To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Michael H. Henrichs entitled "Daughters' Responses to Paternal Bereavement: A Study of Women Who Were Latency Age When Their Fathers Died." I recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Psychology.

Leonard Handler, Major Professor

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DAUGHTERS' RESPONSES TO PATERNAL BEREAVEMENT: A STUDY OF WOMEN WHO WERE LATENCY AGE WHEN THEIR FATHERS DIED

A Dissertation

Presented for the

Doctor of Philosophy

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Michael H. Henrichs

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THIS WORK IS DEDICATED TO

MY WIFE,

GINGER,

THE LOVE OF MY LIFE

AND OUR DAUGHTERS,

CHRISTINA,

KAREN

AND LAURA

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine the responses and possible effects of paternal bereavement on latency age daughters, by interviewing and assessing women who were latency age when their fathers died. Clinical interviews using structured, open-ended questions and the Leary Interpersonal system of Personality were the means and procedures used in data assembly. Nineteen women, 19 to 55 years of age with mean age of 31.3 years were the subjects in this study.

The personal interviews obtained pertinent information on premorbid childhood behavior and family interactions, the subjects' perceptions of the responses around the time of their fathers' death, postmorbid family interactions, adolescent and later life behaviors and subjects' perceptions on the effects of their fathers' death. The interviews also provided observational data used in clinical impressions and the subjects' suggestions for helping future daughters in similar circumstances. The Leary System provided personality assessment data on overt behavior, subjects' perceived behavior and underlying character and affective states.

The major findings of the research were that women who experience paternal death during latency view that loss as having a very significant effect on their lives. They attribute male-female relationship conflict; feelings of insecurity, dependence and depression; and other difficulties to this loss. As a group, these women suggest that children be

listened to and talked with following the death of a parent and be allowed to express their affective reactions if they choose. These also urge surviving parents to provide secure and stable emotional and physical environments following the death to help prevent the child from experiencing undue insecurity and anxiety. In terms of assessment data these women scored significantly higher on the Ego Strength Scale ($p < .0001$) and on the Hypomania Scale ($p < .01$). Their Leary data patterns indicate that they are typically very competent, success-oriented individuals who probably identify with their fathers' perceived characteristics and also have underlying feelings of insecurity and passivity. Implications of these findings are discussed, including its relevance ego development literature.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY	1
II.	THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS	6
III.	METHOD	58
IV.	RESULTS	73
V.	DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS	146
LIST OF REFERENCES		161
APPENDICES		180
VITA		198

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE		PAGE
I.	Interpersonal Check List Illustrating the Classification of Interpersonal Behaviors into Sixteen and Eight Combined Variable Categories	66
II.	Pattern of Interpersonal Summary Points for a Typical Subject	69
III.	Level I Summary Points	131
IV.	Level II-S (Self Perception) Summary Points	133
V.	Level III_H (Private Symbolization) and III_{MM} (Underlying Character	133
VI.	Level II Mother Summary Points	136
VII.	Level II Father Summary Points	136

CHAPTER I

THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The experience of death touches each of us in various ways throughout our lifetime. We have been struggling with the meaning and mystery of death throughout our existence. It defies reason and forces us to look at our humanness and relationships. Weisman (1972) in studying the reactions of dying patients and hospital staff members emphasized the obstacles, such as hostility, repudiation, denial and taboo status which death places in our way. He also delineated three degrees of denial, denial of the facts of the illness, denial of the implications of the illness and denial of extinction (the image of death itself) which a dying patient utilizes to prevent a direct examination of his or her impending death. Pattison (1976) points out that it is difficult to study death because man cannot look at his own nonbeing for very long.

In his book, The Denial of Death (1973, Ernest Becker's theme is that the individual often represses the sense of weakness and frailty which the awareness of death connotes and then must construct a mature sense of reality, which is actually a mythology, in order to exist productively. Olson (1962) addresses how Man's philosophies through the ages have treated the phenomenon of death as an inevitable termination and destruction of existence as well as a mere transition in the ongoing continuity of life. Our religions have even glorified death. In our writings we have taught our children to fear, hate, deny,

avoid, accept or even eagerly anticipate death, according to Schur's (1971) study of the children's literature. It seems that no matter how death is perceived, at best it is still a mystery. Regarding the curiosity in death's mystery, Farber (1977) justifiably cautions us to engage in the pursuit of knowledge about death with a respect for its inevitable power and with an awareness of our motives for such a quest.

For a child the death of a parent is much worse than just a mystery, for in addition to the family myths (Pattison, 1976), the child has his own mystified understanding of death. Often the child tries to explain a parental death as causally related to his or her own behavior. The death of a parent will have profound effects on other aspects of a child's life in addition to the effects on his or her emotional adjustment. The child's immediate nurturance might be difficult to provide as the surviving parent struggles with her own mourning and with the economics of time, energy and finances for the family. The long range effects of a parental death on a child as that individual develops are, like death itself, still a mystery.

Some studies have been conducted on the relationship of childhood bereavement and depressive illnesses in adulthood. Several research projects have examined the immediate effects of maternal loss on children and studied the event of separation as loss for the child. Other works have attempted to examine broken homes, one parent families, and fatherless homes in connection with juvenile delinquency and other social phenomena such as future marriage, maternal skills and divorces. The vast majority of childhood bereavement studies (e.g., Barry, 1939; Virtchnell, 1970) have concentrated on the maternal death as the catalyst

in future maladjustments. Very seldom have paternal deaths been studied in relation to childhood bereavement and as precursors in personality development and psychological adjustment. To date when paternal death has been considered it most often has been viewed in its effects on sons and future male adjustment (e.g., Meiss, 1952). There exists a paucity of studies which investigate the effects of paternal death on daughters. In the literature the few instances of such studies were focused on daughters who were below the age of seven or already in adolesence when the father's death occurred (e.g., Hetherington, 1972).

The period of latency, in contrast to its given name, appears to be a phase of personality organization characterized by psychic productivity (Sarnoff, 1976). During this phase of development, the key concept is "mastery," the acquisition of competence. The latency age child continues the separation--individuation work, which Mahler (1950, 1961) delineates, at a higher level of ego development and with more sophisticated defenses, than she had as a toddler. During the latency period, the use of fantasy, mythology and symbols facilitates the child's mastery of her own conflicts, anxieties and affective states. These same symbolic functions foster the processes of idealization of and identification with important mythological, and real cultural heroes, including parents. Superego, or moral, development associated with the acquisition of verbal concepts about the culture and the family is one of the apparently natural phenomena which occurs during latency. The child's increased abilities to read, to remember, to attend, to control affective reactions, and to appreciate

the national approach all provide the opportunity for reshaping the internalized superego to meet the needs of the society and of the family.

During the mastery of these personality skills, the latency age child's parents play significant roles by modeling idealized behavior and by representing at least part of the cultural ideals to be acquired by a "successful" child. The loss of one of these modeling parents, the father, would no doubt have some effect upon a daughter's future development. However, this process of paternal bereavement has not been thoroughly examined to date.

It is the purpose of this study to examine in some detail the effects of paternal death on 19 adult females who were latency age (i.e., seven to eleven years of age) when their fathers died. Except for a few case presentations in analytic case studies (e.g., Scharl, 1961) most of the literature lacks pertinent information regarding the events surrounding the death, the ages of the individuals concerned and pre- and post-morbid relationships in the family. It is for the purpose of obtaining more complete data on bereavement and of understanding adjustment effects of a paternal death that the present study is undertaken.

The ramifications of such a study will reach into several areas of knowledge. Issues such as depression and dependence might be better understood in terms of object loss and object search. The relationships of bereaved daughters with other men, in light of an idealized father who has died, might be better understood. Likewise, the development of sex-type by the daughter has recently been discussed as related to identification with the mother, and also as related to the father's

behavior (e.g., Heterington, 1975; Leonard, 1966). Thus, this study of bereaved daughters allows close scrutiny of the development of females who suffer a father's loss and provides information for a later developmental contrast with females in intact families or in families in which immediate, adequate "father" substitutes were available to aid in the daughter's development. And finally, the processes of mourning and adjustment to paternal death and the phenomenon of bereavement require much more investigation before we begin to understand their complexities. This study attempts to shed additional light on such a mysterious subject.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In preparing a review of the literature related to the effects of paternal death on daughters, several considerations were taken in order to thoroughly investigate past work and yet adhere to the focal topic. As indicated earlier, the literature on the topic itself is scarce, and therefore, it was necessary to distill the pertinent material from writings on mourning; on death and dying; on depression; on object loss, including its effects as well as its dynamics and the defenses against it; on psychological development; and on the processes of internalization and affective responses so that the relevant ideas of renowned researchers and clinicians could be explored for the present work.

It has not been until recent years that death, dying and bereavement have received increasingly more adequate concentration in the literature by therapists, theoreticians and other authors in disciplines related to psychology. In the past and to a great extent in the present literature, the topics of loss, death and bereavement arose only as they were etiologically related to psychopathology or therapeutic endeavors.

Searching for material was often enmeshed within psychoanalytic case discussions or within a discourse on a theoretical topic. Publication titles frequently have been misleading regarding the actual presentation of death or mourning in their texts. The recent attention paid to topics related to death and dying, as mentioned above, has been

encouraging. This fecundity in the literature has, of course, required careful scrutiny in order to separate the wheat from the chaff.

Very few authors have studied individuals who were not in treatment while researching the processes of mourning or the effects of the death on loved ones (Clayton et al., 1968; Hilgard et al., 1959; Malinak et al., 1978). The reader is encouraged to bear this consideration in mind as the reviewed material is presented, for it is the present author's impression that although the study of the more severe cases in treatment can enhance our knowledge of bereavement, such study tends to provide us with a biased view of the "normal" mourning process and the effects of childhood bereavement. Regarding this point, E. Furman (1974) states,

> We cannot equate pathological and normal reactions. We use analytic data only to further our insight into the nature and interplay of the many factors that influence psychic and behavioral phenomena. (p. 285)

This review is divided into four parts. The first and most extensive part is a discussion of the processes and issues involved in mourning. In the second part, the possible effects of bereavement are addressed. The next section provides a view of the theoretical and clinical case literature more closely pertaining to the focal topic, the effect of a father's death on adult females who were latency age when their fathers died. The final section of the review reflects the concepts and themes drawn from the literature which seem to suggest outcomes for the present study.

Mourning

The concept of mourning initially developed in the literature as early professionals debated its existence and the nature of its dynamics. For the purposes of this work, the most pertinent issues concerning mourning pertain to mourning during childhood. Such questions as: Can a child mourn?, By what age or developmental stage is this mourning possible?, What are the characteristics of childhood mourning and of children's reactions to parental death?, Are adulthood and childhood mourning similar?, all appear to be worthy of attention. However, before these issues can be adequately addressed, a review of the concept of mourning itself is necessary. In studying psychoanalytic and ego-analytic literature of mourning reviews by several writers (Pollock, 1969; Siggins, 1966; and Miller, 1971) have been useful. Erna Furman's A Child's Parent Dies (1974) is the most helpful, relevant and thorough work in childhood mourning available today.

Freud's father died on October 23, 1896. According to Pollock (1961) Freud, as early as 1895, had begun a draft on melancholia in which he related depression and melancholia to mourning and grief. In July 1897, Freud began his self-analysis and in October of that year he wrote to Fliess about his discovery of the Oedipus complex. This occurred within the first year following his father's death. From this time until the publication of "Mourning and Melancholia" (1915) Freud experienced several other losses in his life, such as the separations

from Adler and Jung, the death of his brother, Emmanuel, and the absence of his two sons and also his close friends who were involved in the military service in World War I. It might be inferred that because of Freud's own mourning work, the concept of mourning began to find exposition in the literature.

Until Helene Deutsch's "Absence of Grief" (1937) and Melanie Klein's (1940) contributions, it was principally Freud's writings (1897, 1913, 1915, 1915a, 1915b, 1923 and 1926) and Abraham's work (1911, 1924) which represented the work on mourning.

The concept of mourning

In "Totem and Taboo" (1913) Freud wrote that:

> Mourning has a quite specific task to perform: its function is to detach the survivors' memories and hopes from the dead. When this has been achieved the pain grows less and with it the remorse and self reproach." (p. 65)

Later in "Mourning and Melancholia" (1915) he states:

> Mourning is regularly the reaction to the loss of a loved person, or to the loss of some abstraction which has taken the place of one, such as fatherland, liberty, an ideal, and so on. As an effect of the same influences, melancholia instead of a state of grief develops in some people, whom we consequently suspect of a morbid pathological disposition. It is also well worth notice that, although grief involves grave departures from the normal attitude to life, it never occurs to us to regard it as a morbid condition and hand the mourner over to medical treatment. We rest assured that after a lapse of time it will be overcome, and we look upon any interference with it as inadvisable or even harmful.
>
> The distinguishing mental features of melancholia are a profoundly painful dejection, abrogation of interest in the outside world, loss of the capacity to love, inhibition of all activity, and a lowering of the self-regarding feelings to a degree that finds utterance in self-reproaches and self-reviling, and culminates in a delusional expectation of punishment. This picture becomes a little more

> intelligible when we consider that, with one exception, the same traits are met with in grief. The fall in self-esteem is absent in grief; but otherwise the features are the same. Profound mourning, the reaction to the loss of a loved person, contains the same feeling of pain, loss of interest in the outside world-in so far as it does not recall the dead one-loss of capacity to adopt any new object of love, which would mean a replacing of the one mourned, the same turning from every active effort that is not connected with thoughts of the dead. (pp. 243-244)

In these words Freud begins for us the task of defining mourning and its processes. Freud, as has been pointed out by Siggins (1966), was comparing mourning to melancholia in order to elucidate features of the latter. To accomplish this task, he built an ideal mourning situation in which only a love relationship had formerly existed. Therefore, other reactions seen in normally mourning humans are not mentioned. Freud thought that the work of mourning consisted in: the testing of reality to show that the loved object is not living; the recall of, and detachment of the libido from, each memory of the object, and finally the ego becoming free from the object and able to function in an uninhibited manner.

So Freud initially viewed decathexis as the important mechanism in the mourning process because the object loss was a real, and conscious, one. He initially thought that melancholia, in which the loss is of a more ideal kind in which the object of love has not actually died, was related to an unconscious loss and therefore involved introjection and identification of the ego with the abandoned object. He states:

> In this way the loss of the object became transformed into a loss in the ego, and the conflict between the ego and the loved person transformed into a cleavage between the criticizing faculty of the ego and the ego as altered by the identification. (1915, p. 249)

Freud went on to say that these narcissistic identifications were a characteristic feature of the reaction to object loss in melancholia.

In his "The Ego and the Id" (1923) Freud altered his view on this process. He stated that earlier (1915) he did not realize that identification was a more common process in coping with loss than he had described. Freud said that identification appears to make an essential contribution in character development and may be the sole condition under which the id can surrender its objects.

Before this writer sets aside until later, Freud's initial work on mourning, it should be noted that in "Mourning and Melancholia" he also addresses the relationship between melancholia, mourning and mania. He tentatively described mania as a triumph, an instance in which the ego overcomes the loss of the object or the mourning over the loss and becomes free from the object and able to run after new object cathexes. Melanie Klein (1935, 1940), Deutsch (1933, 1937) and Lewin (1937) among others later developed the initial connections Freud made between mourning and mania. Although he never integrated all his thoughts on mourning into a single work, Freud provided a broad springboard from which others could explore the deep pool of the process of mourning.

In his initial discussion, Freud used mourning and grief amost synonymously and differentiated them from melancholia. Later (1923) he adjusted his distinctions between the process of mourning and melancholia, making them more closely aligned, as illustrated above. Abraham (1924) and other writers (e.g., Bibring, 1953) agree that a lowering of self-esteem, ambivalence and identification with the object occur in both

mourning and melancholia. Abraham stated that the main difference is the more extensive degree to which regression proceeds in melancholia.

Although Freud included loss of abstractions (e.g., loss of liberty) in his original definition of mourning, he seemed to emphasize loss of a love object as the "excited cause." Most writers agree that mourning follows a permanent loss of a love object in the external world. For example, Klein (1940) states that:

> The pain experienced in the slow process of testing reality in the work of mourning thus seems to be partly due to the necessity, not only to renew the links to the external world and thus continuously to reexperience the loss, but at the same time and by means of this to rebuild with anguish the inner world, which is felt to be in danger of deteriorating and collapsing. (p. 136)

In defining mourning, Anna Freud referred to mourning in relation to an external loss as she states:

> The process of mourning taken in its analytic sense means to us the individual's effort to accept a fact in the external world (the loss of the cathected object) and to effect corresponding changes in the inner world (withdrawal of libido from the lost object, identification with the lost object). (1960, p. 58)

Most writers (e.g., Deutsch, 1937; Lindemann, 1944; Mahler, 1961; Pollocak, 1961; R. Furman, 1964; Siggins, 1966) either state explicitly or clearly infer that the precipitant of mourning is the permanent loss of an external love object. Often the distinction between a permanent separation or the death of the love object is not made in the literature, but Lindemann (1944), Pollock (1961) and Furman (1974) all suggest that such a distinction is important. All three of these authors point toward definite differences in the reactions to the separation versus

to the death cf the love object. For example, one such difference is the finality of a loved one's death as compared to the confusion associated with a separation. Another example is that a deceased father did not make a choice to die, in contrast to the choice to separate which a divorced father apparently has made. This choice, or lack of it, might contribute a different meaning in terms of the guilt a daughter feels about the death or the divorce. A third difference relates to the concept of the loved one's return. In separation, the fantasy of a future return contains a more real possibility than in the case of a death. This possibility might even forestall a mourning process in a separation in which the loved one never returns.

Bowlby, a most prolific writer on mourning and loss (1960, 1961, 1961a, 1963, 1973) includes losses other than that of an external love object as precipitants of mourning. However, it must be kept in mind that Bowlby's work is principally based on observations of infants and children separated from their mothers on both a temporary and a permanent basis. It seems that other workers (e.g., Rochlin, 1959, 1961; Spitz, 1946) who like Bowlby, became interested in mourning while working with infants and in early development have tended to broaden the precipitants of mourning to include losses other than death. Examples of these other losses include long separations and developmental losses, such as maternal deprivation.

Regarding developmental losses, Klein in excellent papers (1935, 1940) took an early and strong stand that successful mourning experiences of developmental losses, especially of the oral phase, are

precursors and prerequisites for future mournings if they are to be successful. Klein postulates that there is a close relationship between the testing of reality in normal mourning and the early processes of the mind. In 1935 Klein wrote on the "depressive position" in the normal development of the baby as the mourning of the mother's breast and milk and all that they stood for in the infant's mind. She claimed that the deepest source of painful conflicts in the Oedipal situation, and in the child's relations to people, is the sorrow and concern about the feared loss of the "good" objects. With increasing love and trust and diminishing of fears through happy experiences (Winnicott's "good enough mothering") the child develops out of this "depressive position" via successful mourning. She states that insufficient trust, with already present sadistic impulses at this stage can result in the child resorting to manic omnipotence, denial, and obsessional mechanisms as defenses and, therefore, experiencing unsuccessful initial mourning.

Returning to normal mourning Klein (1940) states:

> In normal mourning, as well as in abnormal mourning and in manic-depressive states, the infantile depressive position is reactivated. The complex feelings, fantasies and anxieties included under this term are of a nature which justifies my contention that the child in his early development goes through a transitory manic-depressive state as well as a state of mourning, which become modified by the infantile neurosis. With the passing of the infantile neurosis, the infantile depressive position is overcome.
>
> The fundamental difference between normal mourning, on the one hand, and abnormal mourning and manic-depressive states, on the other, is this. The manic-depressive and the person who fails in the work of mourning, though their defenses may differ widely from each other, have this in common, that they have been unable in early childhood to establish their internal 'good' objects and to feel secure in their inner world. They have never really overcome the

> infantile depressive position. In normal mourning, however, the early depressive position, which had become revived through the loss of the loved object, becomes modified again, and is overcome by methods similar to those used by the ego in childhood. (p. 153)

Winnicott (1954) endorses Klein's ideas concerning the issue of the child overcoming the "depressive position" as prerequisite to future mourning. Wolfenstein (1969) makes a similar point regarding the need for individuals to successfully overcome the developmental losses of adolescence before they would be able to mourn. E. Furman (1974) points out, however, that Wolfenstein fails to consider the differences (no external loss, lack of awareness of loss, giving up object versus having it taken away) between adolescent developmental loss and loss by death.

Commenting on the topic of developmental losses as mourned object losses, several other writers (Pollock, 1961; Loewald, 1962; Fleming and Altschul, 1963, and R. Furman, 1968) clearly separate mourning following the actual death of a significant being from the mourning-like reactions found in developmental losses. E. Furman (1974) states:

> Our clinical experience and theoretical thinking led us to view mourning as a response solely to the loss of a love object through death. We considered other forms of loss and acknowledge many similarities in their effect on the ensuing mental processes. The differences, however, appeared to us so significant that a specific delineation seemed indicated. (p. 245)

Furman's group defined mourning as the mental work following the loss of a love object through death.

Initiating the mourning process

The work of mourning in most writers' views begins with the reality of the death being externally perceived by the bereaved individual. The bereaved person must then accept the validity of the death and recognize the finality of it. Freud (1915) and Klein (1940) emphasize this testing of reality as a crucial phase in mourning.

Apparently, there are many obstacles in the way of this reality recognition and acceptance of a loved one's death. Several of these difficulties, such as societal and professional attitudes toward death, have been mentioned earlier. Initial failure to achieve this first difficult step in the mourning process according to many authors (e.g., Pollock, 1961) often results in various unsatisfactory and even pathological outcomes.

The occurrence of a sudden, unexpected death which takes the survivor by surprise and impedes the integration of the magnitude of the fact is reported by Lindemann (1944) and others as an initial impediment. The lack of physical evidence of the death (as in wartime) or the withholding of the sad news (as is often the case with children) are reported by Bowlby (1963), Fulton (1967), and Furman (1974) to make the realization of the death more difficult. They and other writers emphasize that children who are deprived of the opportunity to participate in funeral rites or who are misinformed of the death have a hard task in accepting the death. Anderson (1949), Scharl (1961), Siggins (1966), Chethik (1970) and others indicate that the actual form of the death, that is, for example, the trauma, horror and violence

associated with it, often interferes with communication and realization of the death. E. Furman (1974) notes that the circumstances of a death and the patient's reactions to them are often excluded from clinical case discussions. Other external variables which can interfere with the initial recognition and acceptance of death include the coincidence of bereavement and some other stressful situation, such as injury or threats to survival; and the nature of the lost relationship.

In addition to external obstacles, internal processes can interfere with the recognition and acceptance of death. Freud, in "On Transience" (1915b), states that reluctance of the libido to give up cathected objects is the most important obstacle to accepting the external object's nonexistence. Mahler (1961) and Wolfenstein (1965, 1966, 1969) indicate that in childhood the ego denies death because of the anticipation of the pain of sadness which seems impossible to bear. Deutsch (1937) and Pollock (1961) claim that denial is characteristic of the adult ego as well. Klein (1940), Lindemann (1944), Bowlby (1961, 1963), R. Furman (1964, 1967) and others stress the importance of a conflict over ambivalence toward the lost love object and guilt resulting from the bereaved's past unconscious death wishes for the lost love object as contributors to an ego denial process regarding the death. This author recently witnessed just such a massive denial resulting from guilt during an acute grief reaction which included visual hallucinations in a 20 year old woman following her brother's sudden and tragic death by gunshot wounds. In this case, the day prior to his death, the patient had been angry with her brother over an unpaid loan and wished

that he would get hurt. Because she had been very close to him, her ambivalence was also present.

Pollock (1961) states that bereavement experienced as a narcissistic loss, accompanied by primitive separation anxiety, can result in denial of reality. Klein (1940), as indicated previously, believed that actual loss implied the threat of loss of self and could lead to manic omnipotent defenses and, thus, distortion of reality.

The process of mourning

Regarding the actual internal process of mourning, most writers agree with Anna Freud's (1960) definition of mourning which includes the processes of the withdrawal of libido from the lost object and the identification with the lost object. Abraham (1924) added an important aspect to Freud's ideas on mourning when he stated,

> In the normal process of mourning, too, the person reacts to a real object loss by effecting a temporary introjection of the loved person. Its main purpose is to preserve the person's relation to the lost object. 'My loved object is not gone, for now I carry it within myself and can never lose it.' (p. 435)

Fenichel (1945), Siggins (1966) and others summarize the process of mourning, under the influence of the reality that the love object no longer exists, as the establishment of an introjection followed by the gradual loosening of the ties to the internalized object. This slow process allows for the mental preservation of the love object until a new object relationship (perhaps as a remembered loved one) can be established and prevents the ego from being rapidly overcome with an onslaught of intense feelings by enabling the ego to interact gradually with specific memories and their associated feelings.

Loewald (1962) attempts to compare the process of internalization in mourning and in normal development. He also advances the notions of ego identification, superego identifications and degrees of internalization using the process of mourning as a reworking of the ego-superego structures. He states:

> The outcome of mourning can show something like a new intake of objects into the superego structure in so far as elements of the lost object, through the mourning process, become introjected in the form of ego-ideal elements and inner demands and punishments. Such internalization of aspects of a lost love object, if observed over long periods of time (we must think in terms of years in adults) may be found to be progressive, so that eventually what was an ego-ideal or superego element becomes an element of the ego proper and is realized as an ego trait rather than an internal demand. We see this, for instance, in a son who increasingly becomes like his father after the father's death. It is as though only then can he appropriate into his ego core given elements of his father's character. (1962, p. 499)

Loewald's and other writers' ideas on identification, idealizations, and internalization of love objects will undoubtedly prove interesting in this present study on the effects of fathers' deaths on daughters in terms of the premorbid object relationships of the daughter with the father and her postmorbid object relationships with the internalized father.

Lewin (1937), Jacobson (1957) and Wolfenstein (1969) indicate that parental identifications of bereaved children often include fantasies in which the lost parent is glorified and idealized. Jacobson (1957) and R. Furman (1967) suggest that in normal mourning these fantasies and features of the lost object progress gradually into ego adaptations as they are "tried out." Klein (1940) also

states that this internalization allows for reinstatement of the individual's "good" inner objects. E. Furman (1974) writes:

> . . . the proportion of decathexis and identification needs to vary according to the type of loss and the developmental stage of the bereaved . . . In the case of children, especially before adolescence, it is important that identification not become the predominant means. This can interfere with the capacity for recathexis of a new parent figure and progression in the development of relationships and structuralization. (pp. 256-257)

Affective Components in Mourning

Within the process of mourning other reactions of the bereaved to the death of the love object can and do occur depending upon the nature and complexities of the object relationships. In her review, Siggins (1966) reports that guilt, anger, emancipation, relief, anxiety, reactivation of old conflicts, helplessness, somatic symptoms, denial and the abscence of emotion are possible responses in the mourning process.

According to most writers (e.g., Freud, 1926; Klein, 1940; Bibring, 1953; Lindemann, 1944) affective reactions often do accompany mourning. This emotional discharge by the bereaved is reported as being helpful to the process of mourning. However, there remains a controversy regarding the child's ability to experience and discharge affects relating to mourning. This issue will be addressed in this section as well as in later sections.

The word "grief" has often been used synonymously with "mourning" in the literature. Earlier it was illustrated that Freud (1915) used the two words interchangeably, as did Lindemann (1944) and Parkes (1967).

Pollock (1961), Wolfenstein (1965, 1966, 1969), Siggins (1966), and Nagera (1970) regard grief as an affect which is present in mourning but is found in other experiences as well. Deutsch (1937), Mahler (1961) and Jacobson (1957) indicate that grief connects directly to object loss. Mahler (1961) rather firmly states:

> We know that systematized affective disorders are unknown in childhood . . . But grief as a basic ego reaction does prevail. This implies that as soon as the ego emerges from the undifferentiated phase, the mimetic, gestural, and physiological signs of grief do apper, albeit in rudimentary form. The child's grief is remarkably short-lived because his ego cannot sustain itself without taking prompt defensive actions against object loss . . . Mechanisms other than bereavement such as substitution, denial, and repression, soon take over in various combinations. Children recover from transient reactions of mourning, accordingly, with lesser or greater scar formation. (p. 342)

Mahler defines grief as the reaction specific to object loss, and anxiety as the reaction specific to the danger which this loss entails. She adds:

> This subjective affective reaction, reminiscent of depression, seems in children to consist of a vague realization of helplessness, of the ego's apprehension lest the libidinal object fails to come to its rescue in the face of mounting inner tension. But I would emphasize that the ego must be structured enough to permit enough respite to mobilize sufficient vestiges of confident expectations and hence must allow for the secondary process to delay discharge. Only if these conditions obtain is it possible to experience the subjective affect of longing, which, to my mind, is a precursor of the ego-filtered affect of sadness and grief. (1961, p. 343)

It should be mentioned here that Mahler's comments are based upon observations of psychotic toddlers who experienced object loss during the second half of the first year of their life. In Mahler's developmental phases (1975) this period corresponds to the symbiotic

phase in which she says a need-satisfying mother-infant relationship is required for normal growth.

