orientations whose basis Chodorow had attempted to explain. The fact that the GRSC measure largely succeeded in predicting AS in the expected manner suggests that it may validly represent the construct of interpersonal style indicated by Chodorow's theory. AS also reflects interpersonal style, but more specifically concerns style in relation to a particular significant other.

The construct of attachment appears to be robust in predicting object relational status. Across different measures of AS, even with different formats, a limited number of attachment styles with similar features are produced, supporting the validity of the construct. In the present study, the two insecure types corresponded to those found previously. In addition, the proportion of Ss who scored highly on both

insecure AS's was so small that the distinction between the two types was clearly justified. AS was related both to GRSC and to love experiences. In other research with young adults, it has predicted other phenomena, such as peer-ratings of the target person's ego-resiliency, hostility and anxiety (Kobak & Sceery, 1988). Nevertheless, a construct validity study to evaluate the various adult attachment measures together is needed. The existence of both interview and self-report measures makes possible a multi-method, multi-trait evaluation.

The fact that love experiences were discriminated by AS in a manner similar to that found by the authors of the Love Experiences Scales (LES, Hazan & Shaver, 1987) suggests that the LES is reliable in college student samples. However, the lesser ability of AS to discriminate the love experiences of college students than non-college adults might indicate that it is not ideal for the former population. In addition, its emphasis on positive and embeddedness items might induce an acquiescent response set to some extent, with these experiences presumed to be the norm. For present purposes, a larger number of detachment-oriented items would have lent the measure balance, in addition to permitting a more direct test of hypotheses. The assets of the LES, including its comprising multiple, distinct subscales, which reflect a variety of experiences, together with the expectation that GRSC would augment AS in discriminating love experiences, were reasons for its selection. Other measures lack its rich variety and appear to have even less capacity to assess detachment. For example, in the measure used by Hendrick

and Hendrick (1986) only "ludus" or game-playing love might be related to detachment, but this reflects only one "playboy" aspect of it. Fear of Closeness on the LES might apply to more individuals, given its emphasis on maintaining "objectivity" in relationships.

Assigning LES scales to positive, embeddedness, and detachment groups permitted simply stated hypotheses. However, to make this assignment, it was necessary to rely upon the face validity of subscales. The issue arose of whether or not positive love experiences indeed reflect companionate love, as assumed, or rather, might reflect idealization of the relationship. Another possibility is that companionate love and idealization are correlated, perhaps moderately. Murstein (1988) cited evidence that idealization of the partner persists through life. Hence, Freud's assumption that love is generally "a projection of the ego ideal onto the often undeserving object" (p. 31, Murstein, 1988) may be valid. An additional problem is that some of the embeddedness variables might more directly reflect merger motivation; while others might reflect passion, which presumably can exist independently of merger tendencies. More precise advance knowledge of the relationships of these variables with one another and with other related variables will aid interpretation in future.

The role relations of Ss with their attachment figures and romantic partners may be important. Weiss's (1982) assumption that the individual has only one internal working model of attachment implies that whether or not the attachment figure and

romantic partner (AFRP) are the same or different is irrelevant to correlates of attachment. However, the fact that attachments of toddlers to each parent can take different forms (Sroufe, 1985) implies the possibility of more than one internal working model at any age, perhaps a different working model with respect to each gender. If one is primary, it may not be the one applied to the romantic partner. For example, a woman may more often invoke her non-primary attachment, i.e., to her father, in her representations of her relationship with her romantic partner.

Ss were not asked about more than one attachment. This means that even for the S whose attachment figure was the same person as her/his romantic figure (AFRP-same), it is unknown whether this relationship reflected the primary internal working model. In addition, for a minority, attachment and romantic figures were not the same (AFRP-different). The investigation of AFRP identicality revealed that AFRP-same Ss appeared to have more positive and less negative or fearful love experiences than AFRP-different Ss. For some Ss, AFRP-same status may be based on their having had a long-term relationship with the attachment figure; while for others it may imply a tendency to risk all early in romantic relationships. Some AFRP-different Ss perhaps had not developed an attachment to the romantic partner; while others may have been proceeding with trepidation, maintaining a more reliable primary attachment outside the relationship. For still others, the romantic relationship may have ended and their view of it may have therefore been more negative than for AFRP-same Ss. Thus, distinctions can be made between primary and

secondary internal working models and their relationships or lack thereof with attachment figures and romantic partners. It seems important at least to distinguish the AFRP-same and different groups.

