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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN QUALITY OF ATTACHMENT AND AFFECTIVE EXPERIENCES WITHIN THE PARENTING RELATIONSHIP: A PILOT STUDY

by

Jenny Kaufmann

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

1990

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN QUALITY OF ATTACHMENT AND AFFECTIVE EXPERIENCES WITHIN THE PARENTING RELATIONSHIP: A PILOT STUDY

by

Jenny Kaufmann

Advisor: Professor Arietta Slade

This thesis looks at the relationship between quality of attachment, as measured by the Adult Attachment Interview (George, Kaplan & Main, 1985) and affective experiences within the parenting relationship, as measured by the Parent Development Interview (Aber, Slade, Berger & Bresgi, 1985).

The subjects were nine white, middle-class mothers whose children were enrolled in a toddler group at the Barnard Toddler Center. Subjects were interviewed using the Adult Attachment Interview (AAI) and the Parent Development Interview (PDI). Interviews were transcribed verbatim, and were coded by independent raters. Data were analyzed using a Mann-Whitney U Test. Results were analyzed by statistical and clinical analyses. The qualitative analysis provided an in-depth examination of two mothers; one was classified as anxious in her attachment to her own parents on the AAI, the other was secure.

In the quantitative analysis, eleven PDI variables were correlated with two AAI classifications, secure or anxious. Quantitative analysis suggested that securely attached mothers were more aware of their own and their children's

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affective experiences, and the significance of the dyadic relationship than mothers who were anxiously attached. For the mothers' view of her own experience, variables that appeared to be significant were: acknowledgment of anger (.01), recognition of source of anger (.05), modulation of anger (.01) and acknowledgment of neediness (.10). For the mother's view of her child's experience, the variables that appeared to be significant were: recognition of anger (.10) and recognition of autonomy-1 (.10). For the mother's view of the dyadic relationship, results suggested that recognition of the importance of her effect was significant (.10). However, in view of the fact that reliability coefficients were low for some of these variables, positive results need to be interpreted cautiously.

The qualitative analysis showed that the anxiously attached mother was prototypical of the other anxiously attached mothers in our study in that she had little awareness of her own or her child's affective experiences. However, the securely attached mother deviated from the other securely attached mothers in her moderate rather than high degrees of awareness for five out of the seven variables that were examined. While the two mothers were different from one another, they were not so dramatically different as one might have expected. The findings of the present study suggest that secure attachment should not be regarded as synonymous with mental health or perfection. Rather, it implies a state of mind in which the subject is aware of her own experience and that of her child and is thus able to be appropriately flexible in dealing with the child.

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Acknowledgments

This project has been a long time in the making. Although I began to formulate some of these ideas in 1984, after the birth of our daughter Sarah, the issue of breaking past patterns of parenting has been a concern of mine for some time. I am grateful to Dr. Arietta Slade for introducing me to the literature on parenting, for helping to shape my interests, and for helping me to formulate and execute a thesis which really reflected my ideas. Drs. Paul L. Wachtel and Phyllis Ziman-Tobin were helpful in refining this project and ultimately, in making it feasible to do. I also wish to acknowledge Dr. Larry Aber for making the Toddler Center available to us, Dr. Diane Benoit, for resolving some of our coding questions, and Dr. Marc Glassman for his help in statistical analysis.

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My father, Harry Kahn, has supported me throughout this process, and has demonstrated the ability to change, even in his seventies. His friend, Ruth Bowman, has given generously of herself to our family. My parents-in-law, Ruth and Tom Kaufmann, have provided me with models of what good parents can be. My aunt, Joan Nessler, has become a member of our family over the past six years, and has expanded our sense of family continuity. Finally, my friends and fellow dissertation-doers, Iona

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Aibel and Lucy Steig, have been an important source of empathy as we have struggled through this process together.

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Introduction

In the early history of the analytic movement, child analysts such as Anna Freud and Melanie Klein tended to assume that all parenting was "normal", unless it wasn't, in which case it was quickly deemed to be "pathological". The notion of a range of normative parenting--which is what would be expected within a range of different character styles--did not begin to be considered until the early 1970's. However, since that time there has been a surge of interest in the phenomenon of parenting, and within the past twenty years researchers have begun to study patterns of parenting within the normal population. This thesis, which is indebted to the recent wave of interest in parenting, represents an attempt to systematically study normal patterns of parenting.