Other writers such as Burlingham and A. Freud (1942) and A. Freud (1960) place the developmental experience of grief and sadness at the same age as Mahler. Klein (1935, 1940) and Winnicott (1954), although conceptualizing the process differently, as demonstrated previously, place the infant's "depressive position" and thus the emergence of grief within the same developmental period.

Regarding the child's ability to sustain intense emotions associated with object loss, many writers (Deutsch, 1937; A. Freud, 1960; Pollock, 1961; Bowlby, 1961, 1963; R. Furman, 1964; and Wolfenstein, 1965, 1966, 1969) emphasize the inability of the infant's and young child's ego to tolerate and modulate affects over a period of time. It should be recognized that the ego's capacity for, and tolerance of intense feelings is important during mourning and is difficult for bereaved adults as well as children to accomplish (Lindemann, 1944). Most authors (including A. Freud, 1942; Bowlby, 1960, 1963; Mahler, 1961; Jacobson, 1967; R. Furman, 1964; Barnes, 1964; and E. Furman, 1974) add that the child's ability to tolerate feelings develops gradually. From observations in the Hampstead Nurseries, A. Freud (1960) reported instances of young children's bereavement behavior which lasted up to a few months. E. Furman (1974) reports several cases of children in their second year of life, who with adult support and sympathy were able to tolerate affective expression. F. Furman (1964) and Barnes (1964) reported on cases in which children

under five and in early latency could tolerate deep sadness over a period of several months. Wolfenstein (1966) takes probably the hardest stand on this issue in asserting that children up through adolescence are unable to tolerate extended intense feelings. She states, "Observations of children in the age range from latency into adolescence, who have suffered the death of a parent, have shown that they are unable to mourn." (1966, p. 121) Her statement concerning the issue of children's ability to mourn is, of course, not allowed to stand without rebuttal in the literature. It does, however, serve to introduce the next section.

Mourning in childhood?

Given the above discussion of mourning as a concept and a process, the previously asked questions pertaining to childhood mourning can now be addressed. To refresh the reader's memory, these questions were: Can a child mourn?, By what age or developmental stage is this mourning possible?, What are the characteristics of childhood mourning and of children's reactions to parental death?, and Are adulthood and childhood mourning similar? A focus will now be made on the literature which addresses these questions.

Wolfenstein, as indicated above, takes the most extreme negative stand on the ability of children to mourn. In her and her associates' therapeutic work at Albert Einstein College of Medicine with 42 latency age and adolescent individuals, she reported that mourning as described by Freud did not occur as these individuals experienced the death of a parent.

> Sad feelings were curtailed; there was little weeping. Immersion in the activities of everyday life continued. There was no withdrawal into preoccupation with thoughts of the lost parent. Gradually, the fact emerged that overtly or covertly the child was denying the finality of the loss. The painful process of decathexis of the lost parent was put off, with the more or less conscious expectation of his return. Where depressed moods emerged, especially in adolescence, they were isolated from thoughts of the death of the parent, to which reality testing was not yet applied. Thus, we gained the definite impression that the representation of the lost object was not decathected, indeed that it became invested with an intensified cathexis. (1966, pp. 96-97)

Wolfenstein (1969) postulates that adolescence is similar to a trial mourning which must be completed successfully before an individual is able to mourn the loss of a love object. Wolfenstein is not alone in her position that children cannot mourn. Nagera (1970) in his review concurs with Wolfenstein's viewpoint. Miller, in reviewing the literature, stated that ". . . a nearly unanimous position has been found to exist on this question. This consensus position is based upon the firmly held conclusion that children, in comparison to adults, do not pass through mourning." (1971, p. 714)

Helene Deutsch in her classic article "The Absence of Grief" stated, "My hypothesis is that the ego of the child is not sufficiently developed to bear the strain of the work of mourning and that it, therefore, utilizes some mechanism of narcissistic self-protection to circumvent the process." (1937, p. 13). She described the omission of affect as the most extreme defensive expression and used four treatment cases to illustrate her point. Two of her four cases were of individuals who were five years of age when a parent died. Deutsch

reported that the presented individuals were of sufficiently advanced age and intellectual capability when the loss occurred that suffering and grief were to be expected in place of anxiety but that their ego weakness prevented the expression of grief.

Lewin (1937) reported on neurotic hypomanic reactions in patients who had been unsuccessful in mourning parental death which occurred when they were five to ten years of age. He contrasted these patients to Deutsch's (1933) cases because his patients did not use the mechanism of denial, but rather utilized identification and idealization in coping with their losses. Both Lewin and Deutsch indicate that mourning is not readily found in childhood but neither writer provided an initial age or developmental stage at which mourning can occur.

Rochlin (1953, 1959, 1961) in addressing the issues of childhood depression and reactions to object loss states that the older child is more capable of emotional responses than younger children but indicates that the older child continues to use identification defensively. Throughout his work, Rochlin makes the point that to look for adult pathology and symptomatology in children might be futile. He looks upon psychopathology as a developmental process just as he views personality as a developmental process. Shambaugh (1961) describes the case of an eight year old boy, Henry, who lost his mother through death. According to him, "Three factors, at least, separate a young child subject to an important loss from a bereaved adult: his real state of dependency on adults, his not yet fully incorporated superego, and his relatively undeveloped ego. . . The process of mourning requires for

its purposes a relatively strong ego unburdened by too many other tasks." (1961, pp. 521-522) Shambaugh reports that Henry did not mourn as an adult might mourn.

Scharl (1961) reports on the treatment of two sisters, aged eight and five, who suffered their father's violent death. She described the differences in the two girls' reactions and stated:

> In the older child, the effects of object loss more closely approximate those commonly observed in adults . . . In the older child the defenses have become more elaborated, are less readily relinquished, and lend the ego a greater measure of adaptability . . . The significant difference in the reactions to object loss appeared to result from the phase of psychic development at which the trauma occurred. (pp. 478-479)

Scharl's description appears to allow for more adult-like mourning to take place during childhood, especially in a latency age girl than the previous mentioned writers have allowed.

In one of the most definitive statements in the literature on the ability of a child to mourn, Hilgard, Newman and Fisk (1959) indicate that a major shift in ego maturation and in the ability to cope with the concept and experience of death occurs at the age of nine years. They state:

> The parallelism of our finding that personal grief over a death can be remembered when the parental death occurred when the child was nine or older and the findings by Gesell (1946), Anthony (1940) and Nagy (1948) that children accept death on a different level after age nine suggests significant related changes in the ego. (1959, pp. 793-794)

In a less definitive manner, Mahler (1950, 1961, 1975) indicates that mourning in young children is not possible, but as discussed previously she thinks that the capacity to mourn increases gradually.

Bowlby's position on this issue is interesting in that he initially (1960, 1960a, 1961) had indicated that there is basically no difference except length of time between childhood and adulthood mourning. He proposed a pattern of three responses--protest, despair and detachment, which occurred during mourning. However, following but perhaps not as a result of Anna Freud's (1960) discussion of his ideas, Bowlby's "Pathological Mourning and Childhood Mourning" (1963) represents a modification in his previous position. In this work he describes childhood mourning responses to be similar to adult pathological mourning responses, and thus infers that mourning in childhood is different than in adulthood.

Klein (1935, 1940) and Winnicott (1954) described the infant's process of overcoming the "depressive position" as very similar to the mourning process. They consider this first resolution as the basis for future mournings. R. Furman (1964, 1968, 1970, 1973) asserts that the phallic level of personality developmental achievements are prerequisite for mourning. However, he states that other factors must be present in order to allow the process of mourning to occur. He includes: realistic education about the concept of death; consistent adequate fulfillment of physical needs; acceptance of child's feelings, fears, and realistic evaluations regarding the dead parent; and help in mastering anxiety related to the form of death as essential requirements of mourning. R. Furman also emphasized the usefulness of therapeutic work with bereaved children. E. Furman (1974) agrees with and extends R. A. Furman's position by illustrating the work of several therapists with bereaved children.

In reading this literature and previous research, several considerations and limitations should be mentioned. The source of the material for these writings has been treatment cases of individuals who have experienced emotional difficulties most often associated with coping with a parental death. As mentioned previously, this statement pertains to writings on adult mourning as well. Although the source of the material does not imply that the previous research is useless in addressing normal mourning, the source should be appropriately weighed as a possible contaminant. Another consideration which should be made relates to Freud's initial work on mourning. He originally utilized an "idealized" process of mourning as a contrast to melancholia, as mentioned previously in the initial discussion of mourning. Siggins, in her survey of the literature on mourning, points out in referring to Freud's "Mourning and Melancholia" (1915):

> In order to elucidate certain aspects of melancholia he sets up a model situation for mourning--one in which the entire relationship to the object is one of love. He then describes the process of giving up the object in this ideal situation. He is not describing an actual mourning person, whose human relationships are far more complex than this-hence the many other reactions we see in a normally mourning person that Freud does not mention here. (1961, p. 16).

As previously illustrated, Freud in later works modified his initial work to include identification and other processes in mourning which more closely aligned mourning and melancholia. In the literature on mourning and especially as it is applied to children, writers most often base their premises on Freud's original work in mourning which contains his ideal model. In comparing their child and adult cases to

Freud's original ideal model, they are trying to compare realities with hypotheses. This process might lead to erroneous conclusions.

A final consideration relates to the embryonic stage of development of the understanding of mourning and of the dynamics of coping with object loss. Many writers address the issue of the existence of childhood mourning as if the theory of mourning itself and its processes in adulthood are now mature and complete. This does not appear to be the situation, however. Adulthood mourning will probably not be adequately understood until childhood mourning and the processes of coping with object loss are clearly illustrated.

Presently, it seems that most writers do not think that the processes of mourning in childhood are the same as those in adulthood. This position has been based primarily on the emotional and conceptual behaviors of children who have experienced loss. The absence of grief and sorrow, the inconsistent questions which a bereaved child asks about a deceased parent and the seeming indifference which a child exhibits have been cited as examples which distinguish childhood from adulthood mourning. Denial, idealization and identification have been the most frequently cited internal mechanisms for coping defensively with object loss. Although these mechanisms have been considered as pathological reactions to object loss during adulthood, the literature is mixed, especially regarding identification. The point has been made by many authors that societal and parental attitudes toward death foster and even encourage children to subdue or ward off their affective reactions to bereavement. E. Furman, R. A. Furman, and their associates appear

to take the strongest position in asserting that children, even young children three and four years old, can mourn if the adults in their lives were accepting and encouraging of such a painful process. In one such illustration, Furman (1974) states:

> Kathy's father died when she was three years old. Her mother mourned in the true sense of the word and was sensitive to Kathy's reactions. The mother's difficulty lay in her fear of being overwhelmed by sadness. Kathy sensed her mother's fear of strong feelings and, for a time, addressed herself to her father's death mainly in remembering him without appropriate affects. At a later point, she expressed her sadness only at school. In her work with the therapist, Kathy's mother could appreciate how her own handling of sorrow affected Kathy. She came to share more of her sad feelings with Kathy and told Kathy that she did not need to hide her sadness. Kathy was greatly helped by this; could allow herself adequate expression of feelings and completed her mourning in due course. (p. 115)

The above case taken from Furman's A Child's Parent Dies, is an illustration of a more fortunate daughter who, although she lost her father to death, was able to receive the needed support and permission to mourn his death. It was strikingly apparent that as the mother was struggling with her own decisions about affective expression, the daughter likewise had difficulty. Very little is known on a broad scale about just how frequently or infrequently the above process takes place. It is suspected, however, that without appropriate adult help, mourning is most difficult for a child to accomplish. It should be noted that in the case listed above, both a therapist and a mother were available to help the child. As with many theoretical questions, those pertaining to childhood mourning should best be considered as remaining open. Generally, the literature to date suggests that children

mourn differently from adults and during the latency stage begin to exhibit more adult-like mourning reactions.

Possible Effects of Bereavement

Although the professional literature most often describes pathogenic outcomes of bereavement, there are several statements concerning successful outcomes of bereavement (Barnes, 1964; E. Furman, 1974; R. Furman, 1964, 1967; Wolfenstein, 1966, 1969). The work of Hilgard, Newman and Fisk (1959) is the most extensive of the few studies this writer found on the outcomes of bereavement on "normal" individuals. In order to find a "normal" sample with which to compare their hospitalized sample population, they visited 2,377 dwellings and briefly interviewed 1,269 individuals. They located 240 individuals who, like the hospitalized individuals, had experienced parental loss during childhood or adolescence. Of these 240, 65 extended interviews were completed. They state:

> The adult ego, strong or weak, develops out of the experiences of childhood, experiences both traumatic and benign. The death of a parent is potentially one of the most traumatic events that may occur in childhood. How traumatic the loss of a parent will be depends on relationships within the home prior to the parental death and upon the maintenance or reconstruction of the home after the death occurs. (1959, p. 788)

They report that such conditions as keeping the home intact, a strong mother who was homemaker and breadwinner, a network of support systems outside the home and the mother's ability to use these support systems were helpful factors in effecting successful outcomes of bereaved

children. Their research on bereavement outcomes in normal populations and the work of Clayton, Desmarais and Winokur's (1968) are the exceptions in the literature.

Before the pathogenic effects of bereavement are explored, it would be useful to include Lindemann's (1944) classic observation of a typical reaction to bereavement which is based upon his study of 101 individuals who were close relatives of people killed suddenly in the Coconut Grove night club fire or who were subsequently treated in his psychiatric practice. Parkes' synopsis of Lindemann's observations follows:

> At first the full reaction may be delayed or there may be a period of numbness or blunting in which the bereaved person acts as if nothing had happened for a few hours or days up to two weeks. Thereafter, attacks of yearning and distress with autonomic disturbance begin. These occur in waves and are aggravated by reminders of the deceased. Between attacks the bereaved person is depressed and apathetic with a sense of futility. Associated symptoms are insomnia, anorexis, restlessness, irritability with occasional outbursts of anger directed against others or the self, and preoccupation with thoughts of the deceased. The dead person is commonly felt to be present and there is a tendency to think of him as if he was still alive and to idealize his memory. The intensity of these features begins to decline after 1-6 weeks and is minimal by 6 months, although for several years occasional brief periods of yearning and depression may be precipitated by reminders of the loss (e.g., at anniversaries). The features are not typically so severe that they cause the patient to seek help from a psychiatrist, miss more than a fortnight's work, attempt suicide, or isolate himself to such a degree that he becomes inaccessible to relatives and friends. (1965, p. 3)

The pathogenic effects of bereavement will now be addressed. Writers who have addressed themselves to the phenomenon of childhood loss of a parent point out the absence of grief (Deutsch, 1937), the

presence of denial of reality on a fantasy level (Altschul, 1968; Barnes, 1964; Chethik, 1970; and E. Furman, 1974), the use of hypomanic behavior (Deutsch, 1932; Klein, 1935, 1940; Lewin, 1932, 1937, 1961; and Scott, 1964) and the use of identification (Axelrod and Maury, 1951; Birtchnell, 1969; E. Furman, 1974; Jacobson, 1947; Krupp, 1964, Rochlin, 1959, 1961, 1965 and Wolfenstein, 1966, 1969) as defenses by which children cope with parental loss. If they are not effective, these defenses can result in "ego arrest" (Altschul, 1968), an alteration in ego strength (Hilgard, Newman, and Fisk, 1959) or stalled development (Meiss, 1952). Altschul states:

> With the development of the ego, the particular defensive process of avoidance becomes organized into the defensive systems of the ego . . . Upon this organization into specific defensive mechanisms, repression is directed toward the inside and denial toward the outside. Denial can, however, assist repression when the inner life approaches consciousness . . . Denial may also serve and assist in the processes of adaptation and integration as in negation or temporary denial in mourning . . . Denial leads to arrests and improverishments of ego function, variously called ego restrictions, ego distortions or disturbance in ego development. (1968, p. 316)

In "Denial and Ego Arrest," Sol Altschul illustrates a patient's use of denial, narcissism, idealization and difficulty with her identity.

> Patient A. in her early twenties, who lost her father suddenly at age eight, was fully aware of her father's death but did not consciously experience grief. She feared to mourn and physically avoided her mourning mother's presence lest she also mourn and, in her words, "lose her identity." This holding on to her "identity" is related to her need to retain her self image as it existed at the time of loss. Although she had worked toward an advanced academic degree and showed unusual talent, she had not actually received her degree because she was unable to complete certain minor requirements. This served two purposes psychically; first, it helped her maintain a lifelong fantasy that father would some day meet her after school and they would be alone together;

> and second, she had an image of herself, since her earliest memories, of being uniquely brilliant and different from most people but undiscovered and unappreciated. Each time she neared completion of her degree, she would panic and stop, for this would mean a change in the image of being undiscovered and unappreciated . . . With her mother, she acted out the feeling of being superior but unappreciated, constantly being embroiled in conflict with mother regarding their home, struggles over dependency, and use of her abilities. With men, she was interested in older men and became panicky when men her own age like her and attempted to relate to her. She felt this would make her like everyone else. If she were to marry, she would either lose or have to give up her talent. In the transference, she also resisted letting the analyst have any emotional significance for her. (1968, pp. 305-306)

Meiss (1952) illustrates the case of a five year old boy whose father died when he was three years and three months old. The boy exhibited a stalled development similar to Altschul's "ego arrest" during the phallic period and apparently required therapeutic intervention to effect a resolution of the oedipus complex.

Other authors describe the consequences of pathological bereavement as being the arrest or even regression of the individual to more immature levels of functioning. As previously discussed, since Freud's and Abraham's works on melancholia, loss of a love object has been investigated in connection with depressive illnesses including manic-depression; and in connection with hysterical and obsessional reactions (Anderson, 1949). The work of such researchers as Burlingham and A. Freud (1942), A. Freud (1960), Mahler (1961, 1975), Spitz (1946), Wallerstein (1967) and Winnicott (1954) suggest connections between early object loss and infantile psychoses, adult depressive psychoses, future psychotic decompensation and severe

affective disorders. Affective disorders especially manic-depressive and hypomanic states are discussed as related to object loss and bereavement by Deutsch (1932), Klein (1935, 1940), Lewin (1932, 1937, 1941, 1961) and Scott (1964).

In addition to case studies, research on the effects of parental death began to include retrospective studies. The relationship of parental bereavement and later mental illness was studied in numerous retrospective investigations. (Archibald, Bell, Miller, and Tuddenham, 1962; Barry and Bausfeld, 1937; Barry, 1939, 1949; Barry and Lindemann, 1960; Beck, Sethi, and Tuthill, 1963; Bendiksen and Fulton, 1975; Birtchnell, 1969, 1970, 1970b, 1970c; Brown, 1961; Brown, Epps, and McGlashan, 1961; Brill and Liston, 1966; Dennehy, 1966; Forrest, Frasier, and Priest, 1965; Gay and Tonge, 1967; Granville-Grossman, 1966; Gregory, 1966, 1966a; Hill, 1969, 1972; Hill and Price, 1967; Hopkinson and Reed, 1966; Munro, 1966a; Munro and Griffiths, 1969; Parkes, 1965a; Pitts, Meher, Brooks, and Winokur, 1965; Stengel, 1939, 1941, 1943; Volkart and Michael, 1957; Wilson, Alltop, Buffaloe, 1967). Although sometimes contradictory, the significant findings, indicate that depressive illnesses can be associated with parental, especially maternal loss during childhood. Schizophrenia and depressive psychosis was found more frequently in cases in which mothers died when the child was in infancy. However, most of these investigations, with the exception of the works of Barry and Lindemann (1960), Brown (1961), and Gregory (1966, 1966a), were not well executed and neglect was definitely noted in their lack of complete data from childhood.

In most of the above mentioned research, the writers stated that in associating later mental illness with bereavement other premorbid factors contributed to the severity of the illness. Ambivalence or anger in the relationship between the bereaved and the lost love object and premorbid familial conflict are examples of the more common pathogenic contributing factors when these are experienced in addition to bereavement.

The next most frequently studied effect of parental bereavement after depression has been that of dependency. In Deutsch's (1937) "Absence of Grief," she refers to the unmanifested grief of a child as perhaps reflective of the inability of the nonsufficiently developed ego to bear the strain of the work of mourning. Thus, the child on some level must retain the lost love object and as Freud explained, he must engage in denying part of reality. Jacobson (1954) also writes about such a retention of the love object and the process of recathexis which can result in dependency upon the fantasy of the lost love object or upon a real substitute "other" who is idealized by the child. Other writers such as Bowlby (1960, 1960a, 1961, 1961a, 1963, 1973) with his concepts of separation anxiety and infant mourning, Rochlin (1959), Shambaugh (1961) with his "Henry" case, Chethik (1970) with his presentation of "Marc," and Altschul (1968) demonstrates the various levels of dependency in their patients as a result of object loss and parental bereavement.

The child development literature reviewed (including Beller, 1955; Hartup, 1958, 1962; Hartup and Keller, 1960; Heathers, 1955, 1955a;

Herzog, 1962; and Herzog and Sudia, 1973) indicated that dependency in children can be fostered and is probably more likely to become a style of living if a loss of a nurturing parent occurs. Kagan and Moss (1960) studied the passive and dependent behaviors of children and conclude that stability in these factors from childhood to adulthood is present. Therefore, an early dependent style of needs acquisition will more than likely continue for the child into adulthood.

Volkart and Michael (1957) indicate that bereaved persons are more susceptible to the "social and cultural conditions which encourage interpersonal relationships in which overidentification, overdependence, sense of loss, hostility, guilt and ambivalence are bred in profusion." (p. 255) Hilgard, Newman and Fisk (1959) indicate that surviving parents can become emotionally dependent on their children and make normal separation more difficult. They state:

> Thus in the normal situation where a father has died and a mother has not remarried, the dependency relationship tends to be abnormal when compared with the general population. This continued parental dependency upon growing and grown children with its interwoven and never resolved dependencies in both generations exerts a profound effect on the degree of maturity achieved by the ego in its close interpersonal relationships. (p. 795).

Shoor and Speed (1963) in their work with the mourning process and delinquency indicate that dependence is present in these cases. In regard to interpersonal relations they indicate:

> Pleasant associations may be followed by intense regret, or guilt over real or fancied hurt. Dreams may also take up the "work." The more intense (especially if dependency and hostility are mixed) the relationship has been, the more distress is apt to occur . . . Following the normal completion of mourning, the survivor is now able to seek out

> other persons for his affectional needs. A new spouse may be sought for. The child will accept a substitute mother. (p. 262)

Regarding these acceptances of "new" parents, Wolfenstein (1966, 1969) also indicates that the issue of dependency can be dealt with in some cases by means of an adequate substitute parent who is able to meet the child's nurturance needs. In cases in which adequate substitution does not occur, apparently dependency continues to be a conflict. Barry, Barry and Lindemann (1965) report that dependency emerged as the only characteristic which was closely associated with death of the mother in infancy or early childhood. In a quite thorough study including case histories they indicate that in early bereavement cases a feature of dependency is often manifested in oral problems and in marital relationships. Some studies utilizing widows and their adjustment to life with their children (Mathison, 1970; Herzog and Sudia, 1970) indicate that the child's dependency conflicts will also be a function of the mother's own dependency needs and her ability or inability to nurture the children.

Mahler (1950, 1961) in describing the developmental stages through which an infant and young child normally progresses, also emphasized the importance of fulfilling the individual's needs for nurturance. She stated that separation of the mother and child during the child's symbiotic phase is traumatic and can be the precipitant of anaclitic depression. Separation from mother for a toddler is reported to be less traumatic because these children can sustain a mental image of their original symbiotic object. Mahler stated that these children

can accept substitute mothering more readily. They are in the separation-indivuation phase of development. However, normally in this phase, the child's choice to individuate determines when separation can be more readily tolerated. When death, which precludes the child's ability to choose a time to individuate, occurs the child might be prematurely forced to function more autonomously or he will be forced to unwillingly accept a substitute mother. It seems that death may interfere with the normal separations and individuations which occur at several phases of development including perhaps latency and adolescence.

Another possible effect of bereavement, which has been discussed previously as a process in mourning, is the use of internalization and its related concepts of introjection, idealization and identification by the bereaved. Since Freud (1915, 1923) and Abraham (1911, 1924) discussed these processes, the phenomena of idealization of and identification with the lost love object have received attention in the literature as an outcome of bereavement. Deutsch (1937), A. Freud (1960), Klein (1940, 1955), Loewald (1962), Reich (1954), Siggins (1966) and others emphasize the occurrence of idealization and identification in the bereaved child's attempt to cope with or deny the reality of a parent's loss. Identification is also said to play a significant role in bereaving adults' attempts to cope with the death of loved ones. Lindemann (1944), Krupp (1965) and Parkes (1965, 1965a) illustrate by review and case studies this possible effect of bereavement.

Daughters Whose Fathers Died When the Girls Were Seven to Eleven Years of Age

The literature and several case presentations specifically pertaining to daughters' paternal bereavement will now be presented. In "Fathers and Daughters" (1965) a work on the significance of 'fathering' in the psychosexual development of the girl, Leonard states that there exist very few works which adequately study the father-daughter relationship. The father's role in the daughter's pschosexual development has been virtually neglected. In regard to that point, most authors have stressed the importance of mothers in most aspects of female development. The earlier discussion of loss during early infancy reflected this maternal loss emphasized in the literature. One might infer that if the study of present fathers' effects and influences on daughters is sparse then the literature investigating the effects of fathers' absences on daughters would be more rare. This is in fact the case.

Breuer's work with Bertha Poppenhein (Anna O.) and Freud's correspondence with him provide some of the original work with bereaving daughters who lost their fathers (Pollock, 1967). Pollock's hypothesis is that Breuer's treatment of Anna O. involved a strong and debilitating countertransference element due to Breuer's incompleted mourning of his mother who died during the height of his oedipal period. Interestingly, the controversy in this case treatment involves the discussion of the therapist's and patient's developmental difficulties associated with mourning. It also serves as an early example of the complexities associated with the ramifications of bereavement.

The psychoanalytic literature has emphasized the daughter's increased oedipal conflict which results from a father's death. Neubauer (1960) indicates that a search of the literature between 1930 and 1954 for oedipal irregularity yielded only five cases of females who lost their fathers. In commenting on his review and his own findings concerning the effects of parental loss on an oedipal child, Neubauer states:

> Whatever the weight of any one factor in an individual case, the fantasy replacement of the missing parent, resulting in disturbed object relations, is one of the dynamics most specific to the oedipal development of a child in a one-parent family. (1960, p. 304)

and

> When a parent is absent, there is an absence of oedipal reality, the absent parent becomes endowed with magical power either to gratify or to punish; aggression against him, and the remaining parent as well, becomes repressed. The cases in the literature show that existing oedipal conflicts are intensified when a parent leaves during this period. (1960, p. 308)

Other authors (Meiss, 1952; Nagera, 1970; Reich, 1954) also stressed the effects which object loss has on oedipal development, and emphasized the identification with, and idealization of the lost parent which occurs.

This writer's search revealed some work with adolescent females in treatment, such as Wolfenstein's case (1969) of Mary, as previously discussed. Mary, who lost her father at age 14, continued to have difficulty with males in disappointed love affairs and seemed to have the overdetermining motive to fall into degradation to demonstrate what becomes of a lost father's girl and to coerce her father's return.

Wolfenstein stressed the advantage of an immediately available, adequate father substitute as other authors have (Furman, 1974).

The cases indicating work with fatherless latency daughters are quite rare. A study of the literature revealed only six reported cases of individuals in treatment whose fathers died when the girls were seven to eleven years of age (Altschul, 1968; Fleming, 1974; Krupp, 1962; Lipson, 1963; Miller, 1971; Scharl, 1961). This small number of presented cases might reflect the neglect of professionals toward the investigations of latency, father-daughter relationships and mourning respectively.