Although the majority of subjects in the present sample cited a romantic partner as the attachment figure, few lived with this person. A much larger proportion of a sample of cohabiting adults might be expected to have the same person in mind as both an attachment figure and romantic partner. Perhaps this problem underlies the finding of Hazan and Shaver (1987) that college students' love experiences in their "most important" love relationships were less differentiable on the basis of their modal attachment behaviour than those of an adult community sample.

A related problem is that the variable, but usually brief, durations of these young people's love relationships may have confounded scores on the LES. Correlations of durations and love experiences were low, but this may have been caused by the restricted range, relative to older people, of duration. If love has stages of development, different subjects might have been in different stages. One aspect of the rationale for selecting this population was the likelihood that identity achievement would be the figural psychosocial task. This implied that, for most of these youths, intimacy would not yet have been achieved. Hence, their internal working models of attachment figures might not yet have undergone the modifications that older groups have, judging from the lower correlations of attachment status and

images of parents in older groups (Hazan & Shaver, 1987). The combination of GRSC and AS was expected to be a better predictor of love experiences than it might be in an older population. However, this expectation was not met, at least with respect to the groups evaluated, which excluded Undifferentiated and cross-typed subjects.

Whether researcher gender might be related to response bias in the present study was investigated. Researcher gender had some unpredicted effects. However, differences were often specific to sub-groups and they did not take a uniform direction. If differences among the natures of each love experience were invoked, then the explanation would be unparsimoniously complex. An alternative interpretation is that the effects, which occurred on less than half the variables, were spurious.

To summarize, the lack of complete support for hypotheses in the present study would not justify abandoning feminist object relations theory. Measurement imperfections appear more likely than theoretical invalidity to have been responsible. The distance of the GRSC measure from other measures used and its variable performance history point to it; yet its relationship to AS indicates at least partial representation of the intended construct. In addition, variability in the durations or stages of these relationships may have attenuated relationships among GRSC and love experiences.

## Implications for Future Research

Clearly, it is insufficient to adduce the stylistic

differences of the interpersonal versus autonomy orientations as evidence supporting Chodorow's theory if these do not discriminate a reasonable spectrum of object relational variables. In the present study, these styles were related to attachment status, but not love experiences. Other research might improve upon this situation by avoiding trait-based measures as indices of these styles.

One reason for reluctance to foreclose on Chodorow's theory is that the conservative tendency of heterosexual couples to take on gender polarized roles is familiar. She explained this conservatism, which persists despite countervailing pressures, in terms of unconscious, gender specific object relations. Perhaps an alternative test of Chodorow's theory, which would parallel the present one, might substitute a behavioural measure of expressiveness and instrumentality for the personality trait measure, and might employ cohabiting subjects for whom the attachment figure and love object are identical. Thus, evaluation of individuals who overtly express role conservatism, versus those who do not, might provide a more narrow test than the present more broadly based examination of college students whose behavioural role proclivities were unexamined.

The areas of research on love and object relations have only recently begun to merge. Attachment status is likely to continue to prove invaluable as an index of object relations. If future research in this area also employs love experiences to index object relations, then advance knowledge of the intercorrelations among the love experiences assessed would

increase the precision of predictions. The fact of relative independence between companionate and passionate love (Hendrick & Hendrick, 1989) is perhaps too global a distinction.