Regarding the above cases, Scharl's work (1961) with Nancy, age five, and Linda, age eight, demonstrated how two sisters can react differently to paternal bereavement and has their adjustment related to their different premorbid styles. The girls witnessed their father's violent death by decapitation in an automobile accident. Nancy was described prior to the father's death as pretty, charming, the father's favorite, with her principal and narcissistic wish to be admired and loved. In the initial course of treatment, which began six months after her father's death, she was unusually friendly, looked at herself admiringly in mirrors, displayed elation and hyperactivity and in time expressed fantastic denial of the father's death. One year after the father's death, an uncle with whom she had become close and a maternal grandfather also died. Following the uncle's death she appeared small and frightened in the waiting room and presented herself as emotionally regressed. Scharl states:

> After her father's death, Nancy restored her lost objects seemingly with great ease. She related to people with her seductive charm. Her multiple losses of the men who gratified her narcissistic needs (her uncles and maternal grandfather died a year after the father's death), however, confirmed her own feelings of worthlessness. Her narcissistic preoccupation changed into a picture of herself as an ugly little animal no one could love. Instead of attempting to seduce all men with her charm, she was frightened of them and tried to avoid them, as she regressed further into an anal state. (1961, p. 477)

Now compare Scharl's remarks on Nancy with those on her eight year old sister. Linda, who apparently could not or would not compete with Nancy for the father, seemed independent, sullen, dissatisfied and would not tolerate being cuddled or pampered. Scharl states:

> After the father's death, a major change occurred in Linda. She never mentioned the tragic event, and her mother reported that Linda acted as if she was relieved by his death. This sullen, sulky child suddenly became efficient, cooperative and cheerful. She helped around the house, cooked meals, and took care of her mother. Her schoolwork improved greatly. Previously lonely and isolated, she acquired some friends for the first time; and except for constant vicious fighting with her younger sister, she became a perfect child. She was brought to the clinic because of mother's worry that Linda never mentioned the father's death and continuously fought bitterly with her sister. (1961, p. 472)

In the course of treatment, Linda progressed from initial reticence and denial into the expression of anger and aggression and finally to a more effective cognitive and affective state. Scharl comments:

> In summary, as we have seen, Linda made repeated symbolic attempts to find replacements for the lost father. However, her efforts at restitution were only partially successful because of her guilt about her persistent fantasies of killing father and about her other unresolved wishes toward him. The wishes and fantasies compelled her to give up each new object. Manifestly more striking was her increasing ability, through reaction formation and identification with each of the parents, to assume a new independent state, which in time allowed her again to have a less critical and more narcissistically satisfying picture of herself. (1961, pp. 474-475)

She concludes that in the younger child more narcissism and hence regression is noted, whereas the older child with more elaborated defenses, has the advantages of a more fully developed ego. Some of the same dynamic effects can occur in the latency child but strengthened identifications, more desexualized libidinal relationships and a less critical superego may enhance her chance to form better and more independent relationships.

Several points concerning mourning are brought up by the case of Linda. The association between premorbid psychic development and postmorbid adjustment is aptly illustrated. In contrast to Wolfenstein's (1966, 1969) views that latency children and adolescents experience regression and arrest in development, this case material provides an example of differentiation between the latency period and oedipal phase child in relation to regression.

Another point concerning this case is that Bowlby's (1960, 1961, 1963) emphasis on the bereaved individual's unconscious effort to recover the lost object (a process he feels has been neglected in the literature), can be seen in this material. Nancy and Linda's fantasies and attempts at restitution of their father seem to be similar to what Bowlby describes as "effort to recover a lost love object." A final point is in reference to the previous discussion of manic defenses and their association with mourning. It appears that Nancy's behavior in treatment and to a more limited extent Linda's initial at-home behavior featured many of the signs of hypomanic defenses discussed in the review of literature. There are descriptions of elation, hyperactivity, denial,

inappropriate affect and object relating. In Nancy's case the effectiveness of this defensive attempt after her uncle's death appears to reveal the depressing aspects of her emotional state.

Remarkably, Scharl's work with Linda is the sole illustrated clinical example of treatment of a latency age girl whose father died. Wolfenstein (1966) reported that her group treated twelve children between six and eleven years of age, but she did not report the number of those cases who were female. In the examples she provided of treatment of bereaved children and adolescents there were no cases of females whose fathers died during the latency period.

The remaining cases presented briefly here are of females who lost their fathers by death during latency and were subsequently treated during adulthood. Lipson (1963) presents the case of a 26 year old single woman who lost her father, a coal miner, when she was nine years old. She began analysis due to recurrent episodes of depression. This case is especially interesting because it provides some of her memories of the events surrounding her father's death. Lipson writes:

> She asserted that the only time she was really affectionate with her father was when she was two and a half; otherwise, their relationship had been distant and unimportant . . .
>
> Her recollection of her reaction was that she had felt she must take over for father and comfort her mother and younger sisters. She also recalled a weight gain of thirty pounds following his death . . .
>
> She recalled being among the crowds that had assembled at the mine during the rescue operations. She was convinced that her father was safe, but, as time passed and hopes dimmed, she created a fantasied escape tunnel from which her father would emerge. After the funeral, which she attended, she continued to expect her father's return. She created new explanations of where he had gone and why his return was delayed. Many times she played out in her fantasies the

> dramatic scene of his sudden reappearance. Gradually these productions occupied less of her conscious fantasy life and apparently were repressed.
>
> The elaboration of these fantasies in the analysis culminated in a sudden recollection during an analytic hour of the director of the rescue operations saying to her 'Little girl, your father is dead." Upon remembering this she was overwhelmed with grief . . .
>
> With the lifting of repression these fantasies could be reevaluated and corrected by the strengthened adult ego, and thus permit the completion of mourning. The analytic situation provided an opportunity to examine in detail the relationship between denial and mourning. (1963, p. 106)

In this case illustration are examples of repression, denial and mourning. The patient apparently had a distant and unaffectionate relationship with her father after about two years of age. Although the material is not provided, an inference could be made regarding her possible aggressive fantasies toward the father and her subsequent unconscious guilt. Dynamics of depression and identification appear to have stronger evidence in the data. Her feeling that "she must take over for father and comfort mother" suggest a process of identifying with the lost love object and seeking to cope with this overwhelming loss by her autonomous and responsible behavior.

Altschul's (1968) presentation of patient A. quoted earlier in this paper also serves to illustrate (as did Lipson's case), the use of denial, identification and responsibility in coping with bereavement. In addition to these elements, the material which Altschul has provided about a woman in her twenties whose father died in a mining accident when she was eight is suggestive of feelings of omnipotence and underlying depressive and dependent aspects in this patient's personality. She appears to be consistently warding off the experience

of events which would precipitate the realization of her grief associated with the loss of her father and the recognition of her own frailty. The completion of her academic degree since it represented her identity and link with her father or the acceptance of a slightly dependent relationship might precipitate the feelings of "helplessness" which writers on mourning have postulated is present in bereaved individuals. Her ambivalence in seeking competency appears to be evident in these dynamics.

Patient A.'s case also exemplifies conflict in a bereaved individual's female-male and psychosexual relationships. She appeared to be seeking a relationship with an older man, a fatherly type, but avoided younger men with whom a permament relationship was more threatening.

The hypothesis of incomplete mourning resulting in a lifelong alteration in personality structure is put forth by Krupp (1962) and Fleming (1974). Krupp demonstrated this alteration in his discussion of a married woman who was eleven when her father died. It serves to illustrate the effects on a female-male relationship which a father's death might have. Krupp writes:

> One patient, whose father died when she was eleven, entered analysis with strong feelings that her otherwise satisfactory relationship with her husband would end in separation or disaster. She was concerned about his safety and health and would unconsciously set up obstacles in her relationship with him which would create guilt in herself. The obstacles and guilt seemed to bind and minimize her separation anxiety and allay her fears of his leaving her. Her infantile neurosis had otherwise been more or less successfully resolved. She came to analysis because of anxiety, following the loss of a newborn child, whose death she felt was due to gross

> neglect by the doctor delivering the baby. The theme of the analysis was her adolescent and still continuing reaction to her father's death. When this was worked through, in a relatively short time, her treatment was brought to a satisfactory conclusion. (1962, pp. 56-57)

It seems apparent in Krupp's patient that she invested within her relationship with her husband many of the feelings, including guilt, she had toward her father. Subsequently she also unrealistically feared his loss when another loss (of her baby) occurred in her life. Deutsch (1937), Klein (1940), Mahler (1961), Winnicott (1954) and others might cite this case as an example of loss in later life recapitulating an earlier depressive position or mourning process. In this woman's life loss of father, loss of baby and possible loss of husband are psychically equated and in Klein's view all of these affectively reenact her separation from mother during infancy.

Research, other than case studies, has revealed considerable data on the effects of a parent's death on children. However, as has been true in all the literature, the previous focus has not been on a daughter suffering the lows by death of her father. When a father's death has been investigated it most often has been in relationship to a son's adjustment.

Hetherington (1972a) comments on a daughter's psychosocial and psychosexual behavior following a father's death. She stated that girls separated from their fathers by his death displayed excessive sexual anxiety, shyness, and discomfort in their relationships with males. Girls who were separated from their fathers as a result of divorce exhibited more promiscuous and inappropriately assertive behavior with male peers.

Hetherington (1972) and Hetherington and Parke (1973) also comment on the development of sex-typing, social development and academic development in relation to father absence. Concerning the research on the role of the absent father in her relationships with males and in her idealization of the girl's father they said that the father has an important role in this female development. Daughters learn to feel competent and valued as individuals who have feminine traits, while interacting with a warm, masculine and attentive father. They indicated that on an adjective checklist, daughters of absent fathers rated their husbands and fathers with more similarity than daughters from intact families. They also stated that apparently daughters with absent fathers maintained their more favorable childhood image of their fathers because they rated both their husbands and fathers much more favorably than most men. Hetherington and Parke's remarks on recent research seem to correspond with previously discussed theory and cases on the processes of internalization and idealization. They also provide data from both father-present and father-deceased families and allows for a comparison of their daughters' development. In this comparison, women from intact families had a more balanced, realistic perception of their father and one which included both his virtues and his shortcomings.

A number of authors (e.g., Glick, Weiss, Parkes, 1974) address the issue of familial adjustment after the death of a father. This adjustment would, of course, affect the overall influence of the father's absence on the daughter's life. Wolff (1969) states,

"There is evidence that the harmful effects of bereavement are more often due to its long-term social consequences and to the emotional reactions of the surviving parent than to the impact of the death itself upon the child" (p. 75). Volkan (1970) also discussed the changes in the patient's life situation following the death of a family member as important factors in adjustment. He stated that environmental changes, such as the loss of money, and psychic changes, such as intense pathological grief reactions or psychosexual conflicts, can emerge when a loved one is lost.

Kalish, in "The Effects of Death upon the Family" (1969), Vollman, Ganzert, Picher, Williams, in "The Reactions of Family Systems to Sudden and Unexpected Death" (1970) and Zeligs, in "Children's Experience with Death" (1974) discuss the practical ramifications of a parent's death on the nuclear family. They mention the interference that the demise during the last 50 years of the extended family as an additional support system in America has resulted in more stress on the nuclear family when a father's death occurs. The loss of the father's roles as breadwinner and the masculine adult in the family through his death is emphasized as having numerous long term effects. An economic strain is usually placed on the mother and children. Often the mother's absence due to her work schedule decreases the amount of time, energy and attention which has been available for her personal needs and for the children as well. Children must often begin to be more responsible in spending money and doing chores at home. Long range effects might include the denial of a college education or of a career of choice which

would have been possible with the father's income. Economic impact of a father's death could, in an extreme circumstance, even result in the breakup of a nuclear family.

Wolff (1969) and other authors mention some of the cognitive and emotional effects a father's death has on the child. One such effect is the necessity of the child to make choices and decisions which a living father would have facilitated. In another aspect, Zeligs (1974) stated that a bereaved daughter feels resentment and deprivation as she interacts with peers whose fathers are alive. These feelings might contribute to social withdrawal by the daughter as a result of feeling pained and different from her peers.

The spectrum of the affects present, such as guilt, anger, and sorrow which have been previously mentioned by many authors is emphasized by Kalish, Zeligs and Wolff. In regard to the expression of these affects, Nagera (1970) states:

> Most observations indicate that latency children deal with serious losses, through death, with massive denial, including denial of affect and not infrequently even reversal of affect. This situation seems to be favored or encouraged by our cultural attitudes to death at the present time.
>
> Yet, we will probably agree, on theoretical grounds, that for the further healthy development of the latency child, it will be better if he can, within appropriate limits, express and experience the pain, sadness, anger, and other feelings and conflicts associated with the loss. (p. 380)

Many writers (including Freud, Bowlby and Hetherington, as mentioned earlier), have presented data on the importance of substitutes for lost love objects. The benefit of immediate father substitutes for childhood development and sex-typing in females has been mentioned

(e.g., Herzog and Sudia, 1973). There exists the difficulty of choosing the right man and the correct time to facilitate rather than to deter beneficial adjustment of the daughter. A widow's rapid remarriage as well as her social isolation from men have both been discussed (e.g., Hilgard et al., 1959) as possible emotional defenses. These events, if carried out with limited awareness, can be detrimental to her children's adjustment and future relationships toward men because they preclude the gradual mourning process and force a "new" father or isolation on a child.

These studies on the impact of a father's death on a family provide some general notions about the phenomenon of being a seven to eleven year old girl in a family whose father died. No research, however, was found which specifically addressed the effects of a father's death on these latency age daughters. To date the case studies presented provide the only data on such a life event.

The Effects the Literature Suggests

The literature seems to indicate that adult females who experienced paternal bereavement during the latency period will vary in their individual reactions and later adjustments according to several factors. The absence of a completed mourning process has received much attention in terms of pathological etiologies. Such features as the absence of affective expression and the defenses of denial and increased activity, even hypomanic behavior, have been presented as mechanisms to avoid mourning. The premorbid relationships within the family and between the

daughter and the father have been featured as factors in adjustment. The circumstances and actual events surrounding the death have been reported to have later significance in the adjustment. In both normal and abnormal responses the research suggests that the reactions of the surviving mother and of relatives, friends and professionals make a difference for the bereaving daughter. One finding especially emphasized has been the importance for someone in the girl's life to allow her to express her thoughts, questions and feelings related to her father's death. Postmorbid relationships with father substitutes and stepfathers have also been demonstrated to be variables in a daughter's emotional, social and psychosexual development.

The effects in later life which have received attention as possibly related to a paternal death have included depression, conflicts with dependency and relationships with males. Features in personality dynamics associated with bereavement and mourning repeatedly discussed in the literature have been the processes of idealization, identification, hypomanic reactions and ego arrest.

In conclusion, throughout the literature the complexity of the mourning process and of the possible ramifications of paternal death have been most striking. It is fitting, therefore, that the discussion of the literature include this point as aptly stated by E. Furman:

> As far as we know, most publications do not discuss the need to assess the mourner's total personality in relation to his mourning work. In our experience all parts and functions of the personality interrelate in affecting the bereaved person's handling of this task. His relative

> success or failure depends on how all part of his personality respond and adapt to the complex specific circumstances of a particular bereavement. It is difficult, and perhaps erroneous, to assess the outcome of mourning primarily in relation to one aspect. (1974, p. 266)

Focus

The principal focus of this paper is on listening to and learning from adult women who experienced paternal bereavement when they were seven to eleven years of age. As these women related information about their lives, relationships and feelings, knowledge of the perceived effects of their paternal loss was evidenced. Because these individuals have personally experienced the death of their fathers it is the author's opinion that they should be considered 'experts' in their paternal losses. Given their experiences, these women shared information and opinions concerning the ways in which individuals, such as their mothers, siblings, relatives, friends, teachers and perhaps mental health professionals and paraprofessionals did help, or could have assisted them, in their adjustment to their father's death. In contrast to the patients presented in the literature, the fact that these women related their experiences voluntarily and not while seeking treatment suggest that their contributions might be considered quite useful in assessing, and in understanding "normal bereavement."

The present work is a descriptive study in which past experiences were examined for commonalities and patterns. It is not an experimental study in which the variables were manipulated. There are several

reasons for this experiential approach. The primary reason is that research in this field of knowledge is in a very early developmental stage in which the factors to be controlled have yet to be defined. While working on such frontiers of research it is felt that the behaviors and perceptions of the subjects should be described and defined thoroughly before they are compared and manipulated in relation to other populations and factors. A second, and equally essential consideration in using an experiential approach concerns the issue of causality. In retrospective research such as the present study there often exists a tendency to equate correlation with causation. The reader is well aware of the fallacies which lie within such an inference. The writer, because of the embryonic nature of the research on paternal bereavement, appreciates that at this level we must be satisfied with looking for tendencies in the patterns of the variables. Without first studying the experience for itself a "controlled" study of factors yet to be defined in that experience seems presumptive. To examine the significant differences between "Y_1" and "Y_2" and then causally related those differences to the differences in earlier experiences "X_1" and "X_2", respectively, without first closely examining the "X_1" experience appears to be less than desirable and logical. A third, and practical but sad point is that death is more often the manipulating rather than the manipulated variable in the lives of loved ones. Death does not easily lend itslef to experimental design. Retrospective study of the phenomenon of death using very refined variables after the independent variables involved have been previously teased out, examined and

controlled appears to be an appropriate research procedure. But first those variable to be controlled must be established or at least suggested by more fundamental research.

The writer at the inception of this study three years ago wanted to research the effects of therapeutic intervention on bereaved children. During the process of investigating this research project, it became increasingly apparent that not enough was known about the child's and more specifically, the daughter's experience of paternal loss to know whether a particular therapeutic intervention would have a beneficial or a detrimental effect on adjustment! The more fundamental study of, and an examination of the experience of paternal death was thus initiated.

Hypotheses

Although the focus of this study will be on the subjects' descriptions of their experiences and in spite of the above mentioned cautions to be taken while studying such experiences, several hypotheses will be tentatively stated at this point. It is the writer's desire that these hypotheses, which are reflective of the variables addressed in previous literature, be viewed as milestones by which we can gauge the journey. Whether supported or rejected as hypotheses, to attempt to infer and generalize from these hypotheses would misuse this descriptive study. The hypotheses follow.

The literature suggests that latency age females whose fathers died cannot experience feelings and behaviors similar to adults who

mourn. Another implication is that daughters older than nine years of age will be more likely than younger daughters to mourn.

Women who suffered a paternal bereavement during latency should have depressive and emotionally dependent personality characteristics, and experience conflicts in female-male relationships and in psychosexual development. These women should also possess poor ego strength and utilize hypomanic defenses to ward off their depressive states.

Those women who appear to have mourned their fathers' death should experience less dependence, depression and fewer conflicts in female-male relationships and psychosexual development. They should also possess better ego strength and exhibit fewer hypomanic behavior than women who did not mourn.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

The Subjects

The subjects in this study were 19 women who as a group ranged in age from 19 to 55 years with a mean age of 31.3 years. Eight of these women occupied the 19 to 24 year age range, five were in the 25 to 34 year age range, two were in the 35 to 44 year age range and four were in the 45 to 55 year age range. In terms of the ages at the time of their father's death, three of the subjects were eight years old and the remaining subjects were evenly distributed, four each, across the ages of seven, nine, ten, and eleven years when their fathers died. Table I summarizes the demographic information pertaining to these subjects.

Regarding marital status, twelve of these women were single with four of these single women having been divorced. The remaining seven subjects were married and one of these married women had been divorced previously. Eight of the subjects have two to four children each.

Nine subjects were full-time undergraduate students, six were primarily housewives and four were primarily career women. The socioeconomic status (SES) levels for the subjects were evenly distributed across the middle SES range. They resided in Knoxville City and Knox County, Tennessee, in the spring of 1977.

The subjects were volunteers who responded to either a two-line announcement in the University of Tennessee newspaper or a two-line

TABLE 1

SUBJECTS' DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

S	Chron Age	Marital Status[1]	Children	Occupation[2]	SES[3]	Birth Place	Birth Order[4]	EST. SES[5]	Father's Occupation	FA's Age at Death	Cause Death	S's Age at Death	S
A	22	S	No	Secretary	LM	SE	2/2	M	Managerial	45	Heart Attack	7	A
B	49	M	Yes	Housewife	UM	SE	3/3	M	Mason Fmn	47	Rock Slide	7	B
C	19	S	No	St, Science	M	SE	2/2	M	Managerial	40's	Illness	7	C
D	41	D,S	Yes	Mental Health	M	SE	2/2	M	Military	30	War	7	D
E	33	D,S	Yes	Nurse	M	S	8/8	LM	Stove Mason	58	Stroke	8	E
F	53	M	Yes	Housewife	U	W	1/2	LH	Managerial	30's	Illness	8	F
G	21	S	No	St, Educ	LM	SE	3/3	M	Farmer	58	Heart Attack	8	G
H	26	D,M	Yes	Housewife	LM	N	2/2	M	Industry	36	Heart Attack	9	H
I	30	D,S	No	Teacher	M	S	1/1	M	Military	51	Heart Attack	9	I
J	22	S	No	St, Libral Arts	M	SE	1/2	M	Business	47	Cancer	9	J
K	19	S	No	St, Acct	M	SE	3/3	UM	V.P Bank	44	Ilness	9	K
L	23	D,S	No	St, Nursing	LM	N	1/1	UM	Scientist	37	Heart Attack	10	L
M	21	S	No	St, Libral Arts	LM	SE	2/2	M	Business	54	Heart Attack	10	M
N	51	M	Yes	Housewife	U	E	3/3	M	Salesman	44	Auto Acc	10	N
O	27	S	No	St, Nursing	M	S	3/3	LM	Cook	50	Heart Attack	10	O
P	55	M	Yes	Housewife	M	SE	2/4	LM	Electrician	35	Auto Acc	11	P
Q	25	M	No	Student	M	N	3/7	M	Farmer	42	Heart Attack	11	Q
R	42	M	Yes	Housewife	UM	SE	1/1	M	Bookkeeper	61	Heart Attack	11	R
S	21	S	No	St, Speech	M	SE	3/3	M	Business	51	Illness	11	S

[1] S = single, M - married, D = divorced

[2] St = student

[3] SES = Sound Economic Status; LM = low middle, M - middle, UM = upper middle, U = upper

[4] Birth Order 3/7 = 3rd born of 7 children

[5] EST. SES = Family of origin estimated SES

paragraph placed on campus bulletin boards and in the weekly bulletins of local churches and synagogues. Please refer to Appendix A for the texts of these announcements. The first 20 women who volunteered and met the criteria of paternal bereavement at seven to eleven years of age were chosen.

The fact that these subjects volunteered for a study which was investigating a presumably significant event in their lives should, of course, be weighed in the consideration of the generalizability of the results.

The Measures

The principal measure in the study was an individual clinical interview by the writer using a list of structured, open-ended questions (Appendix B). The interviews, which were 90 to 120 minutes in length, were conducted in a manner so structured as to obtain the necessary responses to the questionnaire as well as a holistic clinical impression of the subject. Given this structure, a flexibility within the interview was maintained in order to permit both a causal, professional interaction and appropriate responses to the affective reactions of the subjects. The interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed to typed copy in order to facilitate the extraction of information and subsequent category ratings.

The list of questions for the interviews was developed based upon a desire to address the significant issues and information regarding paternal bereavement and later adjustment as suggested

by the literature previously discussed. The premorbid father-daughter relationship is just one example of such significant information.

A further consideration during the interview was to obtain an overall chronological profile of the subject's life experiences and relationships, with a special interest focused on her pre and postmorbid familial interactions. An attempt was made, by means of the order of the questions and by the process of the specific interview, to phenomenologically separate each subject's discussion of her early childhood memories and premorbid experiences from her subsequent discussion of the events of her father's death and responses concerning more recent life events. Although it is recognized that pre and postmorbid thoughts and affects were probably difficult for the subject to compartmentalize, the author wanted to facilitate such a process. In this manner it was hoped that the subject could more easily make distinctions between such phenomena, for example, as her relationship with her mother during early childhood and her later relationship and affective responses to her mother after her father's death. There are, of course, many other such instances in which it seems that the subject's affective and cognitive distinctions would be pertinent and useful in the research.

Another important consideration during the interview was the interviewer's interest in promoting a nonthreatening atmosphere in which the subject's anxiety would be decreased and in which a sense of mutuality of purpose would exist. To elaborate briefly on this consideration, it is the writer's view regarding descriptive research,

in which the research is seeking information from the subject, that the subject's motivation, interest, willingness and level of anxiety, all play important roles in the amount and the accuracy of the information obtained from that individual. Regarding this study the researcher was requesting very personal and often times affectively-laden, anxiety-producing responses from the subject. Perhaps this point is too obvious, but it was thought that a subject who did not feel that her responses would be accepted, appreciated and perhaps used later to help someone else would be less willing to explore the depths of her affective life and perhaps painful cognitive memories.

A final point concerning the interview, itself, is that although the interviewer directed the overall process of the interview, the subject was considered the "expert" on her personal experiences regarding her life, her bereavement and her subsequent adjustment as well as on the opinions she had regarding more beneficial ways in which daughters can be helped after a father's death.

Following the transcription of the interviews they were studied in order to develop categories which reflected common elements in the subjects' responses. These categories were also designed to measure significant variables mentioned in the literature on bereavement. These categories were then placed on two-, three-, four- or five-point continua according to the nature of the category to be rated and the feasibility of making distinctions within each category. Appendix C contains the list of the categories and the rating scales developed. With this category system in addition to the transcripts and the

overall clinical impressions, the subjects' responses could be quantified and studied. Although a great effort was made in the design of categories to preserve the subjects' individual responses during the interviews, it must be recognized that absolute accuracy in quantification of affective and cognitive responses is very difficult.

In order to ascertain the reliability of this writer's judgements in rating the subjects' responses, independent ratings were obtained. A random sample of four interviews was drawn from the nineteen transcripts. Two impartial professionals and the writer independently rated the 158 items for each of the four subjects across the two-to-five-point categories. Perfect agreement between two of the three raters was found for 91.4% of the 632 total items.

Regarding the quantification of the subjects' responses, in addition to the individual item categories such as #130 dependency (Appendix C), it was necessary to group several of the items in order to study processes which were illustrated in the literature reviewed earlier. These processes include: the Subject's Premorbid Relationship with her Mother, the Subject's Relationship with her Father, the Subject's Idealization of her Father over her Mother, the Probability of Mourning, the Mother's Postmorbid Adjustment, the Subject's Postmorbid Relationship with the Mother, Depression, Insecurity and Conflicts in Female-male Relationships. The content and direction of these scales was based upon writings by such individuals as Deutsch (1937), Freud (1915), R. Fulton (1967), Hetherington (1975), Klein (1940), Lewin (1937), Hilgard et al (1959), Lindemann (1944), Loewald (1962) and

Wolfenstein (1966). The items and the rated directions for these scales are provided in Appendix D.

Another measure which was utilized in order to compare the subjects in this study to a set of normalized data is the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI). The scales which were used are the Depression and Hypomania scales (Hathaway and McKinley, 1967); Subjective Depression, D_1, Psychomotor Retardation, D_2, Physical Malfunctioning, D_3, Mental Dullness, D_4, Brooding, D_5, Amorality, Ma_1, Psychomotor Acceleration, Ma_2, Imperturbability, Ma_3, Ego Inflation, Ma_4 (Harris and Lingoes, 1955); Ego Strength, ES, (Barron, 1953); and Dependency, D_4 (Navran, 1954). The Minnesota Normals (Dahlstrom, Welsh, Dahlstrom, 1975) were used as a standard by which to compare this sample.

In addition to the MMPI scales, the Leary Interpersonal System of Personality (Leary, 1956, 1957) was used in this study in order to measure each subject's conscious and private perceptions of herself and of the significant others in her life. This complex system of personality assessment is both interpersonal and multilevel because it analyzes how a person behaves with others, how she describes her actions with others, how she fantasizes her actions with others and how she idealizes her actions with others. In order to carry out these analyses the Leary System utilizes the MMPI, the Interpersonal Check List (ICL), and the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT). For the purpose of assessing the women in this study, the standard Interpersonal System's female TAT cards (i.e., 1, 2, 3GF, 4, 6BM, 6GF, 7GF, 12M,

13MF and 18GF) were administered. The theoretical background, the standardized administration techniques and the computational procedures for this system are described in detail in Leary's Multilevel Measurement of Interpersonal Behavior (1956) and in The Interpersonal Diagnosis of Personality (1957). These procedures were followed in this present study.

The Interpersonal System of Personality was designed to study five levels of personality and interpersonal behavior. These levels are:

I. The Level of Public Communication (overt behavior of the individual; criterion test--MMPI).

II. The Level of Conscious Description (the verbal content of all the statements which the subject makes about the interpersonal behaviors of herself or others; criterion measure--ICL).

III. The Level of Private Symbolization (the indirect, fantasy content which the subject projects, her underlying character; criterion measures--TAT, MMPI).

IV. The Level of the Unexpressed (these consist of interpersonal themes which the subject consistently, significantly and specifically avoids in the first three levels; criterion measure--omitted areas of the other levels).

V. The Level of Values (data which reflect the subject's system of moral, or superego judgements, her ego ideal; criterion measure--ICL).

In the study of an individual or group of individuals, the interpersonal expressions of the subject are scores in terms of sixteen interpersonal variables or eight combined octant variables (see Figure I). The pattern of these scores can then be displayed in a two-dimensional space or circular diagnostic grid in which the

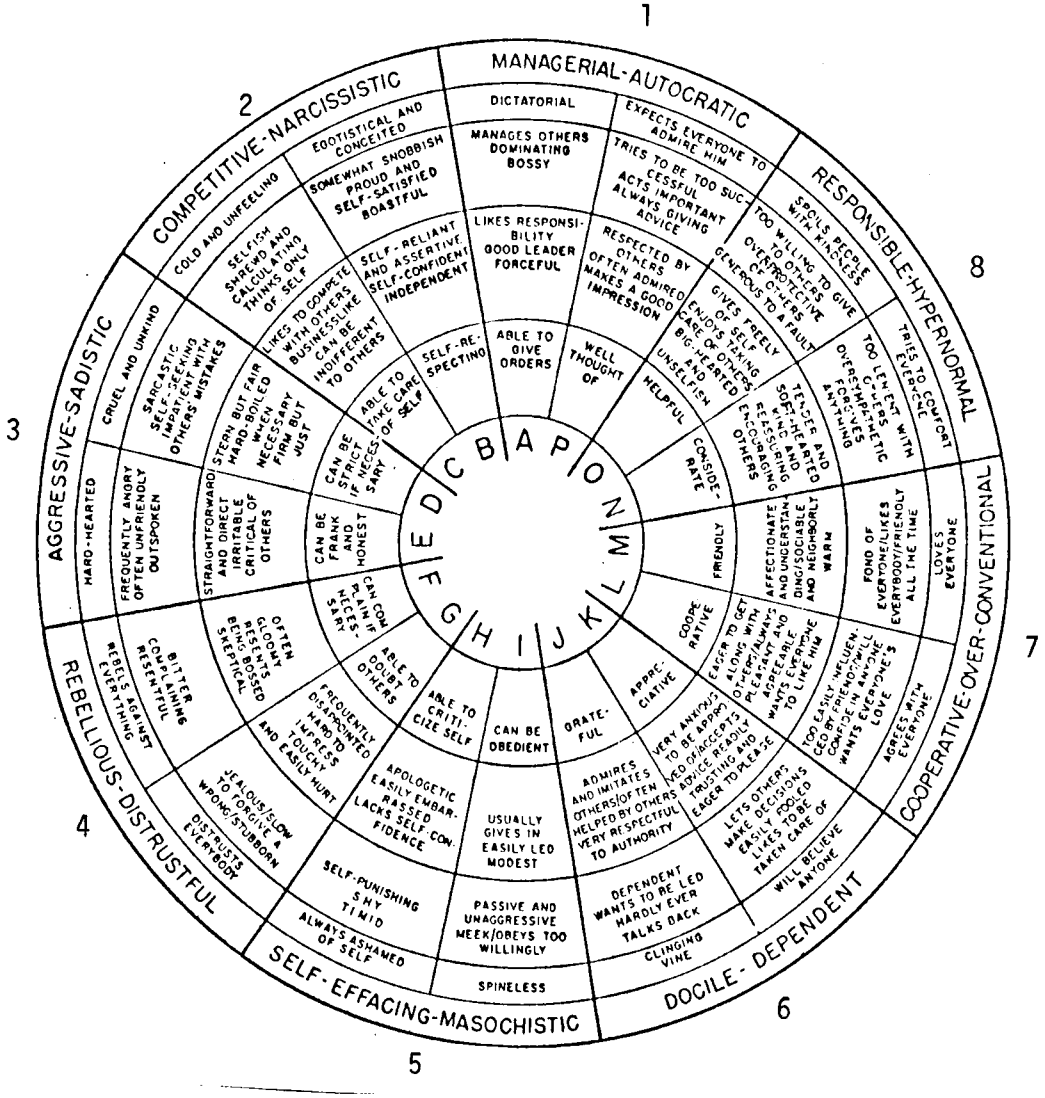


Figure I. Interpersonal check list illustrating the classification of interpersonal behaviors into sixteen and eight combined variable categories. (Source: Leary, T., Interpersonal Diagnosis of Personality New York: Ronald Press Co., 1957, p. 135. Copyright 1957 by Ronald Press Co.)

center is the mean of the normative population's scores. This pattern of scores can also be converted by a process of vector analysis to a summary point, which reflects the kind and intensity of the subject's interpersonal behavior. In this manner, the subject's perceptions can be represented for each level of personality and for the sixteen, or the eight combined octant interpersonal variables. A subject's summary point for each level can be plotted on a grid position which then reflects that the kind of and intensity of behavior in that level has a tendency toward a given octant. In addition to the subject's ratings of her own behavior, her ratings of the interpersonal behaviors of her significant others can also be summarized and plotted on a grid position representing the tendency toward an octant of that individual's behavior.

The Interpersonal System of Personality enables the researcher to obtain the subject's perceptions of herself, or different levels of personality of herself or of others, and to then compare these summary point perceptions on the same diagram. This system of summary points also provides a way to measure differences between levels of personality and between perceptions of self and of others. These measures of differences, defined as variability indices, indicate the interlevel conflicts among different levels. By comparing the levels of self ratings with the ratings of others, these variability indices can also be used to demonstrate tendencies in the processes of idealization and identification (Loewald, 1962).

The Leary system was chosen as a measure in this study for the above mentioned advantages. It permits the subject to represent her self perceptions of her personality and her perceptions of her family members. It also facilitates the researcher's comparisons of these perceptual ratings for each individual subject and for the group of subjects.

On the Interpersonal Check List (ICL), each subject in this study was requested to rate herself, her ideal self, her mother, her father (as remembered), and her spouse or male friend. In order to illustrate the pattern of summary points for a typical subject and some of the possible comparisons which can be obtained with this system, the reader is referred to Figure II. As displayed in this figure, this subject's Level I Self (Is--Level of Public Communication), as measured by the MMPI, is positioned in Octant 1 (Managerial-Autocratic). Her Level II Self (IIs--Level of Conscious Description), as measured by the ICL, is also positioned in Octant 1. The lack of discrepancy, and therefore low variability index, between Levels Is and IIs suggests that the subject has a high degree of self awareness. She perceives her interpersonal behavior similar to the way she is perceived by others. The subject's Level III_{MM} (Level of Private Symbolization, underlying character), as measured by the MMPI, is positioned in Octant 7 (Cooperative-Overconventional). Her Level III Hero (III_{H}--Level of Private Symbolization), as measured by her TAT stories, is positioned in Octant 6 (Docile-Dependent). The discrepancies (and higher indices of variability), between these Level III positions and

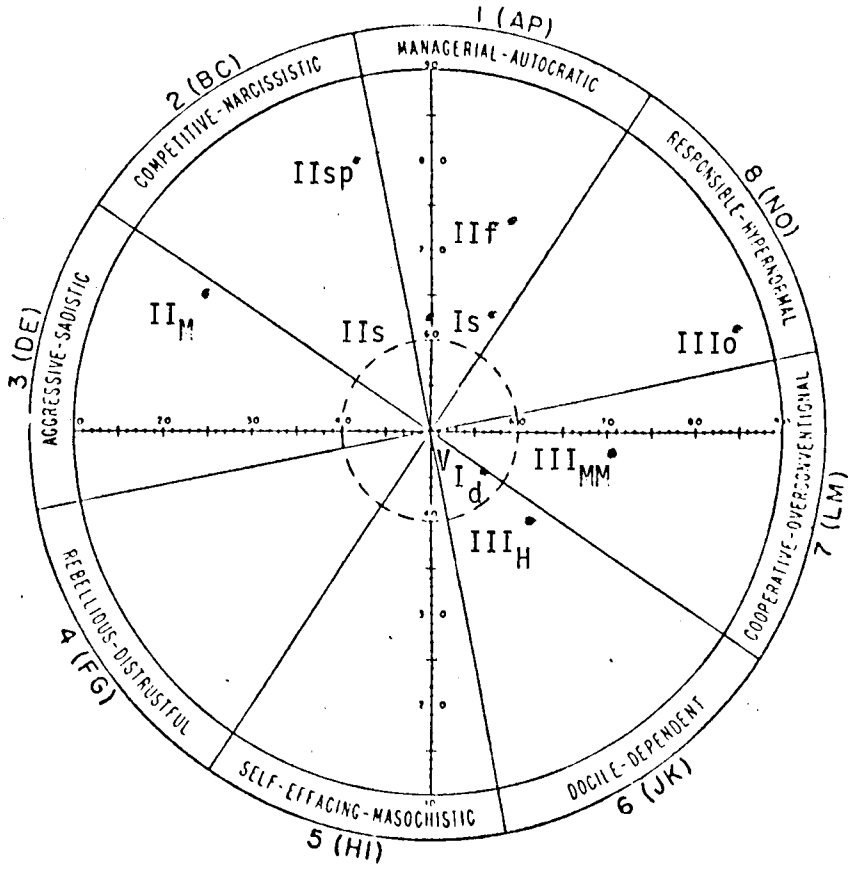


Figure II. Pattern of interpersonal summary points for a typical subject. (Source: Leary, T., Interpersonal Diagnosis of Personality New York: Ronald Press Co., 1957, p. 223. Copyright 1957 by Ronald Press Co.)

and her level I and II positions indicates that possible conflict exists between the subject's inner feelings on a deep personality level and her overt behavior and conscious self-awareness. Relating these apparent discrepancies and possible conflicts to psychoanalytic theory, it appears that the subject functions in an overtly ambitious and successful manner which enables her to avoid feeling intrapsychically passive, dependent and obligated to seek the approval of others in order to ward off anxiety. The pattern of summary points facilitates the examination of possible defensive mechanisms (repression in this instance).

Referring once again to Figure II, the subject's Level III other (IIIo--Level of Symbolization), as measured by the TAT, is positioned in Octant 8 (Responsible-Hypernormal). This indicates that her TAT descriptions of fantasy others, and perhaps her deeper feelings, reflect her aspirations of responsibility, maturity and sympathy. Regarding the subject's ratings of her parents, her Level II Mother (II_M--Level of Conscious Description of her Mother), as measured by the ICL, is positioned in Octant 3 (aggressive-Sadistic). This position and discrepancy between the Level II Mother and Level II Self suggest the subject's conscious disidentification from mother, whom she perceives as being a stern and sometimes aggressive woman.

The Level II-Father (II_F--Level of Conscious Description of her Father), as measured by the ICL, is positioned in the same Octant as the subject's I Self and II Self. This suggests a conscious identification with her father. The position of the II Father in

Octant 1 also appears to be a more favorable perception by the daughter than her perception of the mother in Octant 3. The idealization of the father as suggested by this perhaps favorable positioning can also be measured by the index of variability between II Father and Level V-Ideal (V_{ID}--Level of Values). A low index of variability indicates a preconscious idealization of the father. Finally the subject's II Spouse (IIsp--Level of Conscious Description of her spouse or male friend), as measured by the ICL, is positioned in Octant 2 (Competitive-Narcissistic). This position reflects a similar degree of dominance as of the father. It also reflects a successful, powerful and yet slightly less favorable positioning than the II Self and II Father.

One final comment concerning this illustration is that the discrepancy between the subject's III_{MM}, her underlying character, and I Self suggests that a defense mechanism in the form of a reaction formation, perhaps structured during latency, is presently functioning. The subject might be behaving in an active and achievement-oriented manner which enables her to avoid the deeper feelings of helplessness and dependence which she experiences intrapsychically. Pursuing this comparison of her underlying character, III_{MM}, to other summary points, it appears that the discrepancy between the III_{MM} and the II Father in spite of the placement of I Self and II Self, indicates that the subject has difficulty in affectively acknowledging that she has been successful in her activities in spite of her father's absence. Cohen (1973) writes of this Level III_{MM} and II_F comparison as parental assimilation.

In addition to providing the opportunity to examine patterns within the subject's personality and in the group of subjects, the Leary Interpersonal System of Personality also permitted comparisons with control populations previously researched using this system. It was therefore possible to measure differences between this sample and previously normalized samples.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

As explained in Chapter III, the subjects for this study were obtained on a volunteer basis during May 1977 by means of printed or posted announcements illustrated in Appendix A. The two-line announcement was printed in the Thursday and Friday want ads sections of a daily university newspaper with a circulation of approximately 10,000. The two-paragraph announcement was posted on 15 campus bulletin boards and printed one weekend in 20 local churches' and synagogues' bulletins. Based upon this relatively brief and low key canvassing more than 70 women responded during the subsequent two-week period to volunteer for the study! Although no remuneration was given and in spite of the requirement of approximately four hours of their time, these women were highly motivated to participate. Without exception each of the participants felt that paternal bereavement was an important phenomenon to be studied. Apparently they were motivated to provide information which might benefit the adjustment of future daughters who experience their father's death. It was also evident that they each had thought about the possible effects of their father's death on them. However, most of them had not discussed their ideas on this topic with another person. They wanted to describe their experiences and talk about their lives. It does not seem probable that all of their motivation was due to the phenomenon of volunteerism, or such a process in which they were seeking attention.

Of the 70 women who experienced paternal bereavement during childhood and who agreed to volunteer, 20 subjects whose fathers died when the women were seven to eleven years of age were originally designed to participate. It was decided that the first 20 women who called and met the criteria would be used as subjects. Subsequent to the participation of the first 20 volunteers who called and who met the criteria, it was determined during her interview that one subject had suffered maternal bereavement prior to her father's death. Her data were excluded from use in this study on the theoretical basis that she experienced a double bereavement with its possibly contaminating effect on the variables to be measured. As indicated in Chapter II early maternal bereavement has been suggested as etiologically associated with several consequences in later life. The final sample was thus established as containing 19 participants. In presenting the data which these 19 subjects provided, the following order will be used. The interview material will first be examined. In this examination, the descriptions of the individual subjects will be followed by their response patterns as a group. This interview material provides the data for the major focus of this study--the perceived effects of paternal bereavement and the subjects' suggestions for helping daughters experiencing similar trauma in the future.

Next, the MMPI and Leary Interpersonal System Personality data will be presented. This examination of the subjects' responses to the assessment material enables the writer to compare the subjects' responses between the subjects and to the normalized data.

Finally, the above data will be briefly discussed in relation to the tentative hypotheses outlined earlier.

The Interviews

The overall process of the interviews has been discussed previously. However, before the results of the contents of these interactions are presented their affective aspects demand attention. During the course of these interviews it was noted by this writer that each woman approached the elaboration of her story in a serious manner. A matter-of-fact or glib demeanor was not displayed during any of the interactions. This statement is not meant to imply that a solemn tone was set, for a range of affects was exhibited. However, most of the subjects seemed to approach the topic with some anxiety, mild apprehension and yet curiosity in their own responses. The few subjects who began the interview in an easy, matter-of-fact manner soon changed their tone and demeanor when discussing the events of their fathers' death. During the interview, 11 of the 19 subjects shed tears. Several of the remaining 8 subjects exhibited a noticeable quaking in their voices. These observations seem to indicate that strong, sorrowful feelings associated with their bereavement and loss were experienced by the subjects during their recall. The 11 subjects who cried during the interview were evenly distributed across the ranges of present chronological age and age at the time of their father's death. Four of those who cried had suffered their father's loss 34 to 42 years previously! These findings, although mere observations, must suggest

the affective impact that her father's death had on each of these 11 subjects. These results should provide the reader with an impression regarding the emotional atmosphere and sensitive nature which paternal loss can precipitate.

Attempting to provide an impression of the depth of affectivity in the interviews seems like a simple task when compared to the goal of presenting the content of the interviews. The writer feels that the events in the subjects' lives must be important considerations when examining their responses to a father's death. The illustration of both the breadth and the depth of the phenomena in their pre- and post-morbid experiences is necessary if a thorough appreciation of the complexity of their reactions is to be gained. In order to provide the reader with this illustration two approaches will be employed. A brief description of each of the subjects will be presented to permit the reader to obtain information on the various childhood experiences, interactions, events of the deaths of the fathers and subsequent adjustment of these women. These descriptions are not, of course, all inclusive in this information but will provide an overview and pertinent specific experiences which were noticed in the various responses. Following the presentation of the individual subjects, an analysis of the total group of subjects will be provided in order to explore the patterns of similar experiences.

The Individual Subjects

In providing these brief discussions of each individual in this study, several considerations were important. As described above an

overview of their lives as well as specific instances of significant events are provided. In the interest of brevity many important details cannot be provided in these individual case discussions. Common elements and experiences which pertain to most of the subjects will not be reiterated within the case discussions but addressed in the discussion of the entire group. Because it is the main task of this study, presentations of the subject's perceived effects of their father's death and their opinions about useful interventions will be provided in these individual case illustrations and in later discussion.

In the interest of confidentiality and professionalism many identifying characteristics and traumatic or sensitive events plus the clinical impressions of the individual could not be included. However, the writer will attempt to provide these details and impressions as these subjects are discussed as a group. A description of each subject now follows.

Subject A. is a 21 year old single woman who presently lives at home with her mother and works as a secretary. She described her family as being "very, very close" when she was a child, but this apparently reflected her early feelings toward her parents, because she and her older sister "never got along until I was 16 years old." She reported that her relationship with her father, "was terrifically close" and added that she went with him whenever she could, while her sister spent more time with her mother. In relating events of her childhood she noted that she "Can't remember anything . . . I don't know if I blocked most of it out when daddy died or what."

She was seven years old when he suffered a fatal heart attack. He had had a "massive heart attack" two years previously which had limited his activities. The subject graphically described the events of his death. Her father was taken by ambulance to the hospital while she slept. She noted that she at first did not realize what was occurring when her mother tried to explain what had happened. She stated:

> I didn't react then and then when the family (relatives) started coming in . . . and they called the preacher and my mother was real close to the preacher at that time and so when he walked in the house she just broke down and she came back and I couldn't leave her lap, I just sat on her lap the whole time and then went into hysterics and they had to get the doctor . . . to give me something to calm me down."

She later recalled how her mother's emotional response apparently facilitated her own reality testing, "I had never seen her cry, so when she did that I guess that it made it more real to me." This subject recalled a postmorbid period in which she felt "empty" and sorry for herself especially at school because "I didn't have a father and everybody else did and what was it going to be like when I grow up without a father?" She also recalls being afraid of the dark and having nightmares until she was 14 years of age. Her mother fostered a dependent relationship with her following her father's death until the present time.

This subject spoke of the important role which religion took in her and her mother's life. She also related how in her relationships with males that, "I wonder if I am looking for somebody almost perfect

. . . where I am going for somebody like my father. I don't know if I am at this point or not." The idealization of and her identification with her father could readily be inferred from even her own conscious statements during the interview.

Subject B. is a 49 year old married woman with children. She helps her husband with their business. She has two older sisters. In describing the early interactions in her family she spoke of herself as being equally close to her parents. However, she seemed as though she was, in fact, closer to her mother and her older sister was closer to her father. The subject grew up during the depression years. She recalled early in the interview that one of her first memories is of her younger newborn sister's funeral when the subject was four years old. She described her father as a very pleasant man and said that she had a good relationship with him in connection with taking care of their rabbits in the back yard. She describes her mother as a very strong, even domineering woman who was a good cook and mother.

The subject was 7 years old when her father died at the age of 47. He died in a rock slide and the family found out about his death from a neighbor. Yet, another neighbor told the subject she didn't think her father was actually dead. This seemed to confuse her and she spoke with some resentment about this conflicting report. She said it took her awhile to realize that he was not coming home. She remembers crying at the funeral but did not see her mother cry. She described her older sister, the one who was closest to her father, becoming quite withdrawn as a result of their father's death. She stated that she did

not talk with anyone about her father's death, though her mother helped her in her adjustment to his death. Several relatives had been living with them and continued to do so several more years, although when they moved out she felt it was better for the family to be there by themselves. She said that her mother had always been a strong woman and continued to pick up after the death and "get on with everyday living and bring the things back to normal." She mentioned that it seemed that her mother wanted to keep her "the baby in the family" and apparently she had a quite dependent relationship with her mother and reported guilt in leaving home.

In school she remembers being more quiet than her peers. Because she began to have difficulty with reading, it was necessary for her to repeat a grade. She did not date until her senior year in high school, and she always like boys who were older. She did have one close friend and several other friends. She felt that religion had played a very important role in her life and that it helped her with her adjustment to her father's death. Essentially, she knew because of religion that there was a good reason for her father dying and she said that as a religious person, "you learn to accept death better."

In speaking of the effects that her father's death has had on her, she stated, "it robbed me of a better education"; she also said "I would have known more what to expect of men when I got married, I would have known more about the nature of men if my father would have lived." She also felt that she would not have been so shy and "maybe if I had had an uncle close or any other person but I know I was very frightened of principals, male teachers. I didn't even like to talk to them."

Subject C. is a single 19 year old who is a liberal arts undergraduate student. She remembered very little about her childhood and repeatedly stated "I don't remember" in response to questions about family interaction. She felt closer to her father than to her mother. She described her mother with some negative comments in terms of the discipline and anger which she periodically displayed. At the same time, she spent very little time with her father and yet she felt closer to him. This could be the result of the years since his death and her subsequent idealization. She described herself as a very reserved and isolated child throughout her childhood, adolescence and even presently. She has one friend who has been "kind of my best friend all along."

She was 7 years old when her father, who was in his 40s, died of a terminal illness. She reported that she calmly accepted the news that their father had died. The subject described her reaction when she was returning to his hospital room as a relative said "'your father's gone away' and I didn't understand what she meant because I can remember asking her where he went. Later on I cried a lot but I think it was mostly because everybody else was upset."

Her mother withdrew emotionally and physically from the children, isolating herself in her room and apparently she was devasted by the loss of her husband. She recounts that the only problem his death had on her immediate life was that she had to explain to people that her father was dead ". . . it makes them uncomfortable and it makes me uncomfortable."

One of the interesting things she remembered was having a dream within a year after his death. The dream was related as,

> I dreamed my mother was upset and I had a whole bunch of jelly beans and they were all black and I didn't like black jelly beans. And I dreamed my father changed the colors, changed the black jelly beans to all different colors. And he told us he would take care of my mother and she wasn't unhappy anymore.

One think that repeatedly came across with this woman was that she denied that the death had much affect on her. "I suppose I just took everything in stride and over the years I suppose it hit me what had really happened, but I don't remember having any difficulty accepting it."

She felt she was independent, but admitted to being depressed and keeping things within herself. If certain events mentioned would have been different, the subject felt that "the pattern would not have been set for not being emotional and not letting anyone know how you really feel."

Subject D. is a 41 year old divorced single woman who has children living with her and has a career in the mental health profession. Her father was in the military service and she recalled her family, including her younger brother, moving around the country when she was young. She described a happy childhood in which "we were very close" with parents who were "pretty energetic and pretty happy most of the time . . . most of the decisions were made by my father . . . they also had some pretty intense arguments . . . but seemed to get over it pretty quickly." She described herself as being closer to her father who "was very proud of me" than to her mother who was a "real lively and warm person too."

Her father was killed during World War II when she was seven years old and she recalled:

> We got a missing-in-action notice and we did not get formal notification of his death until fall . . . This was part of a problem I think. He was missing in action, his body was never recovered. There was never any burial service. I don't think I really thought he died. On one hand I did but on another I didn't . . . I used to imagine he was wandering around Europe with amnesia.

She described how her "mother could not deal with his death and did not want to believe it." She remembered a "few days of weeping among the whole family and then nothing." Her mother would not tolerate sad feelings or any talk about the death from the children. "I didn't have the feeling that I could ask questions. There was something in the atmosphere that was like, don't ask questions."

The subject described her mother fostering a dependent relationship and pushing her to achieve in school. She was quite active as a cheerleader and club member. She mentioned that in terms of her response after the death she became very active and looked for attention but at the same time felt "emotionally withdrawn and isolated and kind of all by myself" even while with others. She said "I would get into a lot of fantasies . . . I remember trying so much harder to please people after he died . . . trying to avoid anybody being angry with me."

She dated actively, usually with older men, and married at the age of 17, "a pretty miserable marriage . . . I was afraid he was going to desert me." She described an uphill struggle in seeking independence during her life. Her mother's closeness to death several years ago catalyzed this subject's personal efforts, including pfofessional

assistance, to overcome the dependence and depression which she associated with her father's death.

Subject E. is a 33 year old divorced nurse who lives with her children. She grew up in a large family with eight children. She was the youngest and most of her siblings were considerably older than her. She said "There were so many people in the family that they weren't really very close to each other." This also held true for the relationship between her and her parents.

She was eight years old and her father was in his 50s when he died of the effects of a stroke. The subject stated that she didn't feel like she was sad or needed to cry when her father died. She said the only reason she cried was because her mother cried. She didn't feel as "upset as everyone else." She gave an example of how she wanted to play over at her sister's house with her cousins and her sister said that, "'Here PaPa is laying there dying and you're thinking about playing' and I recall thinking well I ought to act like I'm sad." This is an example of a situation in which other people do not accept the children and their feelings for what they are. It also seemed that, except for one of her sisters, the people in her family did not really talk to her about her father's death or explain to her what was going on.

She had vivid memories of the funeral events although she did not agree with some of the things the family members did at the funeral and wake, which was held at her sister's house. However, her mother did ask each child something pertaining to the arrangements, "she asked me to pick the color of tie he should wear."

One of the only effects she mentioned of her father's death is that her mother turned some attention and affection toward her, that she was "substituting all the emotions she had felt and given to him." She felt this was phony on her mother's part and accepted it as such, since she had not been affectionate and "all of a sudden it was there. I never felt I needed any kind of a substitute father." The whole family's interaction and association changed after her father's death as "the kids moved on."

She married as a teenager: "We had this huge terrible physical attraction between us and we were going to set the world on fire." They had several children in a few years and have now been divorced. One of her wishes was that "I'd like to find a good man. Men are a dime a dozen but I'd like to find a good man." Her brother has been the most significant male in her life.

She reports that she was never encouraged by her family, by her mother or by anyone to go out and do the things that she feels she needs to do. She has had to be independent and "make it" on her own. One of the things she mentioned several times in her feelings about her father's death was the feeling of insecurity and not having enough food and being financially insecure. Describing one of the effects that his death has had, she said:

> It has made me stronger. I can accept realities; I don't live in a fairy tale existence. I grew up very early . . . I matured early in some respects. I could accept reality in something that I could not have. I hever had a temper tantrum because I couldn't have something. That was life, you know.

Subject F. is a 53 year old married woman who has several children and a younger brother. She described early interactions with her father as being very, very close. During the interview she talked about being her father's child. Her parents were also quite close and she described the mother depending heavily on the father, who was quite dominant.

The subject described a fairly isolated childhood with few friends. Encouraged by her father, she read a great deal. However, she also enjoyed running and other sports activities.

Her father died of a sudden illness when the subject was eight years old. Soon after his death she was taken to someone else's house and isolated from her mother and brother "feeling abandoned not by my father but by everybody," and she was not allowed to attend any of the funeral events. The subject said she realized that her mother was suffering a great deal but she did not feel she was supportive or affectionate with her, even though they spent months together traveling after his death.

She felt that some of the effects of the death were that it made her very independent and resourceful as her mother was not being very supportive of her. The subject wished that her mother and someone would have talked with her about the death of her father and also that there had been some mourning process and some tangible and realistic sign that he was in fact dead, like going to the funeral. She reported that she rejected for a long time that he was really dead because she had not seen his body.

> I cried all the time at night by myself in my room. There was such a void and it lasted for years and years . . . I always had the feeling that he was right there.

She also mentioned that "I also felt rage that it would happen to me," but I "never blamed him."

She married a man who looked similar to the way her father looked and reported that she is quite domineering in this relationship, although they are quite compatible. She described herself as independent. "I get to do exactly as I want." and having a close family and busy life.

One of her wishes that is interesting is: "I wish my mother and I could have talked then and through the years so that my memory of my dad would not slip away."

Subject G. is a 21 year old undergraduate student in education. She described her early family interaction and childhood as very close. She lived on a farm with her parents and older brothers. This subject had many vivid memories of her early life and the events that happened around the time of her father's death when she was 8 years old and he was 58.

Her father died at home after suffering the third of three heart attacks. She remembers that her uncle, and then her mother and a minister talked with her about what had just happened to her father. It wasn't until later when she was getting dressed in her bedroom that she cried. She was surprised at the funeral home by the number of people who were upset and crying.

She remembered that her mother did not talk much about the death but she was very strong and they became closer. She did say that her

mother appeared upset for some time and she was sad at her son's wedding a few months later. Every year she reports her mother get "blue" around the anniversary date of her father's death and she is quite sensitive to themes of dying and death.

In her personal life, the subject became withdrawn and experienced a "sense of loneliness." She tried to concentrate on schoolwork more and began to read more. She did talk with several of her friends; one who could "not visualize what it would be like without a father," and another who had also lost her father (they remained friends throughout high school).

She noticed at school that the other children asked a great deal of questions about the death of her father, and also that her teacher often had her read aloud to her class. Looking back, she thought that this was one way in which her teacher, recognizing that she was a good reader, brought her out of her withdrawal. This subject also spent a good deal of time daydreaming and thinking about things that she had done with her father. She remembered fantasizing about the "borrowers" (little people described in some books) being in her house. This is an interesting fantasy in that she talked at the same time about how she had to mature more quickly as a result of his death.

Religion had a strong influence in her adjustment, yet the only help it provided at the time of her father's death was that her minister was there when her father died.