Knowledge of the degree of consistency that an individual displays in love relations and nature of attachments over time and with the same and different partners is needed. In addition, measuring love relations and attachment status of each member of a dyad at different points in the relationship would shed light on the developmental course of relationships in the context of reciprocal effects. The latter strategy would provide new information concerning, e.g., the effects on the relationship and on each member of the dyad of various combinations of attachment statuses, the nature of relationships in which passionate love is transformed into companionate love, and the way that this occurs.

Investigations of the relationships between love experience as an index of object relations and gender stereotypy in interpersonal style form a relatively new area of research. With advances in measurement, these efforts might yet improve upon earlier ones in which gender has been an inconsistent predictor. Feminist object relations theory can broaden the hypothesis-generation potential of research involving these constructs.

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# APPENDIX A

## BACKGROUND INFORMATION

What was your age at your last birthday? _____

What is your sex? _____Female _____Male

Is English the first language you learned? _____yes _____no

What is your major or intended major in university? _____

What is your present marital status?

_____ single
_____ married
_____ divorced
_____ living with partner
_____ widowed
_____ separated

What are your present living arrangements?

_____ I live alone.
_____ I live with other people (e.g., friends, family, children), but not with my attachment figure.
_____ I live with my attachment figure (your household may include other people as well).

Do you have any close friends (not counting family members or your attachment figure)? _____yes _____no

Your attachment figure and your romantic partner: are they the same person or different people? _____same _____different.

| | Your attachment figure | | Your romantic partner | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sex: | ___male | ___female | ___male | ___female |
| Relationship still going? | ___yes | ___no | ___yes | ___no |
| If ended how long ago? | _____years | | _____years | |
| How many years lasted/ing? | _____years | | _____years | |

How long have other romantic relationships lasted, not including the most important one that you answered questions on already?
months in the most recent two others: _____ _____

For how many years did you or have you been living with a parent/s or guardian/s? _____

If your parents separated, beteen what ages did they live with you in your primary home?

Mother my age___ to age___. Father my age___ to age___.
Stepmother my age___ to age___. Stepfather my age___ to age___.

# APPENDIX B

## INFORMATION FOR SUBJECTS

Title of Project: Personality and Intimate Relationships

Author: E. Cruise

Personality affects one's needs and goals in intimate relationships. This research project is an attempt to evaluate the relationship between some aspects of personality and experience of relations with others. To accomplish this, you will be asked to complete the attached questionnaires. You are asked to report on your own (1) personality traits, (2) values, (3) attachment, and (4) love experiences.

By providing this information, you will help to increase knowledge in a relatively new area of research in psychology, that of intimate relationships and their difficulties and benefits for the individual.

Your report will be kept strictly confidential. Only a number, no name or course, will be used for each participant. If you agree to participate after reading the attached consent form, please sign it. You are of course free to withdraw your consent and to terminate your participation at any time for any reason.

You are welcome to inquire about the results of this research by contacting the author c/o Dr. Willis Overton, Psychology Department, Temple University, Philadelphia 19122. Any complaints that you may have about the research may be addressed to the author or directly to Dr. Overton.

# APPENDIX C

# CONSENT FORM

Note: The university and the person conducting this project subscribe to the ethical conduct of research and to the protection at all times of the interests, comfort, and safety of subjects. This form and the information it contains are given to you for your own protection and full understanding of the procedures, risks and benefits involved. Your signature on this form will signify that you have received the document described below regarding this project, that you have received adequate opportunity to consider the information in the document, and that you voluntarily agree to participate in the project.

Having been asked by E. Cruise to participate in a research project, I have read the procedures specified in the document entitled: "Information for Subjects," which concerns the project, "Personality and Intimate Relationships."

I understand the procedures to be used in this research and also understand that I may withdraw my participation at any time.

I also understand that I may register any complaint I might have about the research with Dr. Willis Overton, Psychology Department, Temple University, Philadelphia 19122.

I may obtain information of the results of this study, upon its completion by contacting E. Cruise, c/o Dr. Overton.

I agree to participate by completing the questionnnaires described in "Information for Subjects." My signature below certifies that I consent to the procedures described.

DATE _____ NAME _____

SIGNATURE _____