It seemed as though her relationships with her brothers and mother have been very important in her adjustment and she felt quite confident

and secure in herself as a result of their support. She continues to be very close to her immediate family "even now."

An interesting feature of this subject and her adjustment is the daydreaming, fantasizing, thinking and dreaming that she did after her father's death. Did she need to emotionally withdraw her attention from other people in her life for a period of time, and from reality?

She now has many rewarding relationships and plans to marry a man who has had many difficulties in his own life and is apparently not able to talk about them as she is. Regarding the effects of her father's death, she stated:

> It has taught me to appreciate people, to enjoy being with people as much as I can, to value the time I spend with them . . . I always try to remember things I do with people in case something was to happen, like this friend who died a few months ago very unexpectedly . . . It showed me it is not always a father who is working hard and bringing in money for there to be happiness in a home, in fact, even if you lose a parent that it is not material things that make a happy home, it is more or less the things you do with each other . . .I think it has made me appreciate my home life a lot more and to appreciate what I have had.

Subject H. is a married housewife, who is 26 years old and lives at home with her children and second husband. She recalls that her parents were very fond of her and she of them but "I can't recall a lot of what happened before my father died.

Her father died at the age of 38 when she was 9 years old. Her mother, sister and relatives became hysterical and very upset. She said she felt very sad and really missed him, but that she felt that he was "going to heaven and that was a good place but why was everybody so upset."

She attended the wake at the funeral parlor, but "I didn't want to go but in a way I didn't want to be left out either. I wanted to be there, I didn't want to be there. She chose not to attend the funeral but did go to a reception after. She said she wished she would have gone to the funeral but "I really was afraid of a dead body."

The night after her father died she stayed at the neighbor's house and again described very ambivalent feelings about being there and also wanting to be home. "If I had known the mother more I would have gone to her and cried, or went home or wherever my mother was . . . well I just felt like I better stay where I was and struggle it out."

Regarding her return to school, she stated that her teachers and principal seemed to be concerned and "looked after me." She described that soon after her father died, her mother began sleeping with one of the daughters. This situation continued until her sister got married and the subject moved away from home. A year after her father's death, she remembers daydreaming at school, not about her father but about wanting to play outside in the playground.

She matured physically and at the age of 12 began a relationship with a boy three years older. They became sexually involved. She eventually married him. She described him as not affectionate, but independent and domineering. He expected her to maintain high standards of cleanliness in the house. During the first year of the subject's marriage the subject's mother committed suicide. She had realized that her mother was always grieving or depressed following her father's death and had tried to get her to accept professional help. The subject

seemed to feel quite guilty about her mother's death and mentioned several actions she wished she had undertaken and "maybe it would have been a little different." She was very disappointed and upset about the way her husband nonchalantly accepted the news of her mother's death. She became quite isolated from him and eventually divorced him. She remained single for several years after their divorce.

She is presently married and has children. She appreciates the affection and emotional support she gets from her husband but "feels put out" by his passivity and his inability to do practical chores.

One striking observation which was apparent throughout the interview was the way she talked about the changes she had had in her relationships with men, as a result of her father's death. She described the important role that men especially her first husband played in her life. She said that although she had been most unhappy in her first marriage, when they divorced, she felt rejected by her husband. She stated, "The sadness I had was for myself." She felt she would have been a completely different person if her father had not died. He would have spoiled her to some degree, but would also have made her be responsible. Her relationships with men would have been different.

Subject I. is a 30 year old career woman and student who described her childhood as very rigid, structured and sterile. "I always thought I was born because my father wanted children and my mother didn't." She felt close to her father although he was emotionally aloof. Her mother was described in very negative terms as being very aloof, strict

and not giving at all. "I am sure she must love me in her own way but I never felt it. To this day I don't feel like she really does."

She attended a private school and was expected to perform and achieve very well in school. A great deal of time was spent reading and in solitary activities. She was always interested in nature, which her father appreciated.

Her father died of a heart attack when she was 9 years old and he was in his 50s. She remembers her anger and resentment and verbalized how she hated the president of the college who made her father overwork, how she hated the doctor who misdiagnosed her father and how she felt cheated that her father had died and they would not be able to move to Florida, as previously planned.

She stated: "I felt personally cheated. Mother became even more reserved and more withdrawn." She was also quite resentful and angry about the manner in which her mother interacted with her. She felt very isolated, alone and insecure. She remembered "dreaming about the funeral over and over and over again and "taps" (military tune) being sounded. I remember waking up crying."

She described one significant male as being an older man, one of the first men who accepted her and was able to give her the attention in which she felt secure. She mentioned a number of similarities between this man and her father, and this relationship continues today. "I remember my father, in the few conversations we had, giving me his undivided attention and this man is also very attentive . . . He treated me as an adult and I have known him since I was 16." She goes

on to say "there is a special facet to the relationship that was neither physical nor sort of a father image. A father-daughter sort of thing, that has continued to this day."

The feeling of rejection has played a big part in her life, as has loneliness and isolation. She said that she would often become depressed. She stated, "It has just been in the last two years that I have developed any positive self-image." She has been married and divorced ("we were totally incompatible") and is now in a very positive relationship with a male ("I have never been this happy in my whole life.")

In addition to wanting to have had a better relationship with her mother, the subject wished that the funeral arrangements had been different. She stated:

> I wish it had not been a military funeral . . . It would not have haunted me for so long. There is something, just something so completely final about it. It is hard to explain but the way a military funeral was conducted it was so terribly dignified and so there is no room for emotion."

This subject also felt that some activity like watching the movie Bambi was a possible way for children to learn about the mourning process and about death. She encouraged parents to help their children learn about death in a gradual and natural way, rather than ignoring the reality of death.

Subject J. is a single undergraduate student. She describes herself as coming from a close-knit family. She talked about herself as being shy but as having friends and being involved with others as a child. From her description it sounds like her father was often busy when she was young and did not have much contact with her. However, she said she felt closer to him than to her mother.

She was 9 years old and her father was in his 40s when he died of a terminal illness. He had been in the hospital for several months prior to his death. During this time her mother could not adequately care for the children and her husband, so the subject's paternal grandmother came to stay with them but she left soon after her father died. She said that her mother did not talk with them at all about the seriousness of their father's illness nor did she imply that he would die, and so the subject did not expect his death. Describing being told in the hospital that her father did die, she stated:

> I sat there calmly and took it . . . It upset me greatly. I think I cried a little bit, but I think I was just shocked and could not believe it could happen to him . . . nothing bad could happen to him.

She remembers all the funeral events but "it was like a dream."

One of the significant things the subject revealed was that immediately after the death of her father her mother withdrew. She described:

> . . . she did not talk to us. I mean she talked to us, but she didn't consider us as important as these other things that had to be done-these arrangements that had to be made. She would stay by herself, like when the three of us were in the house she would not talk to us on a person to person basis about it. She would stay by herself. She would just do the things she had to do, cook and wash, but she wouldn't make any effort.

The subject said that she did not talk about his death with anyone except her best friend who, trying to be empathetic, said "that her daddy would take care of us." Although the subject recognized the supportive intent of her friend's statement, it was of little consolation to her.

She thought and dreamed about her father for about a year after his death. She also cried quietly from time to time, withdrew and became more isolated. She remembered feeling that she had to fend for herself and be responsible and independent soon after he died. It took her mother about three years until she "finally snapped out of it" and began taking care of the children and doing a more responsible job of parenting.

Another effect the subject described was that she had to become independent and prepared in life to take care of herself, since something could happen to her husband. She described feeling inwardly dependent and overtly independent, and she mentioned this as an effect of her father's death. She said: "I think it has caused me to be more independent and not to depend on people quite so much. . . I'm going to enjoy every day with my husband as if something might happen any time." Her relationship with her mother now is "great, believe it or not. She seems to understand things, she's very open with me now. We can talk about just anything. She depends on me a lot."

Subject K, a 19 year old single woman is studying accounting. She wants to pursue a business career. The subject is the youngest of three siblings. She recalled that when she was about seven years of age, her father went into the hospital and was in the hospital for about a year and a half with a prolonged illness. He died when she was 9 years old and he was 44. A few days before he was to be discharged from the hospital, the subject remembered coming home from school and seeing many cars parked around her house. She came in and realized

that something was wrong. She knew immediately that her father was dead when she saw her mother crying. It was the minister and her mother who took her in the back bedroom and told her about his death. She said: "I can just remember thinking what actually does it mean to be dead and it was a dream you know and I would wake up soon." She did not do much talking with her family at that time and does remember going to the different funeral events, including the wake, funeral and burial. She said she got upset when her mother cried and recalled that during the wake at one point her brother apparently began crying, became quite upset and had to be sedated. Throughout her discussion about the events of his death she reacted emotionally and said that this was one of the first times that she had ever talked about his death other than to say, "My father is dead or something as simple as that." Apparently, soon after his death, when she returned to school (to which she did not want to return) she became very active in her studies and felt as if she had to achieve all the time, she described herself as an overachiever and worried a great deal about her grades. She said that at one point her mother threatened to send her for professional help because it was abnormal for a little girl to worry so much about her grades.

She reported that her mother had been quite independent and self-sufficient while her father was in the hospital. After her father's death she appreciated her mother being there and apparently she was able to do some talking with her. She described one recurring nightmare she had after her father's death and it included someone handing her picture of many people laughing. She also described that

after she went back to school, she felt as if everyone looked at her "funny." She felt embarrassed and so she pretended that he was still alive. It was not until a year later that one day in class when a new teacher asked her what her father did that she stated openly that "he was dead" and began crying. She described the looks she then received from her classmates and how the teacher felt "awful" about the situation.

During high school she continued to work very hard on her school work and did not interact socially. However, in the ninth or tenth grade she had her first serious boyfriend for about a year and then went out with another boy for several years. It appeared to be important for her to feel as if she was emotionally independent, perhaps not even needing men or needing to get married. She did say that these ideas could be due to the effect of her father's death and she thought about herself as being different from other women who have had their fathers. She described other women as being more dependent on men and wanting to get married and have children. She stated: "I guess I am just more ambitious and career oriented. They always key it with the death of my father. Everybody who knows me thinks oh, that's why." She summed up her situation and her confidence in herself when she said: "I guess I can face things better, you know face reality. If you have it happen to you when you are little . . . I guess life is not as much of a fantasy."

Subject L. is a single and divorced 23 year old woman who is presently studying nursing. She was an only child. Her father had a Ph.D. in the natural sciences. Her mother was a housewife whom she

described as very dependent upon her father. The subject reported that her mother was not very affectionate, and probably did not want any children. Her father was closer to her, used to go on field trips and spend time talking with her. She stated: "My family was like an All-American family. They were just really in love . . . I had a perfect childhood."

When she was ten years old her father died of a heart attack while on a camping trip with her family. She described how she did not really cry or have any emotional or grieving reaction when her father died. She remembered that it happened in the middle of the night and the fact that she was with him briefly before he was taken by ambulance to the hospital. According to her report neither she nor her mother cried. In describing that the message from her mother was to not talk about her father's death, she said, "she more or less kept me from realizing it, she never talked to me or told me that he had died . . . it was kind of a hush hush type of thing."

Her case illustrates an instance of a child being taken away from the situation, from the home or from the surroundings when a father's death occurs. She was taken that night to the forest ranger's house and she and her mother remained there for a week. That night she was told by the ranger that she should be brave. She recalled thinking at that time, "Well, I am brave." In speaking about the period of time following her father's death she stated: "The whole month was kind of like a dream. I did not realize what was going on and I was ten years old so I'm sure I understood death at the time in relation to someone else, someone distant, but not to my father."

The subject stated that her grandmother while living with them for a year following her father's death was the only person who talked with her about him. She said her grandmother "was real blunt about it, she was the first person who had even mentioned to me that he had died . . . she'd tell me stories about when he was growing up." When asked what the subject used to think about her grandmother speaking with her, the subject said, "I thought she was cruel. And she would only talk to him about me /sic/, she would never bring it up in front of my mother." The interview tape revealed one instance, of many noted during the interviews, of slips of the tongue in which a father's death was denied by the use of the present tense or other wordings.

Following the father's death, her mother began to work and in describing her mother's response the subject added:

> My mother changed dramatically, like she was always a real nice person, real dependent on my father. I guess she felt really secure and after he died and she was more or less the head of the household and she got like she was always upset and always nervous and she really didn't have a lot of time for me anymore."

The subject talked about herself then withdrawing emotionally and moving more into solitary activities and away from the family (into her room).

The subject described how she "hated it" when her mother began dating a man the subject did not like. In school and during high school the subject became very popular and very active. She was a cheerleader and a leader among her peers. She was married at age 18 to a dependent, and alcoholic man who was intelligent, affectionate and

seven years her senior. She later divorced him. She attributed the fact that she dated and married him, and that she is presently studying nursing ("wanting to take care of people"), to her father's death. Interestingly, in terms of possible paternal identification, she is presently striving for a Ph.D. She said, "I am really into school and education, my family really encouraged college and my dad has his PH.D." (/sic/--another slip.)

Her case is also an instance of a bereaved person's feelings of ambivalence. She stated:

> I guess I wish I could have been freer, not freer to cry but I really didn't feel like crying, but I felt like I should have been crying, but I didn't, and I guess it was kind of an ambivalent feeling. I wish I didn't have that kind of feeling, and I wish, you know, that I didn't cry and was happy about not crying or that I cried and had been happy with crying.

Subject M is a 21 year old woman who is studying for a career in a helping profession. She has one older sister. During the interview she cried extensively.

Her father died when he was 54 years old and she was 10 years old. She related that she had been quite close to her father, who spent quite a bit of time with her. She said that she had been known as her father's girl by their family while her sister had been known as her mother's girl. She was with her father soon after he had his heart attack, while they waited for an ambulance. In an attempt to assist him, she spoke with him and stroked him. After he left for the hospital, she stated:

> I remember not wanting to change out of my pajamas, I guess that I thought it would just be something that would be over

> soon and time to go back to sleep. I do remember my sister and I sat there on the bed. I started to get upset, and said that the sad part was that I wouldn't have anyone to call daddy again. I don't know, I guess just a little self-pity and I can't remember exactly what she said but it kind of straightened me up a little bit and mostly we worried about helping Mom get through it after that point, we just sort of pulled together."

This seems to be an example of shock, disbelief and denial all evidenced within a few short minutes of going through a quite traumatic time with her family.

The family moved out of the house. In fact, after that traumatic night, they never returned to the house in which her father died. They moved into town near several other family members. Her relationship with her mother after her father's death was an assistance to her adjustment, although the mother started dating within a year and a half. The subject described her sister as suffering from a "hormonal imbalance" and that, coupled with her father's death, seemed to have a deleterious effect on the sister's life; she became quite isolated and spent little time out of her bedroom for several years. At one point her mother lost a great deal of weight and got sick. The subject remembered that she then worried about being an orphan.

One process which is clearly illustrated in this interview is the use of symbols in mourning. This woman described a red wool blanket that had been used by the ambulance men to cover her father. She thought at that time that this red wool blanket was one of the family's blankets. A year or more later, she saw this same wool blanket in a closet and remembers becoming upset. Years later, even more recently,

a boyfriend took her to a football game and in order to keep warm he had brought a red wool blanket. She remembers getting upset even at that time and having to leave the game. The red blanket, as a symbol, had reminded her of that traumatic night. An anniversary reaction was exemplified as the subject talked about going through periods of depression each year on or around the date which her father died.

She also talked about the relief she experienced when she returned to school after her father's death. She said that there was an extremely nice teacher who had really helped her in her adjustment in school. This teacher's approach apparently made a difference and actually helped her overall adjustment.

One of the changes in her life which she experienced was that she was no longer able to be a child. She stated:

> It was a kid, but I had to be reasonable about it in things that I said, I thought . . . I mean I couldn't fight with my sister. I couldn't demand for things or ask for things that I knew we couldn't afford or I didn't need. And I couldn't really be a problem because there were enough problems.

This seems like an example of feeling as if she had to be responsible and mature after her father's death. She stated: "I think it made me grow up too fast."

Later in the interview she said of the effect of his death: "It made me afraid of middle age men a little bit." She also talks about her past inability to cry:

> Now I cry all the time. It has made me accept personal tragedy. Before it was always things that happened to other people. I try not to think about it, to realize that things like that do happen. Which is probably bad in turn, probably makes me a little bit sadder personality type. Made to be more realistic or wary of death.

She also added that she has dated older men and there had been people who have accused her of looking for a father image in men. She added: "I'm not sure I accept that." One of the things she said would have been nice is if she would have had an older brother. She said: "Like another male in the household might be some sort of influence."

Subject N. is a married, 51 year old woman who has children. She described her family (she had two older sisters) as being close when she was a little girl, but not being very affectionate, although it sounds as if they did not spend much time together. She spent more time with her mother than with her father. Yet, she describes herself as feeling closer to her father and she felt that her father was closer to her. She felt that her father wanted a boy as their third child, but when she came along he ended up being close to her. She described herself as a tomboy when she was growing up.

She was 11 years old when her 44 year old father died in an automobile accident while returning from attending her dance recital. Her mother sat all three girls down and told them that their father had died. A minister was also brought in to be with them. The subject mentioned that she was shocked and experienced disbelief in his death. She also said that the mother was very upset when she told her about his death. At that time, the subject wanted to ignore the news. She added:

> I didn't think that it had happened. I just wanted to say this isn't true and go on about my business. Well, I remember that to me it wasn't so and I was kind of mad at my older sister because she wouldn't play with me. It was just an unreal situation.

Although this subject's father died over 40 years ago, she cried when talking about the events of his death with this writer. She was

surprised by her affective reaction. She wondered if she would have come to the interview if she had known she would have such a reaction. "Why would that bother me now? I didn't know I was this touchy," she asked.

One of the other remarkable things about this subject is that her family moved quite soon after her father's death. She was quite angry about this move because it upset her and made her very unhappy for a long time. Her family ended up living with her mother's sisters. In making a poignant point, she added, "First, I lost my daddy and then I didn't, we kind of had to share our mother." She also regretted that her mother protected her and pampered her after his death. She didn't give her as much responsibility after her father died. She described herself as becoming quite dependent on her mother. When she went off to college, she asked for permission to return home.

One further thought about her father's death is that he was returning from her school after watching her perform. The extent of the dissappointment and guilt associated with this trauma for her is unknown at this point. However, the thought that she may have been responsible for her father's death since he had gone to watch her perform might be present. Developing competency in skills, such as dancing, is one of the tasks of the latency period. Her father died soon after this subject displayed one of these skills to him. Given this fact, achieving competencies might have special meaning for her.

Concerning another topic, this subject did feel that psychosexual and male-female relationship problems have resulted from her father's

death. She said, "The fact that I never had a male around and I just didn't have anything to do with them for so long in my life that this probably has something to do with my attitudes toward sex." This subject has also lost a young son and she commended on this loss, on reincarnation and on the association of the two losses in her life.

Subject O. is a 27 year old woman who is presently single and is a student pursuing a degree in nursing. She has two older siblings and does not remember much about her childhood. She does remember that her family was basically happy but the family members did not display much affection. Both her parents worked. She remembered little about interacting with her father but did recall some special times together.

Her 50 year old father died of a heart attack when she was 10 years old. She remembered crying herself back to sleep after she was told of his death by her aunt. She did not remember seeing her mother cry nor talking with anyone about his death. She did remember that the casket was displayed at home, and that many people (she especially remembers old people) came to the home for the wake.

It appeared that her mother was quite responsible in meeting her children's needs after her husband's death. However, her mother did have an emotional breakdown when her son later moved away.

The subject wished that her mother had gotten remarried for she felt her adjustment would have been better. This subject remembered "pitching fits" and manipulating others to get things she wanted after her father died. She remembered being quieter for awhile until she found out that everyone at school already knew of his death.

In high school she was quite active and had several close girl friends although she dated very little. She viewed herself as "a wall flower."

She thinks of herself as very dependent and does not feel that she ever had very much self-confidence. She indicated, "Mother raised her children to be chickens, and not have much self-confidence." She also described herself as being depressed from time to time, withdrawing, vegetating, keeping to herself and feeling sorry for herself. In describing these reactions, she stated that they can last for a number of months.

She described her father's death as having a number of effects on her. She feels she has problems relating to men because of his death and that she did not feel very secure and comfortable being a girl. She remembered that she and her sister protested when her mother said that sons needed fathers. She said that daughters also needed fathers and that it had been a disadvantage to them not having a father. She said there weren't any men in her life to serve as a good model for what men are supposed to be. She felt that she would not be quite so dependent if he had been around. "I would like to have someone permanent in my life," she added.

Subject P. is a 55 year old woman who is the mother of two children, a wife and a housewife. She grew up during the depression and described some of the deprivation which the family suffered. Her family was close and they did a great deal together. She had very vivid memories of her father rescuing her from drowning. She was close to both parents but she was especially close to her father.

In regard to this closeness she said:

> Of course I was my daddy's little girl and all like that and I remember . . . I had an older sister and she was dark-haired and she was a beautiful child and I was a stringy-haired blond and had buck teeth and all like that. I was a little ugly duckling and I would make some remark to my daddy and he would say "it's not what's on the outside, it's what is within" and all and he would tell me and would say, "give me that pretty smile of yours and put that charm on and you'll conquer everybody and of course, I missed that and all because I felt like my life, in other words, when he died well that was just it because I was close to him.

The subject apparently retained throughout her life the emotional impact of that special moment in her memories of her father.

She was 11 years old when her 35 year old father had a car accident. The children visited him in the hospital but he died later that might. She graphically described her memory of a "crimson pillow" from the blood of her father's head injury. She mentioned several times during the interview that she was very insecure in her life and that she felt that part of herself died when he died. Her mother grieved for three weeks and then she said that her husband came to her (in a vision) and said, "Don't worry. I am OK." After this reported incident her mother snapped out of it. Her mother stayed home, took in sewing, and raised the children. This subject admits to having a dependent relationship with her mother, even after she married. Her mother helped her raise the subject's children.

This subject described several surreal events in her life. She remembered that after her mother died, she experienced seeing her mother in her dreams. She associated these dreams with two relatives who died later. She remembered one such dream in which her mother was next to a

puddle of water. Several weeks later a relative was found lying dead with her hand resting in a commode. In another dream, her mother was seen with blood on her chest. Shortly after that dream, the subject's brother-in-law shot himself in the chest. Several subjects mentioned similar associations regarding death, with dreams and real coincidences.

This subject had always felt a "sense of insecurity," even with her husband. She said that her entire life has been characterized by a very dependent relationship on her mother and on her husband. She associated this over dependence and insecurity with her close relationship with her father, with his loss, and the insecure feelings she experienced immediately following his death. During the interview she described several instances in which her mother fostered dependence in her children by overprotecting them. The subject stated that only recently has she been able to display some independence and to exhibit some security in her own competence.

Subject Q is a 23 year old married woman, who is an undergraduate student. She grew up in a farming family with seven children. Her family members were apparently not very emotionally expressive. She described her father as being emotionally distant. She and her siblings seemed to have a respect for and almost a fear of him. The subject described how she went fishing with her father and a younger brother. This was one activity in which she felt less distant from him. She seemed to have a closer relationship with her mother. With her siblings, it appeared that she felt "in the middle" and somewhat isolated in that her siblings were several years older or younger than her.

Her 42 year old father died of a heart attack when she was 11 years old. She experienced a number of different reactions to his death. She remembered that she did not want to be with the rest of the children at his bedside when he died. When told by her older sister that he had died, the subject cried. She recalled being considered "a little kid" and, therefore, being excluded from participation in the funeral arrangements. She considered the internment process as artificial and hypocritical. She stated:

> All those people who came by with food and told you that they knew exactly how you felt and they didn't know a thing about how you felt. . . I remember feeling very isolated, I really wasn't included . . .

The subject in describing angry feelings, stated: "And I was a little pissed off at him, too, for dying on me . . . I felt angry that, you know, in a sense, he did that to himself, let himself die, as if he had some control over it." She also said:

> I felt kind of guilty about him dying, too. I felt that somehow I didn't love him enough and that is why he died. And I felt guilty about not having been there (at his bedside), even though I really just could not do it. I don't think he noticed that I wasn't there.

She recalled much bitterness about the events of the funeral and of her treatment by her teachers after his death. She stated:

> I had taken a couple days off for the funeral and . . there was also a supervising teacher in the room and . . . my teacher had me stand up in front of the class and describe in detail how my father had died and there wasn't any way that I could not do it. I had to do it and I could not understand how anyone could be that inhumane. And after that I realized that even though these people were supposed to be good and were supposed to help you and teach you and lead you into a life that was supposed to be God-fearing and all that kind of stuff, that they were wrong, you know,

> they were mixed up. That wasn't something that you did to anybody . . . After that I started questioning what was happening. I really did . . . at home, and in general I think I probably became much more independent. I felt like I was going to have to take care of myself, and I felt like I could do it, too and I did. I looked out for myself, the institutions, you know, had really failed.

Immediately after her father's death, the subject's mother tried to take charge and she removed herself emotionally from the children and, especially, from the subject. As a result of her mother's withdrawal, the subject felt very insecure and "let down" by her parents and by the institutions as she described above. It appeared that she was describing the origins of a reaction formation as she spoke of "feeling very insecure" and then becoming independent. Regarding her later life, she stated that she became very popular and very active in high school, but still felt insecure. She mentioned that her sexual attitudes and relationships with men were adversely affected by her father's death. She was interested in older men throughout adolescence. Her descriptions of her very active behaviors appeared to be similar to the hypomanic defensive activities of which Lewis (1937, 1961) wrote. The patient spoke of having periods of depression which occurred in cycles and which she related to her paternal loss.

When asked if anyone talked with her concerning her feelings when her father died, she facetiously began:

> At that time? No. You don't understand, I was a child, you don't talk to children about things like that, which I think is a very poor attitude but it's, you know, other people are involved in their own grief and maybe they just don't know how to deal with a child's grief so they ignore it . . . the mother who of course is grief-striken herself yet that's the time that she has really got to get in touch with her kids. It may

be a difficult thing to achieve but she has to be there to reassure them that the world isn't going to collapse.

Subject R is a 42 year old married woman with children. She has an academic degree. She was an only child who was born when her mother was in her 20s and her father was in his 50s. She described her father as a quiet, affectionate individual. She stated that she felt closer to him than to her mother. She said that she had a happy childhood and that she did well in school.

She was 11 years old when her 61 year old father suddenly died of a heart attack. Although he died at home, her mother did not allow her to go into the room where the body was. After her mother told her that he had died, the subject was shocked. Her father had had two previous heart attacks and she had been told that he probably would not get well. However, she had difficulty believing he had died. She recalled that she cried and felt frightened and insecure soon after his death. She and her mother moved and although her mother protected her, the subject began to accept more responsibility in their home. Regarding her emotional reactions in the period of time following his death, the subject said that she withdrew and occasionally became "moody." Regarding affectivity during the interview, she began to cry and she was surprised at her own reaction. Earlier in the interview she appeared to be apprehensive and slightly guarded in her responses to questions. It seemed as if it was important to her to prevent her feelings from being directly expressed.

In describing her later life, the subject spoke of the difficulty which she had in separating from her mother. On several occasions she

almost quit college and returned home. In addressing her relationships with men, she stated that it was important for her to find a man who would be a good father. She said that she always worried, especially in the beginning of her marriage, about her husband dying.

She was quite concerned that she give her own children enough time and attention. Apparently, she lived a relatively isolative life in order to be present for her children. She described herself as emotionally dependent and mildly depressed.

In terms of suggestions to help bereaving daughters, she stated:

> When a death has occurred, there is not a great deal that anybody can do except be supporting and understanding. I think a young girl needs some male attention, somebody to encourage her and be interested in her.

Subject S is a 21 year old woman who is a student in speech therapy. She grew up in a family with two older siblings. She described herself as closer to her father than to her mother. She stated that her mother, especially just before her father's death, "had a drinking problem," a condition which improved subsequent to his death. In her memory, her father always had chronic respiratory illnesses. He was bedridden just prior to his death. In regard to his condition, she stated, "I'd always see him as being real sick and I just really wished that he was still there and sick and I could still care for him." Her mother had worked for as long as the subject recalled.

The subject stated that she was the last person to talk with her father. This appeared to be important to her. In regard to her reactions to his death, she stated:

> It was real hard for me to believe. I kind of had resentful feelings in a way, just didn't really understand and for a while I couldn't even tell anyone that my father had died. I mean any time anybody would say "What do your parents do?" I would say, "Well my mother does" this and immediately change the subject. It was real hard for me to just to say that he had died. . . I felt like an orphan.

She described how she was depressed and got "moody" and she associated these feelings to his death.

During high school she became very active. She was a cheerleader and began dating a man who was seven years older than her. She stated that she probably became involved with this man because of her father's death. She said, "it was two years after he died, and sometimes I wonder about that, maybe I might have looked at him (her boyfriend) as a father image."

She stated that she cried after her father's death and also talked with her family about her feelings. She was very pleased that her mother was able to discontinue drinking and to attend to the children. She felt that seeing her mother handle the post-mortem situation well helped her gain independence.

The individuals in this study described a myriad of experiences and responses which they associated to their paternal bereavement. In the preceding individual accounts, some of both their unique and their common experiences have been presented in order to provide an appreciation for the subjects' specific and varied lives. The patterns of their common responses will be examined in the next section.

Interview Results as a Group

The subjects in this study attributed a number of effects to their paternal bereavement. These perceived effects were the principal information sought by this study. As explained previously, the responses of these subjects were categorized in order to group the data. The effects will be presented in the descending order of their frequency of mention by the women in this study. Examples of these have also been provided in the individual presentations. See Appendix C for the scores in each category.

Relationships with Males

Seventeen of the nineteen subjects (89 percent) spontaneously reported that their fathers' death had a detrimental effect on their relationships with men. The subjects, in illustrating this effect, indicated that if they had had a father in the family they would know how men behave and how to behave around men. They stated that they missed the modeling and sex-type learning experiences which a daughter with a father had. The subjects indicated that events in their lives, such as dating and their responses to male attention, would have been different with a father present. They thought that they would have benefitted by observing and talking with their fathers. They often attributed a protector role to him. Many of the women (13 of the 19 subjects) said that their fathers' absence caused them to look for somebody to be a father for them or to grow attached to older men. Several of the subjects had affairs with middle-aged men while they were in late adolescence. When asked about a significant man in their

lives, four of the subjects chose these middle-aged lovers as that significant male. During adolescence ten of the nineteen subjects dated males who were more than two years older than themselves. Of these ten males, the majority were seven or eight years older. One subject related an instance of an early detrimental effect of her father's death and subsequent absence, on her relationships with males. She said:

> I think that a lot of this caused me to sexualize relationships a lot more than I would have done otherwise. I don't know if that is true but I feel that that is true. I so desperately wanted male attention and I found that was a pretty good way to get it. I allowed myself to be seduced by a grown man, a total stranger, when I was 10. I handled that about like I did my dating experiences. When there was really penetration I panicked, I was terrified, was frightened and felt hurt. Up til then I had gotten a lot of feelings that I was after, and I was out for a couple of hours, I was really getting a lot of good feelings about getting attention. The bad or the combination really caused me a lot of problems later which I thought were a long way from my father. . .
>
> He was a total stranger. I was walking home from school, and he stopped his car and said would I like a ride home and I said "my mother doesn't let me ride with strangers." He said, "What's your mother's name?," and I told him, and he said, "Oh, I know her." -- which is a good lesson in what to say to children and what not to say to children, you know, be careful about how you word things to children. He took me down by the river, he asked if I would like to ride by the river, which I did, I liked to go down there. He was saying what cute little girl I was. I tried to tell my mother about this when--you know, I told her that somebody gave me a ride home, she immediately got hysterical, and she wanted not to hear it--so I never wanted to confirm it. I think that was a very significant thing that happened in terms of desperately awful.

Many other women related stories of enjoying the affection of male relatives and later on, of the boys and men in their lives. They associated these responses to the loss of their father's attention and affection.

In regard to their present relationships with men, 13 of the 19 subjects (68 percent) related that they presently have good or very good relationships. The remaining 6 subjects related neutral or poor relationships with males. Of 11 of the subjects who have married, 5 have divorced. This is a divorce rate of 45 percent for the sample. Regardless of their present satisfaction in a relationship, 15 of the 19 women (79 percent) described numerous conflicts regarding males in their histories and most often associated these difficulties to the absence of their father. They described an uphill strugle in relating comfortably with men.

Clinical rating were made of male-female relationship conflicts, based upon their histories, in addition to the interviews process and content. In these ratings, 6 women were rated as definitely having experienced such conflict. Ten women were given ratings of "probably yes", one woman was given a rating of "maybe", and two women were given ratings of "probably not," having experienced such conflict. It was observed that even in women who related that they had a good relationship with a male recently, there appeared to be areas of conflict such as sexuality, dependency, and career considerations which sometimes interfered with their relationships. Several women spoke in an almost proud manner of their present good relationships, compared with the former conflicted relations with males in their lives.

Insecurity

The next most mentioned category which the subjects reported as an effect of paternal death was a feeling of insecurity. Of the total

of 19 subjects, 15, (79 percent) reported that because of their father's death, the individuals felt less secure about themselves or their lives. Describing these feelings, one woman stated:

> Insecurity, I think and of course, that's stayed with me all these years, just a very, very insecure feeling . . . very, very insecure feeling, and distrust of men really, because . . .all these years I've had the feeling of, will he (my husband) leave me, . . . in other words will I be left alone by myself and I don't like to be by myself, I am seldom by myself.

Another younger woman said:

> Very insecure . . . insecure of money matters and insecure in the fact that if mother had died what would happen to me and . . . (sister) either one . . . We would probably be able to accept it okay, but it is just the thought that went through my mind every day of my life.

Another subject when asked about the possible effects of her father's death, stated:

> I guess more pessimistic, like people's views on marriage. My views on marriage are much different than someone else's who's never had anything bad happen to them. They think marriage is perfection, but I think there's things that can happen to everything.

When asked by the interviewer, "Any other effects you think his death has had on you?" She stated:

> I guess my views on men. I guess most females are out looking for a man, not stalking the streets or anything, but they always think love could make your life complete but that's not my first thought. I guess it's because I see you can live perfectly well without them, probably a stronger person, not to run down men or anything . . . I see that all my friends that have both parents are more that way. I guess everybody tells me that one day I'll meet somebody and I'll just go crazy over them . . . I wondered if I could ever be that way. I mean, like this guy I'm dating now, when I first met him I was going wow and all that, and it's just a month and a half later and already I'm sitting back going well . . . look at all his faults.

Depression

The words "depression," "sad personality" or other similies were described by 13 of the 19 women (68 percent) as associated with their father's death. A larger percentage (74 percent) responded that they had experienced periods of moodiness or depressive periods which they associated to their father's death.

One subject stated:

> And I think I would have avoided a lot of depression, it may not have had as much to do with his death as the way it was handled, but I buried an awful lot of feelings--a lot of grief feelings.

Another women responded:

> There are a lot of little things for a really long time, actually until about two or three years ago, I couldn't cry, now I cry all the time, it has made me . . . I don't know how to phrase it . . . like accept personal tragedy, before it was always things that happened to other people, I tried not to think about it, to realize that things like that do happen. Which it probably lead in turn, probably makes me a little bit sadder personality type when made to be realistic or wary . . . apprehensive . . . about death.

Many responses similar to these two examples were presented as effects of paternal death. One noteworthy observation by this writer was that these women often described being touched or affected by feelings or other associations on a regular basis. Several of them described classical anniversary reactions of depression which occurred around the date their father died. In an example of these reactions, one women said:

> Sometimes I get really, I usually have one big depression a year and that's around (date of father's death), I kind of know it's coming and try to head it off but it rarely happens and even if I get by the (date in month) okay, it catches up

> with me by the next month. It seems like I have a lot of, well there have been times when I have gone into a deep depression and I stay there for a couple of months . . .

Several subjects in the sample described having depressions of a profoundly cyclical nature, while others described having a more stable platykurtic cyclical nature. Hyperactive periods and behaviors were also described by many of the women studied. These data will be discussed later.

Clinical ratings of these women based upon their overt interpersonal behavior indicated that one woman appeared very depressed, twelve women appeared depressed, four women appear neither depressed nor euphoric, and two women were not depressed. Based upon their descriptions of their histories, their present lives and presentation during the interview, one appeared very depressed, fifteen appeared depressed, and three appeared neither depressed nor euphoric.

Mother-daughter Relationship

Of the 19 women, 11 (58 percent) reported that their father's death made a significant difference in their relationship with their mothers. Describing their relationship with their mothers prior to the father's death, 13 women were overall positive, 5 women were mixed and 1 woman was negative in the characteristics attributed to their mothers. These descriptions were of course based on memories before the death of the father, and should be accepted as such. In describing their mothers after their father's death, there were 12 "positive," 1 "mixed" and 6 "negative" ratings. Concerning the shifts in ratings,

5 women described a shift from "positive" to "negative", 1 woman shifted from "positive" to "mixed" and 1 woman shifted from a "mixed" to a "negative" rated description; 4 women raised their description from "mixed" to "positive."

An apparently beneficial relationship was described by the following subject who was equally close to both her parents prior to her father's death. She said:

> As far as she and I are concerned we've always been terribly close. In fact, it's more like two girls the same age talking when you get together . . . I remember that right after the death, mother was all the time trying to do things with me especially since I was so young and I guess she worried a lot about how it would affect me.

The above case represented an unusually good relationship. A more typical example is this next subject's description of a relationship which had been positive and contributive to her "happy childhood." However, the subject's mother changed or the subject's perception of her changed. In response to the question: "Does anything else stand out in your mind about the events right after his death?, she stated:

> Mother was still withdrawn. From what I remember, she didn't talk to us, I mean she talked to us, but she didn't consider us as important as these other things that had to be done--these arrangements that had to be made . . . She would stay by herself, she wouldn't--like when we (mother and children) were alone in the house, she would stay by herself, she wouldn't talk to us on a person to person basis about it. . . . My mother started acting funny, and she'd stay in her room all the time. Talking on the phone, she wouldn't fix our meals. This was about six months after he died. We (children) couldn't figure out what was going on. We would get upset when she wouldn't cook our dinner. (We) finally figured out that she was seeing some other man. That upset us greatly. So, I think I confronted her with this and she carried this on for a few years. I mean, she didn't neglect us as much as she did at first, but I confronted her with it

> and she said it was her own life and she could do what she wanted to do . . . Finally she went through another stage and everything got better . . . in the interim we would just sort of take care of ourselves. Mother was very moody. I guess I was pretty introverted at the time."

There were many examples of mothers and daughters growing apart physically and emotionally because of their mother's work, because of their mother's relationships with men, and because they had less time together due to economic or social necessity. In a more dramatic change in a mother-daughter relationship, there was a graphic description of one mother who denied that her new husband was making sexual advances toward and attempted rapes of her daughter. The subject's mother was reluctant to interfere in spite of her apparent knowledge of these incidents. This instance reflected a more extreme indirect effect of a father's death.

Psychosexual Effects

Mention of these women's sexual relations and sexual attitudes which were affected by a father's death was made by 8 of the 19 subjects. This figure constitutes 42 percent of the total number of subjects. In discussing their relationships during adolescence and adulthood, when not specifically asked to describe the effects of his death, a higher percentage of the subjects indicated associations between the death and absence of their father and their psychosexual development. Of 13 subjects upon which the category of first occurrence of sexual intercourse could be accurately assessed, 1 subject reported that she had sexual intercourse prior to 14 years of age, 8 subjects

indicated that the first occurrence was when they were between 14 and 18 years of age, and 4 subjects reported the first occurrence was after they were 18 years of age. These figures are presented as additional information for the reader and not necessarily to imply unusual behavior.

The subjects, as a group, described quite active adolescent behavior with much dating and sexual exploration. Several subjects stated that these sexual attitudes and behaviors were associated with their father's absence. For example, one subject reported:

> I was a tease and I related a lot sexually in terms of getting attention and being real flirty and wiggly--I was a cheerleader. There had been a lot of things that put me in the limelight--like being a cheerleader, acting in little theaters and school plays. I can remember I loved to cuddle and kiss and all that but if it was going to go any further I'd say you beast, you are a sex fiend. That was usually when we'd break up . . . A lot of it had to do with the sense of wanting to belong--if you dated the right guy I'd be acceptable. I don't think I actually had a handle on what relationships were all about until about four or five years ago.

Another subject described her adolescent difficulties in the following manner:

> My first two years of high school I started dating a guy who was seven years older than I was . . . spent most of my time with him. . . . He was real possessive and overpowering and he was real unfair in a lot of ways, you know . . . we did have a sexual relationship . . . I'd never been confronted in a situation like that.

She later described how things would have been different if her father had been alive. Other married subjects described how their sexual attitudes, as affected by their father's death, caused problems or took many years to resolve satisfactorily. One married subject said:

> The fact that I never had a male around and I really feel that probably had something to do with my attitude towards sex, that I was never around men, I didn't have any brothers . . . I just really had no relationships with males.

In clinical ratings of the presence of psychosexual conflicts based upon history and interview content which the subjects associated to father's death, 4 of the subjects were rated as "definitely yes," 12 as "probably yes," and 3 as "probably not" experiencing such conflicts. It appeared that absence of father and perhaps the relationship with mother was associated with their attitudes. Of the 8 subjects who said they thought their father's death caused psychosexual difficulties for them, and were also clinically rated as having those conflicts, 6 of these women also reported being emotionally dependent on their mother.

Maturity

Regarding the next most mentioned effect of their father's death, 7 of the 19 subjects (37 percent) described that they had to become mature, become serious or face reality more quickly because of his death. One subject spoke for several as she said:

> As strange as it may sound from all the stuff that I have said, I think that it has had a good effect on me in that I grew up a lot faster than other kids and a lot of people may not think that that's so good but it was good for me. I think I became a much more full person than I might have been if he lived. I would have been much more restricted in the way that I thought and I acted and I explored if he lived than I had the opportunity for, after he died. It gave me a lot of problems, it really did . . . and I didn't have too much outside help in dealing with those problems so in that sense it may not have made my life very happy for awhile, but resolving those conflicts, thinking about them, analyzing them, figureing out for myself why I was acting the way I was acting, getting it all in order, not all of it, but getting most of it in order . . .

In relation to the ability to cope with conflict, the ability to relate appropriately with others, the sense of self and purpc e, the ability to effectively maintain ego integration and the ability to intrapsychically defend themselves, the subjects as a group presented a quite positive clinical picture. This impression was subsequently corroborated by their MMPI Ego Strength scores (Barron, 1953). The subjects obtained a mean of 44.1, which when compared to the mean of the Minnesota normals (Dahlstrom, Welsh and Dahlstrom, by the use of a single-sample t-test was found to be significantly different ($p < .0001$).

Independence - Dependence

When responding to the question, "What effect, if any, did your father's death have on you and your life?, 6 of the 19 subjects (32 percent) responded that it caused them to be more independent or self sufficient. One subject responded:

> In some ways I think it has made me a more self-sufficient person because for a number of years it cut off the only person (her father) who seemed interested, with someone I had a whole lot of interaction. The only person I ever did anything with. From then on I played alone. Most of my activities were alone.

This woman was one who was very close to her father prior to his death. Her mother subsequently never developed a closer relationship with her, a fact about which she is quite bitter.

Another woman, as if speaking for several others, said:

> I think in a way it's made me depend on myself more so and I feel like after seeing my mother that's kind of helped me gain independence or something cause she's never remarried or anything and she's you know, made it really well on her own.

Clinical ratings of dependence - independence (based upon history and interview content) of the subjects in the study revealed that of these 6 individuals who thought their father's death made them more independent, 5 of them were also rated as independent. The mean raw score (21.1) of these subjects on the MMPI Dependency Scale (Navran, 1952) was lower than, although not significantly, the other subjects' mean raw score (29.07) and lower, although not significantly) than the national norm (22.64) from the Minnesota normals (Dahlstrom, Welsh, Dahlstrom, 1975).

In contrast to the subjects who thought their father's death cause independence, the other 13 women appeared to think of themselves as more dependent. This was reflected in their higher Dependency Scale mean (29.07).

A number of these women spoke of how their mothers fostered dependence. For example, one said:

> Well, mother always did everying for me. I think that is part of the reason I want to move out. I want to start doing some things of my own . . . If I am not there I don't know what she will do for herself.

Another woman said:

> Until my mother died and the (children) left home I was very much dependent on my husband . . . Very much so, in other words, I just did think that my world might fall apart, but after that I went into this (work) and I have put my whole self into it, in other words . . . I could go out on my own if I wanted to, I don't know whether I can make it on my own or not, physically.

When asked if they thought they were dependent or independent, 14 of the 19 subjects replied that they thought they were emotionally

dependent. Clinical ratings of the interpersonal and intropsyshic level of depression (based upon history, and interview process and contents) concurred with their own judgments. The Dependency Scale (Navran, 1952) raw score means also distinguished (although not significantly) these two groups and tends to corroberate this finding.

In summary, it appears that as a group the 19 women who all lost their fathers by death when they were 7 to 11 years of age mentioned male-female relationship conflicts feelings of insecurity, feelings of depression, changes in mother-daughter relationships, and differences in sexual attitudes, independence-dependence and in levels of maturity as effects of their loss.

Desired Changes in Daughers' Treatment Following Death of Father

Examples of the subject's ideas and wishes for what should have been different have been provided in the individual subject case presentations. These examples should provide the reader with an appreciation for the disappointments, frustrations, feelings of anger and other affects which the subjects experienced as they interacted with other people following their father's death. It was apparent to this writer that these bereaved women had strong feelings and opinions about the treatment they received. A summary of their wishes are presented here. The subjects were asked, "What if anything do you wish would have been different about the way you were treated at the time of your father's death?" The two most spontaneously mentioned wishes, endorsed by 11 (58 percent) of the 19 subjects, were that someone would have

talked with the subject and that she would have been allowed to be more open with emotional expression at the time of her father's death. The remaining 8 of the 19 subjects had described earlier that they had been able to talk with someone at that time. Therefore, they apparently did not wish that anything were different about the way they were treated at the time of their father's death. Without exception, the 19 subjects appeared to be emphasizing that daughters 7 to 11 years of age should be talked with and allowed to express their feelings at the time of the death of their father.

The next most mentioned category was that the subjects, as children, had been treated more equally or more like adults at the time of the death. This category was mentioned by 9 (47 percent) of the 19 subjects. Subjects included requests to be involved in family gatherings and with their mother at the time of their father's death. Of the 19 subjects, 8 (42 percent) wished that their mothers had been more affectionate following the death of their father. Similar to this request, 7 (37 percent) of the 19 wished that their mothers had not changed in their relationship to them. Of the remaining 12 subjects, 5 were pleased that she had changed in a positive way. As if requesting a third stabilizing factor, 5 of the 19 wished that they had not moved following their father's death. Of the remaining 12 subjects, 1 woman was pleased that she had moved in order to be with more children her own age and to be closer to the extended family.

Regarding their desired changes in the events of the funeral, wake and burial, 11 (58 percent) of the 19 subjects wished that the

arrangements or their participation in them had been different. Concerning their attendance at the funeral, 11 of the 19 subjects mentioned that they wanted to have attended the funeral or were pleased that they did attend. In regard to this wish, one subject stated: "There was never any burial service. I don't think I really thought he died." In her relatively concise summary of what she wished would have been different, the following subject provided an overview of a number of the issues involved in the complexities of the mourning process. She said:

> I wish there had been a funeral service, that we had gone through a grieving process, that I would have been allowed to grieve and ask questions, I wish I had not had to take care of my mother's needs, but that someone would have given me permission to take care of my own and have feelings. I was told that my feelings were wrong a lot of times. I wish my mother had remarried so that I could have had a daddy. I realize that might not have worked out, but in my fantasy I think it would have. Those are pretty much basic things. And that there hadn't been so much pressure on me to be perfect and achieve. Then it would have been okay to be normal, average type person.

The results of this study concerning the daughters' perceived effects of the death of their father and their ideas on recommendations for their better adjustment having been presented, the focus will now shift to the presentation of the Leary data.

The Subjects' Leary Data

Table 2 shows the distribution of subjects' octant ratings or summary points for the different levels of behavior. At Level I, it can be seen that the subject group differed significantly from the Leary (1957) norm group ($X^2 = 15.42$, $p < .001$). Of particular interest is the

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF LEARY SUMMARY POINTS OR OCTANT RATINGS

Level	Octant								Between Groups Comparison	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
	Subject group % / Norm group %								X^2	P
Level I-S (public behavior)[1]	53/28	10/15	5/5	0/2	10/5	0/2	0/2	21/40	19/40	15.42	< .001
Level II-S (self perception)[1]	26/7	16/10	5/16	5/7	5/5	5/5	10/21	26/26	19/42	3.10	ns
Level VI_{Hero} (private symbolization)[1]	5/29	5/41	0/10	16/5	16/0	26/0	16/0	16/15	19/41	33.26	< .001
Level III_{MM} (underlying character)[2]	16/5	10/5	0/0	0/0	10/0	16/5	37/35	10/50	19/20	11.84	< .001
Level V (ideal self)[2]	10/15	21/15	10/20	21/20	0/0	10/10	10/0	16/20	19/20	.65	ns
Level II mothers[1]	16/14	37/16	10/11	0/5	0/3	0/0	16/8	21/43	19/37	4.79	< .05
Level II fathers[1]	63/26	21/31	0/14	0/0	0/6	0/0	0/11	16/11	19/35	13.96	< .001

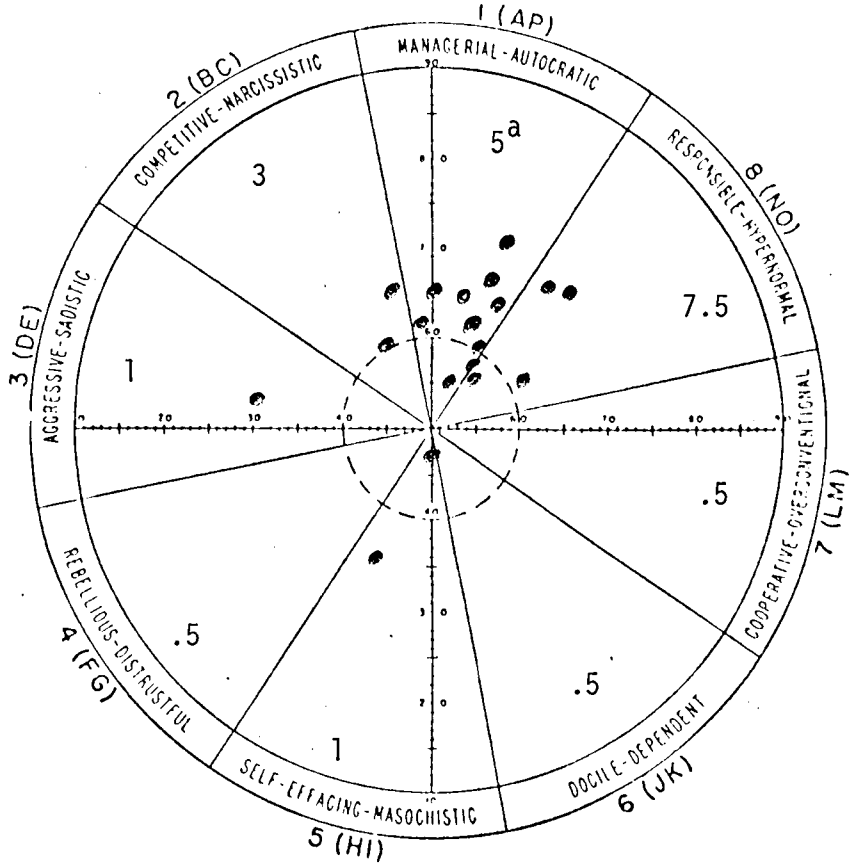
[1] Norm group data obtained from T. Leary (1956).

[2] Norm group data obtained from C. Cohen (1973).

Note: Cell frequencies of less than 5 in an octant were pooled in order to satisfy the statistical requirements for chi square. Percentages are reported in whole numbers.

concentration of subjects (53 percent) whose overt behavior positions their scores in Octant 1 (Managerial - Autocratic). Only 28 percent of the norm group occupies Octant 1. Individuals whose scores are in this octant typically express ambition, strength, energy and leadership. Individuals usually seek these kinds of compulsive power-oriented security operations because they have found them to be effective in warding of anxiety and feelings of insecurity. Figure III illustrates the subjects' Level I summary points. The close grouping of the points indicates the similarity of the subjects' Level I behavior and adaptation. After the concentration of scores in Octant 1, the next greatest concentration (21 percent) of the subjects' scores occupy Octant 8. This concentration compares with 40 percent of the norm group. The expected (norm group) frequencies are provided within each octant in each figure in order to permit immediate comparisons by the reader. Individuals whose summary points are positioned in Octant 8 are typically described as reasonable, successful, sympathetic and mature. These individuals usually feel most secure when they are in close, friendly protective relationships with dependent others. Overall, the subjects' Level I overt behavior appears to depict them as mature, successful and compulsively energetic people.

The subjects' Level II distribution as illustrated on page 133. did not differ from the norm group (see Table 2) although 26 percent of their scores, as compared to 7 percent of the norm group scores, occupy Octant I. Also, only 10 percent of the subjects' scores occupy Octant 7, as compared to twice that many (21 percent) of the norm group.



● = Level I-S Summary Point

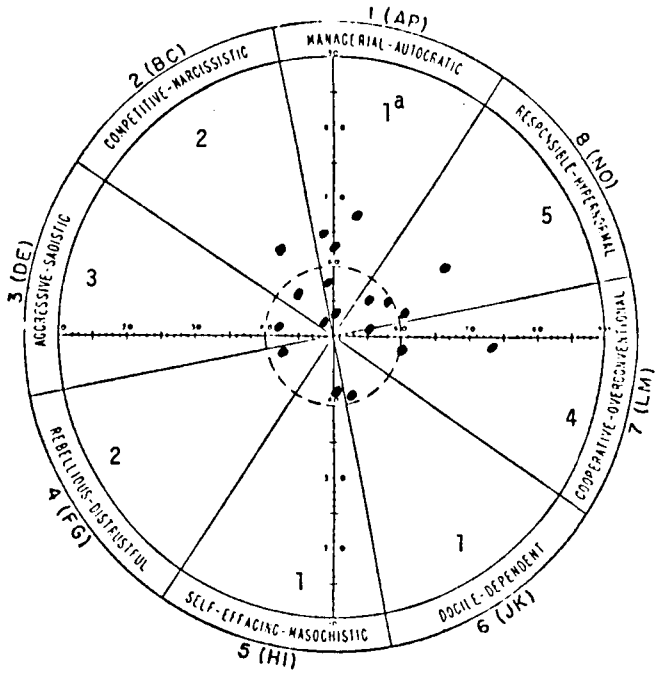
a-# = expected frequency of level I-S

Figure III. Level I Summary Points.

Their Level II scores, in both pattern and position on the grid, closely approximate their Level I scores. This small discrepancy (i.e. a low index of variability) between Level I and II scores suggests that they have good self-awareness. Their overt behavior and self description, as a group, suggest that they are active, energetic, strong, and successful in their achievements.

The subjects' dominant behavior (as depicted in Figure III - Level I-S and Figure IV - Level II-S) is in sharp contrast to their submissive private symbolization (Level III, Hero - Figure IV) and underlying character (Level III_{MM} - Figure V, described by Leary, 1956). Table 2 indicates the significant differences in summary points for Levels III_{H} and III_{MM} ($p < .001$) between the subjects scores and the norm scores. The subjects' concentration of summary points in Octants 5, 6 and 7 for Level III indicates that they have underlying feelings of passivity, insecurity, helplessness, dependence and depression. These are the same feelings which they attributed to themselves during their interview. These are also the feelings which they stated they experienced at the time of their father's death. The subjects appear to be avoiding these deep feelings of weakness by engaging in very active, dominant and, for the most part, successful endeavors in their everyday lives. This defensive pattern or reaction formation, is clearly illustrated in the Leary data. It had been suggested earlier in the literature and within the literview material.

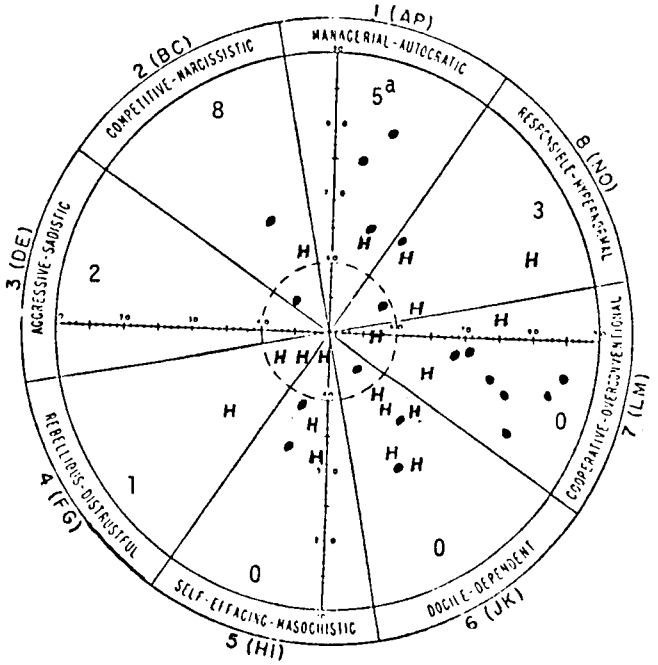
Regarding the subjects' perceptions of their mothers, Figure VI provides a visual representation of their tendency to place her in



● = Summary Point

a-# = expected frequency of II-S

Figure IV. Level II-S (Self Perception) Summary Points



H = Level III_{Hero}

● = Level III_{MM}

a# = expected frequency of H

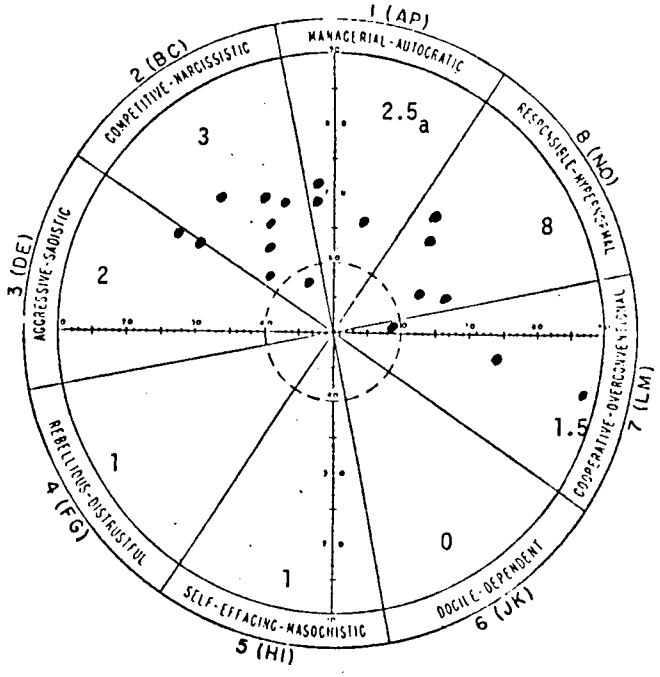
Figure V. Level III_H (Private Symbolization) and III_{MM} (Underlying Character)

Octant 2 (Competitive--Narcissistic). Individuals who are rated in Octant 2 usually are described as proud, strong, arrogant, competitive, exploitive and selfish. These people feel most secure when they are independent of others and feel triumphant over them. As illustrated in Table 2, the subjects' view of their mothers (Level II--Mother) differ significantly ($X^2 = 4.79$, $p < .05$) from the norm group's ratings of their mothers (Cohen, 1973). It would appear that the subjects' mothers would probably have been seen in a less favorable manner by the subjects prior to their father's death in order for them to be rated so consistently in Octant 2. However, at least two other possibilities might explain this significant shift in rating to more competitive behavior. Their mothers, following their husbands' death, could have begun to behave in more survival-oriented, competitive, exploitive and selfish ways in order to provide for the family and themselves. A second possibility is that these mothers did not alter their behavior, or manner of interacting with their daughters, but rather were perceived by the subjects to have changed, because of the subjects' own possible feelings of insecurity, anger and rejection.

The subjects' ratings of their fathers (Level II--father) were found to differ significantly ($X^2 = 13.96$, $p < .001$) from the norm group's ratings. The subjects tended to rate their fathers more often in Octant 1 (63 percent) compared with the norm group (26 percent). The subjects also placed their ratings of their fathers' behaviors less frequently in Octant 2 and Octant 3 (21 percent, 0 percent respectively) compared with the norm group (31 percent, 14 percent respectively). The

subjects appear to have rated their fathers more favorably than they rated their mothers, and than the norm group rated their fathers. The distribution of summary points in Figure VI, (Level II--mother) when compared to the distribution of points in Figure VII (Level II--father) clearly shows the distinction between the more oppositional placement of the ratings of their mothers. Authors such as Loewald (1962) and Hetherington (1972) wrote about this process of idealization in which a child internalizes the positive aspects of her father after a loss. The child does not have the opportunity to continue to see the actual (and sometimes negative) aspects of their fathers behaviors after his death; and, therefore, they retain and perhaps embellish their father's positive image.

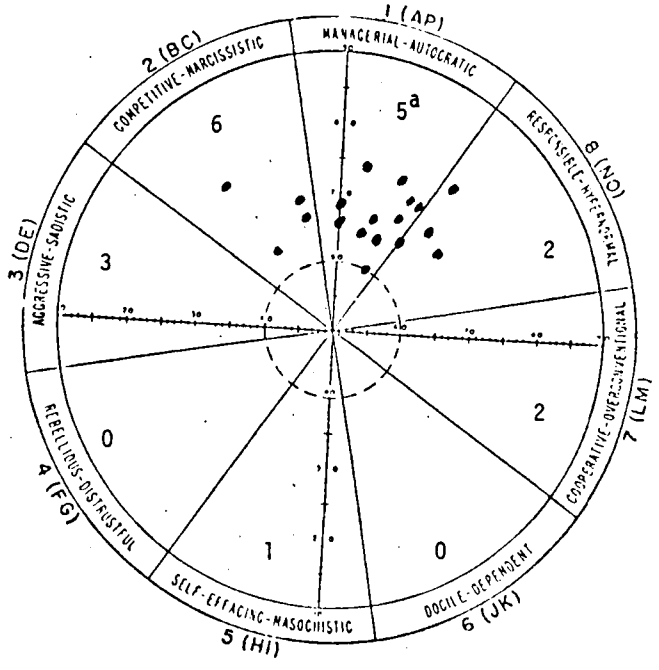
Another interesting process which appears to be implied in the Leary data is the process of conscious identification (Leary, 1957). When comparing the Figure VII (Level II--father) distribution with the Figure III (Level I--self) or Figure IV (Level II-S--self perception) distribution, it becomes evident that the patterns and the positions are nearly identical. This similarity suggests that the strong, active, competent, and success-oriented behavior of the daughters could be related to their wanting to "follow in father's footsteps." Several subjects also stated that, in addition to their own need for independence, their mothers pushed them to achieve as much as possible. In regard to these processes of identification and also of successful achievement and competence, the subjects Level III_{MM} provides the illustration of an interesting dynamic. Cohen, White and Schoolar (1971)



● = summary point of Level II-M

a# = expected frequency of II-M

Figure VI. Level II Mother Summary Points



● = Summary point of Level II-F

a-# = expected frequency of II-F

Figure VII. Level II Father Summary Points

introduced the concept of parental ossimilation, an introjection of a parent's image and ideals by the child. The measure of parental ossimilation is the discrepancy between the ratings of each parent (II--mother, II--father) and Leosic intentionality or underlying character (III_{MM}). This discrepancy can be provided by using the index of variability explained previously. However, this refined method is not necessary with the subjects' data. The discrepancy between II_F and III_{MM} is very apparent (see Figures V and VII) and indicates that these subjects successfully behave similar to the way in which they described that their fathers behaved. However, they cannot affectively acknowledge their own competency. They continue to feel insecure and helpless in spite of their very competent behavior. It is interesting that the acquisition of competencies is the major task of latency and these women achieve competency but without the affective rewards which recognition of their father might have provided. They, perhaps, are disappointed in not being able to demonstrate for, and give their skills as a gift, to their father.

A group of subjects, five in number, did not fit the overall pattern of Octant 1 (Level I and Level II) overt behavior with Octants 5, 6, and 7 (Level III) underlying feelings of passivity and dependence. This group of five subjects had summary point scores in the dominant octants (1, 2 and 8) for Levels I, II and III. Four of these five women rated their fathers in Octant 1. One woman rated her father in Octant 2. Three of them rated their mothers in Octant 2, with the fourth subject rating her mother in Octant 1 and the fifth one rating

her mother in Octant 8. These same five women in the interview results described earlier, felt independent and close to their fathers before his death. Without exception, they felt as if they had to take care of themselves after his death because of their mother's emotional withdrawal. During the interviews, they conveyed a sense of independence and successful achievement. However, they also described the conflicts in their lives, especially related to male-female relationships and in regard to their difficulty in allowing someone else to care for them.

In summary, the data obtained in the examination of the Leary Laterpersonal Systems of Personality indicate that the subjects, as a group, display strong, active, success-oriented behaviors which enable them to avoid underlying feelings of passivity, dependence, helplessness, and insecurity and depression. The Level I overt behaviors and the Level $III_{H \text{ and } MM}$ underlying feelings described above were all found to be different from norm groups at a significant level ($p < .001$). The subjects tended to note their mothers as more oppositional and exploitive than they rated their fathers. Their ratings of their mothers and fathers were different from norm group ratings to a significant degree ($p < .05$, $p < .001$ respectively). The data also suggest that these subjects idealized and consciously identified with their fathers. Five of the subjects were distinguished in the data, in that their Level I, II and III summary points were consistently in the dominant octants. These women apparently feel independent and successful and they behave in that manner. However, they felt as if they had to become autonomous. In addition, these

subjects have experienced conflict with men and have been unable to comfortably depend upon anyone else.

The focus will now shift briefly to a presentation of the data regarding the tentative hypotheses which are an additional feature of this work.

Hypothesis #1

Daughters in latency, whose fathers died, cannot experience feelings and display behaviors similar to adults who mourn.

From the description of the experiences of the subjects as compared to the literature's discussion of the mourning process it appears that 12 of these women experienced a mourning process which included the display of grief, the ability to express affective reactions and the period of gradually decathecting the lost love object. However, the reader is reminded that we are depending on the description by the subjects of their experiences because of the retrospective nature of this study. Thus, the accurate assessment of mourning is made more difficult by time, memory and perception.

In order to quantify the measurement of possible mourning as described earlier the writer developed the Probability of Mourning Scale when included elements described (See Appendices C and D) in the literature which apparently facilitate the mourning process. When the subjects' ratings on the 35 items of this scale were compiled, the subjects' scores ranged from 6 to 30 with no scores falling between 14 and 20. Twelve subjects' scores were distributed above a value of 20, and seven subjects' scores were distributed below a value of 14.

A statistical split at less than or greater to a value of 15 provided two apparently different groups of scores. The lower 7 scores had a mean of 10.14 and a range of 5 to 14. The upper group of 12 scores had a mean value of 24.5 and a range of 20 to 30. By means of an independent sample t-test, the means of the groups were found to be significantly different ($p < .0001$). This split of subjects on the mourning scale was then utilized to distinguish the subjects with scores greater than 15 as the "Probably Mourned" group from the subjects with scores less than 15 (the Probably not Mourned group). These two groups were then used to test the remaining hypotheses. It also appeared that because the scale was developed from factors documented as facilitating mourning and because there were subjects in this study who accumulated close to maximum scores, that some individuals in the study probably had successfully mourned their father's death.

Among those scores high on this mourning scale were women, who had been emotionally upset, had wept, had talked with other individuals about their feelings, had spent considerable time thinking about, remembering or dreaming about their lost father and eventually had begun to interact more appropriately with others, after their father's death.

Hypothesis #2

Daughters who are older than nine years of age at the death of their father will be more likely to mourn than younger children. This hypothesis had been suggested by researchers who thought that with the

cognitive abilities of a nine year old to conceptualize the meaning of death and the concommitant development of the ego, a child of nine could mourn.

The mourning scale score mean (20.3) for the 10 subjects who were nine years or younger at the time of the father's death was not found, by means of a t-test, to be significantly different from the mourning scales score mean (18.0) for the 9 subjects who were older than 9 years of age at the time of their father's death. It appears that the subjects' data does not support the hypothesis made in the literature.

Hypothesis #3

Women who experienced paternal death when they were in latency should have depressive personality characteristics.

As presented earlier, depression has frequently been associated with bereavement and has been measured most frequently by clinical judgement and the MMPI Depression Scales (Dahlstrom, Welsh, Dahlstrom, 1975).

The subjects' means on the scales measuring depression were found to not be significantly different from the Minnesota normals' means, therefore, the MMPI technique does not support this hypothesis.

The clinical impressions and the subjects' self reports as indicated previously appear to indicate that feelings of depression are present in 68 percent of women in this sample of individuals. The Leary data, provided earlier (Table 2, pg. 129), with significant differences ($p < .001$) in Level III between the subjects and the norm group tends

to support this hypothesis. It appears that these women have underlying feelings of depression.

Hypothesis #4

Women who experienced paternal death during latency and who probably mourned probably experience less depressive aspects than those who did not probably mourn.

The probably mourned subjects' means on the scales measuring depression based on MMPI scores, clinical impressions and self report were found to not be significantly different from the probably not mourned subjects' means. These t-test comparisons do not support hypothesis #4.

Hypothesis #5

There is a significant different in the occurrence of feelings of emotional dependency, between women who experienced paternal death when they were latency age and women in the general population.

The subjects' mean (26.58) on the Dependency Scale (Navran, 1953) was found to not be significantly different from the Minnesota normals' mean (22.64). However, the difference of the means approached significance ($p < .08$). As indicated earlier, clinical impressions and self report strongly suggest that these women have dependent aspects in their personality. The Leary data (Table 2, pg. 129) with Level III in Octants 5, 6, 7 (significance $p < .001$) supports the hypothesis that the subjects, as a group have underlying dependence.

Hypothesis #7

Among women who experienced paternal death when they were in latency there is a significant difference in the occurrence of conflicts in female-male relationships between those who probably mourned and those who probably did not mourn.

The probably mourned subjects' Male-Female Conflicts scale (see Appendices D, D) means (4.08, 5.91) were found to not be significantly different from the probably not mourned subjects' Male Female Conflicts scale means (4.00, 5.57). The process of mourning did not appear to increase or decrease the probability of male-female conflicts.

Hypothesis #8

There is a significant difference in the occurrence of hypomanic behaviors between women who experienced paternal death when they were in latency and women in the general population.

The subjects' MA, MA_1, M_2, MA_3, MA_4 Hypomania scales (McKinley and Hathaway, 1944, Harris and Lingoes, 1955) means (17.16, 1.37, 6.00, 3.05, 3.42, respectively) were compared to the similar scale score means of the Minnesota normals means (14.26, 1.38, 3.45, 2.91, 2.71 respectively). The following Hypomania scales means were found to be positively and significantly different: Hypomania ($p < .02$); Psychomotor acceleration ($p < .0004$); and Ego-inflation ($p < .03$). Therefore, it appears that these measures indicate that there is a difference. The subjects as a group are elevated on those hypomania scales.

Hypothesis #9

Among women who experienced paternal death when they were latency age, there is a significant difference ($p < .58$) in the occurrence of hypomania behaviors between those who probably mourned and those who probably did not mourn.

The probably mourned subjects' Hypomania scales means were found to not be significantly different from the probably not mourned subjects Hypomania scales scores' means. It appears that as a group, the subjects score high on the hypomania scales. However, the probable presence or absence of a mourning process is not significantly reflected in their hypomania behavior.

Hypothesis #10

There is a significant difference in the level of ego strength between women who experienced paternal death while they were in latency and women in the general population.

The subjects' MMPI ego strength, ES, (Barron, 1953) mean (44.10) was compared to the Minnesota normals ES mean (35.33) and found to be significantly different ($p < .0001$). Given this data, the subjects' level of ego strength appears to be higher than women in the general population. This statistical finding seems to corraborate the previously mentioned clinical impression, as well as the significant Leary finding (Table 2, pg. 129) for Level I-S in Octant 1 ($p < .001$). All of these measures suggest that these women are effectively coping with the conflicts they encounter. They are competent women.

Hypothesis #11

Among women who experienced paternal death when they were latency age, there is a significant difference in the level of ego strength between those who probably mourned and those who probably did not mourn.

The probably mourned subjects' ES mean was not found to be significantly different from the probably not mourned subjects mean. It appears that both women who probably mourned and those that did not, are not differentiated on the ES scale.

In summary, the subjects in this study in regard to the proposed null hypotheses based on previous literature suggest the following results.

Apparently some of the subjects probably did mourn their father's loss. Feelings of depression and emotional dependence seem to occur in these women based on clinical observation and Leary data, but MMPI national norms were not significantly different. Hypomanic behaviors of psychomotor acceleration and ego strength were found to be significantly greater in these subjects. These subjects also appear to possess high ego strength as compared to the women in the general population. There are apparently no differences in these measures between those who probably mourned and those who did not mourn.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The major purpose of this study, even prior to discussion, has been achieved. That is, women who suffered paternal bereavement have described their experiences and behaviors and suggested ways in which they feel they could have been helped in their bereavement. They also stated opinions on ways to help future daughters who experience similar trauma. The following discussion is not an attempt to clarify their perceptions, as if they are erroneous, but rather to suggest ways in which they can be dynamically conceptualized and examined.

The subjects in this study as reported previously feel that their father's death and his subsequent absence adversely affected their ability to relate to men. Seventeen of the nineteen women stated this opinion. This finding of their own perceptions corroborates the research (e.g. Hetherington and Parke, 1975, Herzog and Sudia, 1973) which supports the idea that daughters require the presence of a father or an adequate substitute father in order to develop the skills in sex-typing, communicating with a male and receiving male attention without experiencing anxiety. Apparently, the women in this study have interpreted their conflicts with males or related to their father's death and their subsequent loss of the opportunity to relate with him.

This point concerning these women's perceptions of the effects associated with their loss requires some brief examination at this time.

With this finding and in regard to all these women's perceptions, it is possible that their father's loss, a major traumatic event, serves in their minds as a focus of possible causality for many of their difficulties, conflicts and anxieties in life. It is possible that many of their difficulties would have occurred even if their father's death had not taken place. The distinction of the "real" effects and the "imagined" effects should be examined but this differentiation is most difficult to accurately accomplish. However, in talking with these women, whether in therapy or consultation, the distinction of the "real" and "imagined" effects does not seem to be crucial. Therapeutic work must involve the individual's perceptions of herself. As these perceptions evolve during treatment so will the effects associated with them. The women in this study feel that their father's death had significant effects on them. Their perceptions and the associated effects probably resulted in behavioral differences in their lives. The individual might be best served if the clinician addressed their perceptions and did not attempt to distinguish the "real" from the "imagined" causality of the individual's current complaints.

The results of this study strongly suggest according to daughters' perceptions, that there are indeed significant effects of paternal bereavement. As these subjects respond to an interview and to a question relating to their responses, feelings and behaviors after a father's death, it appears that as a group they personally feel more dependent and depressed than many of their peers. They describe insecurity as a most significant aspect of their life experience.

Having gone through one separation of a very important loved one they fear future personal losses. It seems that at times this fear causes them to cling to others in their lives such as mothers, older men and lovers, while at other times this insecurity or fear of future loss, reminds them to maintain their independent, self-sufficient distance so as not to get hurt once more. This statement is not to imply that these anxieties and defensive behaviors do not occur simultaneously, as well. In connection with their ambivalence in relationships we see in this group of individuals a fourth most-reported and major finding, the experience of repeated male-female conflicts. Eleven of the subjects described being closer to their fathers than their mothers. This suggests the type of idealization of which Loewald (1962), Hetherington (1972) and others urge us to look for among these women, and among children who presently experience bereavement. As illustrated by earlier writers (e.g., Abraham, 1924, Klein, 1940) feelings of ambivalence are closely associated with loss and subsequent commitment in a future relationship. Resolving this ambivalence for a latency age child is probably very difficult because she was expecting her parent to affirm her and her strivings for competence. Losing her father at that period leaves her with ambivalent feelings about herself and about choosing another person who will judge her competencies.

Another feature which seems to leap at the observer of these women is that even as they describe their uncomfortable feelings, as a group, they exhibit the ability to cope with reality, achieve well, express appropriate affect and examine themselves with curiosity and with

considerable insight. The previously described significant finding of high ego strength ($p < .0001$), corroborated in clinical observation on the Leary System and on the MMPI, seems very incongruent with their insecure and uncertain underlying feelings (Leary Level III data). These discrepancies and their elevated hypomania scales, especially in psychomotor acceleration (a "flight from inner life" as Harris and Lingoes (1955) describe it) and in ego inflation (feelings of self-importance) begin to suggest a pattern of dynamics. This pattern seems to corroborate what workers such as Deutsch (1937), Klein (1940) and Lewin (1932, 1941) suggested while treating severely disturbed individuals. That is, there seems to be a strong tendency for individuals to use a defense of activity, or hypomania to defend against loss and sorrowful inner affective states. As the defense of hypomania is suggested, other accompanying defenses such as repression and denial should be examined. Altschul's article (1968) on denial and its aspects is an example of an earlier work which predicted a strong denial and repressive element in loss followed by subsequent ego arrest. However, as a group, the subjects in this study displayed adequate ego development and even a high level of ego strength (e.g. Level I, $p < .001$; ES scale, $p < .0001$). These data distinguish this group from more severely disturbed individuals who suffered a paternal loss. Apparently, most of these individuals had already developed a strong ego prior to their paternal loss. They have described, with few exceptions, very positive relationships with their fathers. As a group they also described happy, satisfying childhoods in which their families were close.

With few exceptions, they all performed at a high academic level in school prior to their fathers' death. They reported positive and close relationships with peers and adults alike. Each of these factors appear to be premorbid experiences which facilitate adequate ego development. Perhaps adequate ego development is what helped these women cope with a severe loss at such a relatively early age. As described earlier, 12 of them exhibited many of the grieving behaviors described by E. Furman (1974), R. Furman (1964), Lindemann (1944), and Wolfenstein (1969). Perhaps the subjects' evidence of mourning in spite of the literature's almost unanimous position (Miller, 1971) that mourning cannot occur until much later in time (after adolescence) is an indication that we should reconsider this issue. The literature has principally reviewed treatment cases in which unusual behaviors precipitated treatment. Nontreated individuals have not been thoroughly researched to date with the exception of a few studies (e.g. Hilgard, Newman and Fisk, 1959). However, these subjects, with one exception, are individuals who have not sought treatment. Therefore their information can provide another valuable perspective to the literature on mourning reactions.

Regarding another aspect of bereavement, the role that their mothers played in these women's adjustment was varied. A follow-up comparison indicated that emotional dependency on mother was significantly correlated ($p < .01$) with the dependency measures (e.g. Nauran's Dy. scale), as well as with the Probability of Mourning scale. These data seem to corroborate the findings of Herzog and Sudia (1973),

Hetherington (1972) and Kalish (1976), as they describe the process in which mothers who lose their husbands often foster their children's dependence. In this finding can also be inferred the process of identification of the daughter with the father. It represents an intrapsychic defense for the daughter and an interpersonal opportunity to continue to supply and receive nurturance for the mother.

What happens to the women who do not "benefit" from a closer relationship with the mother after the father's death? These individuals are significantly different ($p < .01$) on independent samples t-tests from those who have a closer relationship with their mother on the probability to mourn scale. However, the subjects who did not benefit from a close relationship with their mother appear to be higher in ego strengths and independence. These women who apparently have adequate ego development, coped well with the paternal bereavement but seemed to probably not mourn. What must be kept in mind is that the factors which were suggested by the literature as facilitating mourning also seem to be factors which foster better relationships in a family. Variables such as talking with another person, expressing affects and spending time together are common in both beneficial mothering and in helping someone mourn. Much more research is required on this issue of how a probable nonmourner is able to cope so well with life after a paternal bereavement. The independent women in this study, most of whom were bitter about the lack of support from their mother, have apparently overcome the traumas. They seem to have accomplished this by means of their own intimate personal mourning with another relationship or by means of strong

defensive processes such as repression, idealization and hypomania. It appears that the intimate, more quiet mourning should later be examined as a form of mourning rather than labelled as a defense too quickly. Another issue, which the findings in this study address, is the role of a father's presence or absence in the psychological development of the latency age daughter. Previously, Sarnoff's work (1976) on latency described several of the important developments which occur during this period. The key word is "mastery," skill acquisition. The latency daughter is typically interested in achieving both cognitive and physical skills. Activities such as dancing and reading were mentioned by the subjects as significant endeavors for them at that time. The latency child continues to gradually separate from her parents. As she separates and individuates the processes of fantasy and symbolization are important tools for her. By means of her increased cognitive skills during individuation, she is able to "take with her" the images, ideals and cultural mores of her parents as well as of society. Loewald (1962) described this process of separation as functionally involving internalization. In order to separate, the individual must transform the relationships and interactions between her psyche and its environment into inner relationships and interactions within the psyche. This process of transformation during latency usually results in the development of the superego as the previous oedipal issues are mutually resolved by the parents and the child. The latency age child internalizes the standards, expectations, fears and hopes of the parent and of the culture while she individuates and continues

superego development. She observes the father and mother and idealizes their behaviors. As she idealizes them, she also returns to the narcissistic fantasies of an earlier period of symbiotic omnipotence. The child's narcissism is usually coincidental with the parents' own aspirations for the child's future perfection and skill mastery.

These processes of internalization, individuation, and superego development are the common elements during the latency period. Several authors (Jacobson, 1967, Klein, 1940, Loewald, 1962) state that these same processes occur in the process of mourning. For a latency age daughter, the death of her father is a permanent loss which precipitates a premature separation-individuation. The gradual process of separation by means of internalizing the elements of the relationship with the loved object (her father) can no longer proceed. This process would normally lead to further differentiation of the ego. What occurs if this gradual process is aborted?

The evidence in the present study suggests that this process of internalization, and subsequent, ego development continues. This finding is in contrast to Altschul's findings (1968) which suggest that denial and ego arrest are more likely to occur.

Mahler (1961) in speaking of infant ego development in individuation states: "When in the course of maturational growth the ego is confronted with the incontrovertible "fact of separateness, the fused symbiotic representations of self and object do not allow for progress toward individuation." (pp. 341-342)

However, in this study the subjects exhibited significantly greater ego strength ($p < .0001$) than the norm group. They also appear to have

idealized and identified with their fathers. These findings imply that paternal bereavement during latency, a period characterized by internalization, idealization, mastery of individual skills and gradual separation from parents, will not result in ego arrest nor aborted individuation. However, the piper must be paid. In what developmental process or aspect of personality do they suffer? The women in this study state that they have conflicts in male-female relationships and tha that they feel insecure, emotionally dependent and often depressed. Apparently, these data imply that the affective aspects of their development suffer in order that they continue to achieve and individuate. It is as if they have continued in the skill development of latency. They have continued to consider skill acquisition and mastery, social, academic and career achievements of paramount importance. During latency a child often gauges the level of their mastery by the evaluation of a parent. The daughter might look for a pleased expression on her father's face when she demonstrates a new dance step. She then knows that her skills are improving. When a daughter loses this opportunity for recognition of her skills, perhaps she feels insecure and the compulsive need to continue to strive for perfection. She has not her a "good enough" from her father.

This lack of acknowledgment of skill mastery from the deceased father appears to be similar to a dynamic which these subjects displayed. Earlier the discrepancies between the Level I and II-S and the Level III_{MM} were reported. Another finding, the difference between Level II_{Father} and Level III_{MM} (parental assimilation) was described. Also

reported was the close similarity between Level I-S and Level II_{Father}. These differences between conscious and underlying character scores and the identification with the father suggest that the women in this study achieve quite well and on the level at which they perceived their fathers had performed, but they have not been able to consciously acknowledge their success to themselves. It might be inferred that if they acknowledged their success to the world in spite of the loss of their father, then they might feel that they were negating the importance of their father in their life and conveying a lack of love. This acknowledgement would probably be in conflict with the sorrowful affects which they associate to their father's loss. Perhaps if they acknowledged their success in spite of their father's absence, then their individuation would have progressed too far, and a severe sense of aloneness would overcome them. This resulting depressive position (Klein, 1975; Mahler, 1961; Winnicott, 1954) would be more traumatic than the insecurity they presently experience. Thus, in the latency daughter who suffers the loss of her father, it seems that ego arrest and discontinuation of individuation does not occur as Altschul (1968) and Mahler (1961) imply. Rather, ego development proceeds with an emphasis or a continuation of internalization, cognitive processes and achievement. The affective aspects of personality and the ability to develop comfortable male-female relationships appear to suffer. Strong ego defenses such as compulsivity, repression, and hypomania apparently enable these subjects to avoid their underlying feelings of passivity, dependence and depression.

This brings us to one of the final considerations. Did the passage of time or some event between their fathers' death and the present time allow the individuals in this study to equalize on such measures as coping with reality and ego strength. Perhaps the intrapsychically weaker individuals needed the earlier dependence on their mother in order to cope, while the stronger individuals with a well developed ego were already able to cope. If this were the case then over a period of time, with mothers who were eventually able to "let go" of their daughters after they had benefitted from "good-enough mothering" following the tragedy in both of their lives, those originally "dependent" daughters might be functioning and coping on a high level. The two types of individuals who were originally dependent or originally independent might presently exhibit equal ego strength.

This possible process needs further investigation. However, in this study, an interesting set of data suggests that such a process might occur. Proceeding with the ideas presented above, "originally dependent" daughters whose mothers do not "let go" should continue to exhibit less ego strength than both the strong ego women and the women who benefitted from the care of mothers who were able to "let go" of them (allow them to individuate). Two of the 19 subjects in this study suggest that such a pattern exists. These two women described early dependent behavior and stated that their mothers still foster their dependence. These women's Ego Strength scores are the lowest in this study and below the National normals' mean. However, with an N of 2, statistical inferences must be very conservatively made.

As previously seen, the perceived effects of paternal bereavment and the suggestions for helping from the daughters who experienced it speak for themselves. We must keep in mind that we are observing the phenomenon over a space of memory, time and affects and through subjectively tinted glasses. However, at the present time it is our only view of the experience. In terms of the dynamics involved in the psychological lives of women who were latency age when their fathers died, it appears that as a group they cope with reality and life by means of strong ego defenses, such as reaction formation, which enable them to avoid dependent and depressive feelings and to foster independent strivings.

Mourning processes do seem to occur in these women's responses to a father's death and these processes apparently are enhanced by supportive mothers and significant others who are willing to listen to their feelings and ideas. It is hypothesized that an individual with strong ego development prior to a father's death is able to cope with bereavement in spite of receiving little emotional support from a mother. The literature which addresses the processes of mourning and the coping with loss, including the extensive use of ego defenses, seemed to be generally supported by this study. The literature which went beyond the processes of mourning to predict which age groups would be able to mourn and which groups would not be able to mourn are not supported by this work.

In terms of the subjects' suggestions about the interventions which might have helped them in their adjustment to paternal bereavement, the

most frequently mentioned suggestion was that people listen to and talk with children who experience a parental death. It seems that this process of adults making themselves available for children is essential. In terms of the manner of this intervention it seems wise to allow the child to determine what is discussed. Several of the subjects in this study described the discomfort they experienced when some adults would force them to talk or when these adults pretend as if they "know how I felt." It would be useful to provide the child with the time and the opportunity to talk but not force them to talk. It is very apparent from this study that responses to paternal death vary in kind and intensity. This individuality of responsiveness should be respected.

The subjects also described that adults who were emotionally expressive helped them to realize it was acceptable to cry or "feel upset." It appears that latency age daughters, as is the typical behavior for their skill mastery developmental stage, are unsure about what constitutes socially acceptable behavior after a parent's death. They look to adults and siblings to determine their own behavior. Aware adults can thus model for the child by being as emotionally expressive as is comfortable for them. It appears that if the child realizes that sustenance and security will be provided by the surviving parent, then they can readily tolerate, and even benefit from, the expression of sorrow.

Another recommendation which was emphasized by the subjects was that children should be informed of the expectations and procedures which pertain to paternal bereavement. Children in latency are curious.

It is important for them to be able to perform well and demonstrate mastery. It appears that this mastery does not stop being important due to their father's death. In fact it appears that it becomes one way in which they can more easily cope with bereavement. Parents are encouraged to inform their children of the expectations and the procedures involved in the bereavement process and activities, such as funeral arrangements. However, judgement should be exercised in order to prevent the child from feeling too responsible.

Another suggestion that these subjects made was that the expression of affection and nurturance be present following the death of a parent. The subjects described their feelings of insecurity and often related them to feeling emotionally isolated and physically deprived. It seems essential that a surviving parent or other responsible adult assure the child that her needs will be met. This message of assurance apparently is perceived much more readily when affection accompanies it. Several of these subjects vividly recalled sitting with their mother and being held by her during their bereavement. The message of love and security is apparently one of the most important comforts to a bereaved child. It appeared that subjects who were assured were also able to express their own feelings more easily.

A final suggestion is that the routine and the home environment be maintained as much as possible in order to convey this sense of security. Five of the six subjects whose families moved following their father's death wished that they had remained in their original home. The one message that is consistently conveyed by these women

is to help children feel secure and stable following a death.

This point seems especially pertinent for latency age children who place great importance on consistency and the acquisition of regular methods and expectations. When skill mastery is important, then the rules by which tasks are expected to be performed should not be constantly altered. Therefore, the latency child strives for stability and consistency, even during parental bereavement.

Much research is suggested by this study. Certainly other groupings of individuals with both homogenous and heterogenous elements are strongly suggested. Projects in which groups by sex of the subject and sex of the bereaved parent are recommended. This author is not satisfied with the measure for the criteria of mourning, much more refined work is needed in the area of defining the criteria of mourning.

Research on presently grieving "normal" children is required to insure that data from the entire social system of the child is accurately perceived and collected. In such research, observational and self-descriptive data would be useful in order to isolate the variables involved in mourning. Premorbid information seemed essential in this study and must remain in future research. Researchers are encouraged to examine the processes of mourning of "normal" individuals. As a result of this study it appears that the processes of mourning described in the literature do not pertain, in every case, to individuals not in treatment. This study certainly provoked more questions than it answered. The reader is left with this final thought. The subjects in this study beyond a doubt strongly state that children can be helped in their bereavement. Let us find the best ways to do so.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Very little is known about the effects of a father's death on a daughter. Less is known about the most beneficial ways to help a daughter in adjusting to a father's death. My dissertation project will study both the above. If your natural father died during your childhood and you will be willing to devote several hours of your time on one day to contribute to our present knowledge of this subject and to share your experience to help others, please call the secreatary at the U. T. Psychological Clinic ( ) as soon as possible and leave your first name only and the phone numbers where you may be reached for "Mike Henrich's study."

Your participation will involve responding to a standardized interpersonal test battery and an individual, information-gathering interview. In keeping with professional ethics and personal rights your identity will remain anonymous and all information will be kept confidential.

Newspaper Ad

Adult Females whose fathers died during childhood needed. Psychological study helping future daughters' adjustment. Call #_____ Leave First Name, Number.

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What is your birthdate?

2. Where were you born?

3. Do you have brothers and sisters?

4. How old are they?

5. What do you do now?

6. What are your career plans?

7. Please describe how your family interacted when you were a young child.

8. Do you recall interacting with your father? If so, describe, what kinds of things did you do together? Talk about?

9. Please describe your relationship with your children.
   What hobbies and interests do you have?
   How were you doing in school?
   Any difficulty when you first started school?

10. What was your relationship with your mother like?

11. How old were you when your father died?

12. Please describe how he died (suddenly, slowly, quickly?)

13. How did you find out he died? When? Who told you? (mother, relative, sibling?)

14. What do you remember was your first reaction to this news?

15. What other reactions did you have? (crying, emotional suppression or repression, anger, disbelief, denial).

16. Do you recall any physical symptoms at the time of his death?

17. If appropriate,
    Do you remember how your brothers and sisters reacted?
    What did you do in response to their reactions?

18. Do you remember talking with others about his death: peers, teachers, family?

19. What events concerning his death (wake, funeral, burial) do you recall?
What experiences stand out in your mind? (Presence at funeral, burial, emotional expression, memory of specific people).

20. What changes occurred in your family immediately after his death?

21. What differences did it make in your immediate life?

22. Do you recall thinking about him, crying, remembering times spent together with him?

23. What effects did his death have on your mother? (mourning, adjustment, employment, strong determined attitude toward adjustment)

24. Did you experience differences at school? (school achievement up or down, teacher relationship, peer relations)

25. Did you understand what the concept of death meant when your father died?

26. Which person(s) helped you the most in your adjustment to his death?

27. Did you ever become "moody" as a result of his death?

28. What was your mother's relationship like with you (and your siblings) after the death of your father: How much time did you spend together?

29. Were new responsibilities and duties required of you now? Were you pampered and protected?

30. Did you notice any changes in your hobbies or interests after his death?

31. Did you notice any changes in yourself after his death?

32. Please describe your adolescence, peer and boyfriend relationships and academic progress in high school.

33. Did your mother remarry? When?

34. Has there been a significant male figure in your life since your father's death? Who? and why was he important?

35. How are your relationships with women now?

36. How are your relationships with men now?

37. Describe some of the men you have liked. Have not liked.

38. What role, if any, has religion played in your life? Helpful in your adjustment?

39. How close is your family now?

40. Would you consider yourself a dependent or independent person?

41. Do you ever get depressed or moody? Describe.

42. If you had three wishes, what would they be?

43. What do you wish would have been different about the way you were treated at the time of, and after, his death?

44. What do you wish would have been different about the funeral events held?

45. What effect if any do you think your father's death has had on you and your life?

46. Is there any other information you think would be important for me to know about you?

APPENDIX C

RATING FORM

RESPONSES PERTAINING TO CHILDHOOD AND CHILDHOOD PRIOR TO FATHER'S DEATH.

Family Interaction, All Members

1. Distance? A. 12 Close to each other B. 6 Mixed C. 1 Distant
2. Expressive of affection? A. 10 Yes B. 7 No C. 2 Impossible to determine
3. Amount of time family spent together. A. 4 Much time
   B. 11 Some time
   C. 4 Little time

Parents in Their Relationship with Each Other.

4. Relationship with each other. A. 17 Positive (pleasant)
   B. 2 Mixed
   C. ___ Negative (conflicted)
   D. ___ Difficult to determine
5. In her relationship with the father, the mother was
   A. 6 Independent
   B. 2 Mixed
   C. 11 Dependent
6. In his relationship with the mother, the father was
   A. 16 Independent
   B. 2 Mixed
   C. 1 Dependent

Mother's Relationship with the Subject, prior to Father's Death.

7. Subject's description of mother's characteristics was
   A. 13 Overall positive
   B. 5 Mixed
   C. 1 Overall negative
8. Did it seem that the mother was expressive of affection?
   A. 10 Yes
   B. 9 No
9. Mother's emotional distance with the subject was
   A. 1 Very close
   B. 8 Close
   C. 7 Neutral
   D. 3 Distant
   E. ___ Very distant
10. Amount of time mother spent with subject was
    A. 4 Much time
    B. 12 Some time
    C. 3 Little time

11. Quantity of memories about mother which the subject recalled
A. 1 Many memories
B. 14 Some memories
C. 4 Subject does not remember much

Father's Relationship with the Father
12. Subject's description of father's characteristics was
A. 18 Overall positive
B. ___ Mixed
C. 1 Overall negative
13. Did it seem that the father was expressive of affection?
A. 15 Yes
B. 4 No
14. Father's emotional distance from the subject was
A. 7 Very close
B. 9 Close
C. 2 Neutral
D. 1 Distant
E. ___ Very distant
15. Amount of time father spent with subject was
A. 5 Much time
B. 9 Some time
C. 5 Little time
16. Quantity of memories about father which the subject recalled
A. 1 Many memories
B. 15 Some memories
C. 3 Subject does not remember much

Subject's Relationship with Siblings (prior to Father's Death)
(Please Note This Section May Not Be Applicable to Subjects with No Siblings)
17. Overall relationship
A. 11 Positive
B. 3 Mixed
C. 2 Negative
18. Siblings emotional distance from the subject was
A. 1 Very close
B. 7 Close
C. 5 Neutral
D. 3 Distant
E. ___ Very distant

Subject's Childhood (prior to Father's Death)
19. Global appraisal of her childhood
A. 11 Happy
B. 5 Mixed
C. 1 Unhappy
20. In her relationships with other children she was
A. 13 Socially interactive
B. 4 Neutral
C. 2 Socially withdrawn

21. Her relationships with other children were
A. 15 Positive
B. 3 Mixed
C. 1 Negative

22. The subject had A. 6 Several close friends B. 10 At least one close friend C. 1 At least one friend D. ___ At least one acquaintance D. 2 No friends mentioned

Subject's Experiences at School (prior to Father's Death)

23. Subject's academic performance was A. 15 High B. 4 Average C. ___ Low

24. Her memory of first period of time in school was A. 10 Positive B. 7 Mixed C. 2 Negative D. ___ Difficult to recall

RESPONSES PERTAINING TO EVENTS SURROUNDING FATHER'S DEATH AND SHORTLY AFTERWARD.

25. How old was subject when father died? A. 4 7 years old B. 3 8 years old C. 4 9 years old D. 4 10 years old E. 4 11 years old

26. How old was father at the time of his death? A. 5 30s B. 7 40s C. 7 50s or more

27. Cause of father's death
A. 9 Heart attack
B. 5 Other illness (T.B., cancer)
C. 3 Stroke
D. 2 Accident (automobile, war, other)

28. Was her father's death
A. 10 Sudden
B. 5 Uncertain(known to be ill but death was not expected)
C. 4 Prolonged (expected over a period of time)

29. Did father die
A. 6 At home
B. 11 In hospital
C. 2 Other

30. Did subject see her father die? A. 1 Yes B. 18 No

31. Who informed subject of father's death?
A. 8 Mother
B. 2 Sibling
C 4 Relative
D. 1 Professional
E. 3 Neighbor
F. 1 Subject not told, inferred situation from circumstances

32. Subject's first reaction to father's death was
A. 14 Shocked
B. 5 Emotionally upset
C. ___ Relieved

33. In first reactions to his death was there A. 12 Disbelief
B. 7 Belief

Subject's Other Reactions to His Death

34. Subject was emotionally upset (crying) A. 17 Yes B. 2 No
35. Subject felt frightened or scared? A. 13 Yes B. 6 No
36. Subject felt abandoned or rejected? A. 10 Yes B. 9 No
37. Subject thought about helping others? A. 3 Yes B. 16 No
38. Subject felt angry or cheated? A. 10 Yes B. 9 No
39. Did subject recall having any physical reactions which she related to his death? A. 2 Yes B. 17 No
40. How did her siblings react at the time of their father's death?
A. 12 Emotionally upset B. 2 Calm C. 2 Impossible to determine
41. Did the subject talk with her mother about her father's death around the time of his death? A. 5 Yes B. 14 No
42. Did the subject remember talking with others about her father's death within a few months of his death? A. 8 Yes B. 11 No
43. If yes, with whom did she talk? A. 1 Mother
B. 2 Sibling
C. 2 Relative
D. 3 Friend
E. ___ Professional (minister, teacher, etc.)

Events of Funeral Arrangements

44. A. 4 Wake at home B. 13 Wake at funeral home C. 2 No wake
45. Subject attended wake? A. 15 Yes B. 4 No
46. Family had a funeral? A. 17 Yes B. 2 No
47. Subject attended funeral? A. 16 Yes B. 3 No
48. Subject felt included in funeral events? A. 13 Yes B. 6 No

Changes in Family Immediately after Father's Death

49. Changes in subject's everyday life A. 1 Little change
B. 7 Some change
C. 11 Great change
50. Family moved? A. 7 Yes B. 12 No
51. Mother began (or continued) working? A. 13 Yes B. 6 No
52. Other people began living with family (relative, friend)?
A. 2 Yes
B. 17 No
53. Distance between family members. A. 10 Became closer to each other
B. 8 Became more distant from each other C. 1 No change

Difference in Subject's Immediate Life after Father's Death

54. Subject felt isolated or alone or a "void" in her life?
A. 14 Yes
B. 5 No

55. Subject felt insecure? A. 16 Yes B. 11 No

56. Subject felt she had to grow up, and/or be more responsible, and/or be protective of others? A. 8 Yes B. 11 No

57. Subject withdrew from others (became more introverted)? A. 12 Yes B. 7 No

58. Subject remembers A. 3 Crying a lot B. 13 Remembers crying C. 3 Did not mention crying in the days following his death.

59. Subject remembers having nightmares about her father? A. 7 Yes B. 12 No

60. Subject A. 2 Remembers much dreaming about father B. 3 Remembers dreaming some about her father C. 2 Remembers dreaming a little about her father D. ___ Does not remember dreaming about her father.

61. Subject A. 3 Remembers daydreaming about her father B. 16 Had no memories of daydreaming.

62. Subject remembers thinking much about her father. A. 12 Yes B. 7 No

Effects of Father's Death on Her Mother

63. Change in mother A. 16 Significant B. 3 Not significant C. ___ No change

64. Change was A. 9 Positive B. 10 Negative C. ___ No change

65. Initially mother was devastated and extremely distraught A. 7 Yes B. 12 No

66. Mother withdrew (emotionally and otherwise) from children A. 8 Yes B. 11 No

67. Mother became self-sufficient A. 15 Yes B. 4 No

68. Mother became stronger, responsible, "in charge" A. 15 Yes B. 4 No

Subject's Experiences at School Right after Father's Death

69. Academically A. 1 Better B. 17 Same C. 1 Worse

70. Relationship with teacher A. 14 Positive B. 2 Neutral C. 3 Negative

71. Relationship with children A. 9 Positive B. 9 Neutral C. 1 Negative

72. Subject became more withdrawn, isolated, shy in school A. 9 Yes B. 10 No

73. Subject mentioned feeling ashamed or embarrassed at school after father's death A. 13 Yes B. 6 No

RESPONSES PERTAINING TO LONGER POSTMORBID PERIOD

74. Did the subject understand concept of death when father died?
A. 15 Yes B. 4 No

75. For the subject, death meant A. 13 Person goes to heaven or other religious belief B. 5 Person stopped living, no mention of an afterlife C. 1 Other meaning

76. Person who helped the subject most in her adjustment A. 6 Mother
B. 3 Sibling C. 4 Relative (not immediate family)
D. ___ Professional E. 6 No one or subject does not remember

77. Did the subject ever become "moody" as a result of his death
A. 14 Yes B. 5 No

Mother's Relationship with Subject after His Death

78. Quality of relationship A. 12 Positive B. 1 Mixed C. 6 Negative

79. Distance A. 12 Became closer B. ___ No change C. 7 Became more distant

80. Subject felt secure with mother A. 12 Yes B. 6 No C. 1 No mention

81. Subject became more emotionally dependent on mother A. 13 Yes
B. 6 No

82. Was mother expressive of affection? A. 10 Yes B. 9 No

83. Amount of time spent together A. 6 Much time B. 6 Some time
C. 7 Little time

Subsequent Changes

84. Were new responsibilities and duties required of subject? A. 9 Yes
B. 10 No

85. Was subject pampered after her father's death? A. 12 Yes B. 7 No

86. Was subject more protected after his death? A. 10 Yes B. 9 No

87. Did subject notice changes in her hobbies after death? A. 10 Yes
B. 9 No

88. Were there more solitary interests? A. 12 Yes B. 7 No

89. Were there more socially interactive interests? A. 3 Yes B. 16 No

90. Did subject notice changes in herself following death? A. 16 Yes
B. 3 No

91. Did subject become more quiet or withdrawn? A. 12 Yes B. 7 No

92. Did subject mention feeling less secure or seem that way? A. 17 Yes
B. 2 No

93. Did subject feel more serious, mature, grownup? A. 11 Yes B. 8 No

Subject's Adolescence and High School

94. Regarding school extracurricular activities was subject
A. 10 Involved B. 4 Moderately involved C. 5 Uninvolved

95. Socially was subject A. 7 Popular B. 5 Moderately popular
C. 6 Accepted D. 1 Isolated

96. In academics was subject A. 15 Above average B. 4 Average
C. ___ Below average

97. Regarding behavior or attitudes during adolescence would subject be considered A. 5 Liberal B. 10 Moderate C. 4 Conservative

98. Regarding leadership was the subject a A. 7 Leader B. 8 Sometimes leader and sometimes follower C. 4 Follower

99. Was subject a cheerleader? A. 6 Yes B. 13 No

100. Did subject have A. 7 Several close female friends B. 10 At least one close friend C. 3 No close female friends mentioned.

101. Regarding dating did subject have A. 6 Many dates B. 10 Some dates C. 3 Few dates

102. Did she date A. 3 Many boys B. 7 Some boys C. 9 One or two boys D. ___ No boys

103. Did subject date older (more than two years older) males during adolescence? A. 10 Yes B. 9 No

Were the Boys Subject Dated Described As:

104. A. 13 Affectionate B. 3 Not affectionate
C. 3 Impossible to determine

105. A. 13 Dominant B. 1 Submissive
C. 5 Impossible to determine

106. A. 14 Independent B. 2 Dependent
C. 3 Impossible to determine

107. A. 13 Mature B. 5 Immature
C. 1 Impossible to determine

108. A. 6 Athletic B. 1 Nonathletic
C. 12 Impossible to determine

109. A. 7 Smarter B. 10 Same or less smart
C. 2 Impossible to determine

110. Regarding sexual activity did the subject have sexual intercourse
A. 1 Prior to age 14 B. 8 Age 14-18 C. 4 After age 18
D. 6 Difficult to assess

111. Did the subject's mother remarry? A. 4 Yes B. 15 No

112. Did the subject's mother remarry or date after father's death?
A. 9 Yes B. 10 No

113. Has there been a significant male in the subject's life since her father's death? A. 9 Yes B. 10 No

114. Who was that man? A. 5 Husband B. 3 Relative (grandfather, uncle, etc.) C. 2 Brother D. 4 Older man E. 4 Boyfriend

Relationships with Women Now

115. Subject has A. 12 Several close friends B. 5 At least one close friend C. 2 At least one friend D. ___ No friends mentioned

116. Subject has been a lover with a woman A. ___ Yes B. 5 No C. 14 Not mentioned

Relationships with Men

117. Subject's history includes conflicts with men A. 15 Yes B. 4 No

118. Subject has been divorced? A. 5 Yes B. 14 No

119. Subject has a positive relationship with a man now? A. 14 Yes B. 5 No

120. Present relationship with men A. 2 Very good B. 11 Good C. 4 Neutral D. 2 Poor E. ___ Very poor

121. Regarding relationships with men subject has been A. 2 Very independent B. 2 Independent C. 1 Neither independent nor dependent D. 14 Dependent E. ___ Very dependent

122. Regarding her relationship with men subject has been A. 1 Very dominant B. ___ Dominant C. 9 Neither dominant nor submissive D. 9 Submissive E. ___ Very submissive

Men which the subject has liked have been

123. A. 17 Affectionate B. 1 Not affectionate C. 1 Impossible to determine

124. A. 15 Dominant B. 1 Submissive C. 3 Impossible to determine

125. A. 17 Independent B. 1 Dependent C. 1 Impossible to determine

126. A. 17 Mature B. 1 Dependent C. 1 Impossible to determine

127. Was religion helpful in subject's adjustment to father's death? A. 9 Yes B. 6 No C. 4 Not mentioned

128. How close are most of the members of the subject's family now? A. 8 Very close B. 8 Close C. 1 Neutral D. 2 Distant E. ___ Very distant

129. Is there one family member with whom subject has had a poor relationship with during her adulthood? A. 8 Yes B. 11 No

130. Does the subject consider herself to be emotionally A. 5 Independent B. ___ Mixed C. 14 Dependent

131. Career and/or career plans A. 10 Helping profession B. 5 Housewife C. 1 Clerical employee D. 2 Business profession E. 1 Scientific profession

132. Is this profession similar to her father's? A. 3 Yes B. 16 No
C. ___ Impossible to determine

MATERIAL RELATED TO WISHES ABOUT THE EVENTS AND THE EFFECTS OF THE FATHER'S DEATH

133. Subject's wishes pertain to: (please check three)

A. 10 Good relationships
B. 6 Wishes for her children's benefit
C. 6 Happiness
D. 3 Health
E. 8 Benefits for others (help others, world's problems solved, etc.)
F. 6 Money or material wishes
G. 8 Career wishes
H. 3 Wishes for more comfortable feelings of self
I. 2 No choice
J. 2 Father had never died

What Did Subject Wish Would Have Been Different about the Way She Was Treated at Time of and after Father's Death

134. Subject wished someone would have talked with her A. 11 Yes
B. ___ No C. 8 Not mentioned

135. Subject wished she had been treated more like an adult or more equal A. 9 Yes B. ___ No C. 10 Not mentioned

136. Subject wished she would have been allowed to be more open with emotional expression (crying, etc.) A. 11 Yes B. ___ No
C. 8 Not mentioned

137. Subject wished mother had not changed A. 7 Yes B. 5 No
C. 7 Not mentioned

138. Subject wished family had not moved or changed life style
A. 5 Yes B. 1 No C. 13 Not mentioned

139. Subject wished mother had been more affectionate A. 8 Yes
B. ___ No C. 11 Not mentioned

140. What did subject wish would have been different about the funeral events? A. 8 No change B. 11 Some changes

141. Wish wake would have been at home A. 1 Yes B. 18 No

142. Glad she attended funeral or wished she had been able to attend
A. 11 Yes B. 8 No

What Were the Long Term Effects of the Father's Death Which the Subject Mentioned?

143. A. 19 Significant long term effects B. ___ No significant effects

144. Subject mentions feeling insecure A. 15 Yes B. 4 No

145. Subject mentions feeling of depression, "sad personality," etc.
A. 13 Yes B. 6 No

146. Subject mentions difference in relationships with males A. 17 Yes B. 2 No

147. Subject mentions difference in sexual attitudes, relations A. 8 Yes B. 11 No

148. Subject mentions looking for, being attracted to males (who would be a father, father figure) A. 13 Yes B. 6 No

149. Subject mentions a change his death made in mother-daughter relationship A. 11 Yes B. 8 No

150. Subject mentions feeling more independent, self-sufficient A. 6 Yes B. 13 No

151. Subject mentions feeling more mature, more serious, having to face reality A. 7 Yes B. 12 No

CLINICAL JUDGMENTS BASED ON ENTIRE INTERVIEW

152. Interpersonally (or externally or behaviorally or consciously) would you rate this person as emotionally

A. ___ Very independent
B. 6 Independent
C. ___ Neither independent nor dependent
D. 12 Dependent
E. 1 Very dependent

153. Intrapsychically (deep level or within herself or unconsciously) would you rate this person as emotionally

A. ___ Very independent
B. 1 Independent
C. 2 Neither independent nor dependent
D. 15 Dependent
E. 1 Very dependent

154. Interpersonally (externally or consciously or behaviorally) would you rate this person as

A. 1 Very depressed
B. 12 Depressed
C. 4 Neither depressed nor euphoric
D. 2 Not depressed
E. ___ Definitely not depressed

155. Intrapsychically (on a deep level or within herself or unconsciously) would you rate this person as

A. 1 Very depressed
B. 15 Depressed
C. 3 Neither depressed nor euphoric
D. ___ Not depressed
E. ___ Definitely not depressed

156. Does it appear that the subject experienced male-female relationship conflicts as an effect of her father's death and events surrounding it?

A. 6 Definitely yes
B. 10 Probably yes
C. 1 Maybe
D. 2 Probably not
E. ___ Definitely not

157. Does it appear that the subject experienced psychosexual conflicts as an effect of her father's death and the events surrounding it?

A. 4 Definitely yes
B. 12 Probably yes
C. ___ Maybe
D. 3 Probably not
E. ___ Definitely not

APPENDIX D

ITEMS FROM CATEGORIES OF INTERVIEW RESPONSES

Subject's Premorbid Relationship with Her Mother

#7. A - C	9. A - E	11. A - C
#8. A - B	10. A - C	

Subject's Premorbid Relationship with Her Father

#12. A - C	15. A - C
#13. A - B	16. A - C
#14. A - C	

Subject's Idealization of Her Father over Her Mother

(Subject's Total Premorbid Relationship with Her Father minus Subject's Total Premorbid Relationship with Her Mother)

Probability of Mourning

#28. B,C	47. A	59. A	79. A
#32. B	48. A	60. A,B,C	80. A
#33. B	49. A,B	61. A	81. A
#34. A	50. B	62. A	82. A
#41. A	51. B	63. B,C	83. A,B
#42. A	53. A,C	64. A	92. B
#44. A,B	55. B	66. B	138. B,C
#45. A	56. B	74. A	139. B,C
#46. A	58. A,B	78. A	

Mother's Postmorbid Adjustment—Good

#64. A	67. A
#65. B	68. A
#66. B	137. B,C

Depression

#77. A
#145. A

Letters for numbered items indicate the categories which contributed positively toward the scale's total. In cases in which range of categories (e.g., A-E) are listed, the scores are compiled in descending order (e.g., A = 5, E = 1).

Insecurity

#35.	A	72.	A	144.	A
#36.	A	73.	A		
#54.	A	88.	A		
#55.	A	91.	A		

Conflicts in Female-Male Conflicts

#113.	B	120.	E - A
#117.	A	146.	A
#118.	A	147.	A
#119.	B	148.	A

VITA

Michael Herman Henrichs was born to Mary and Herman Henrichs in St. Louis, Missouri, on January 5, 1947. The second of four children, he attended elementary schools in that metropolitan area and graduated from St. Thomas Aquinas High School in June 1964. He attended Cardinal Glennon College for two years. After transferring to St. Louis University in the fall of 1966, he received his Bachelor of Science degree in Biology and Chemistry in June 1968. He met his wife, the former Virginia Dorsey of Nashville, Tennessee, while they studied at St. Louis University.

In August 1968, he was sworn into the United States Army, commissioned as an officer in June 1969, and decorated with two bronze stars while serving in Vietnam prior to his honorable discharge in June 1971. He entered the Graduate School of the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, in September 1971. He received a Master of Science degree with a major in Counseling in August 1972, and a Doctor of Philosophy degree with majors in Clinical and School Psychology in August 1978. He received Clinical Psychology internship training during 1977-1978 at the Langley Porter Institute of the University of California at San Francisco Medical Center.

The author is a member of the American Psychological Association and Phi Kappa Phi Honor Society. Dr. Henrichs will receive training as a Postdoctoral Clinical Psychology Fellow at the Menninger Foundation, Topeka, Kansas, for the two years after his graduation.

He is married to Ginger Dorsey Henrichs. They have three beautiful, bright and energetic daughters, Christina, Karen and Laura.