Not only are there tremendous variations among parents, but the tasks and skills that are required from parents are different, depending on the age and phase that the child is in, as well as on his or her individual temperament. This study is about normative parenting during the toddler period, which is a time that is notorious for its degree of difficulty and demandingness. As toddlers begin to walk and to talk they are less predictable in terms of their basic needs (sleep, food, cuddling), and they are more able to articulate what <u>they</u> want. At times they seem needy and regressed, and sometimes they seem to be impervious to their surroundings. At other times they can be quite aggressive, often with disregard for the other. Their needs fluctuate rapidly. While the toddler period has been written about extensively, the specific nature of the sorts of demands that are placed on mothers during this period has remained more elusive. Furthermore, since different theorists emphasize different aspects of the toddler period, their view of how the mother should be differs according to their view of the toddler's developmental needs.

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This dissertation will examine the relationship between two groups of mothers and their awareness of their own affective states and the affective states of their young toddlers. These mothers come from the general population. All of them sent their children to a private toddler program in a university setting, and all of them would be considered "good enough" mothers in the sense in which Winnicott posited the term. The major emphasis of this study is on two particular affective states that characterize the toddler period: aggression and neediness. We will look at instances in which the mother's aggression is aroused, and we will evaluate how aware she is of feeling angry, and whether she is able to modulate the anger she directs to her child. We will also look at the mother's ability to recognize and articulate feelings of neediness which she might experience, and at her capacity to respond to her child's needs, some of which may be expressed by the child, and others which must be intuited by the mother. We will look at the different patterns that emerged between the two maternal groups.

The literature review begins with an overview of how the toddler has been understood by different psychoanalytic and object relations theorists. The major contributors to this section are Kohut, Winnicott and Mahler, who each stress different aspects of the toddler's developmental struggles. For example, Kohut emphasizes the emergence of the grandiose self, and believes toddlers are struggling with issues related to self esteem. Winnicott emphasizes the toddler's struggle to integrate "good" and "bad" aspects of the self and the object, and Mahler highlights the toddler's struggle to separate and to individuate from the mother. In each case we will review how these different theorists understand the toddler period, and given this understanding, what they would say about the different maternal tasks. We will then turn to other psychoanalytic and object relations theorists who have written specifically about

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the process of becoming parents, and what factors are important in being able to separate from one's own parents in order to parent autonomously. Here, we will discuss the contributions of Benedek, Kestenberg, Fraiberg and Blos.

The second part of the literature review will discuss the needs of the toddler from an attachment theory perspective. We will begin with a brief review of the work of Bowlby, the father of attachment theory. Ainsworth is also significant, not only because she studied with Bowlby and was strongly influenced by him, but because she developed a scale to identify quality of attachment in infants that is related to the scale which we used in this study to distinguish between maternal groups. Sroufe, Erickson and Ricks were also influenced by the original attachment theorists, but they made a significant move forward in looking at the relationship between quality of attachment in infancy and maternal sensitivity. Main developed a scale to measure maternal quality of attachment. While she originally used the scale to look at the relationship between infants and mothers, it soon became clear that her scale could stand on its own as a useful tool in rating maternal quality of attachment. This is the scale that was used in the current study. Eichberg moved Main's research forward by getting even stronger results, and Kobak expanded our understanding of different attachment classifications by focusing on how different attachment groups deal with negative affects. This research proved to be extremely important to the current study, in helping us to understand the adaptive significance of the anxiously attached mother's dismissive way of dealing with anger. Finally, this section ends with a brief review of the work of Slade and Aber, who have come to look at parent development as a normative, yet distinct phase in the life of adults. They are responsible for the development of the Parent Development Interview, which was the second instrument used in this study.

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The current study represents an attempt to integrate two very different, yet complementary schools of thought, namely psychoanalytic/object relations theory and attachment theory.

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CHAPTER ONE

Review of the Literature

The Needs of the Toddler and the Maternal Tasks: A Psychoanalytic Perspective.

In psychoanalytic circles, one of the most significant changes to occur in the past fifty years is the deemphasis on Freud's oedipal conflict, and the shift towards an appreciation of the significance of pre-oedipal development. It is now generally accepted that early trauma is profound, and must be understood independently of oedipal phenomena. Three significant contributors to our understanding of the pre-oedipal period are Kohut, Winnicott and Mahler, who each wrote extensively about the period in the life of the child known as the toddler period. We will now review the assumptions that each of these psychoanalysts made about the psychological struggles of the toddler. Although each theorist did not always spell out how the mother should optimally respond to her toddler, we will make inferences about how each of these writers understood the maternal task.

Heinz Kohut believes that the key factor in good parenting is the ability of the parent to respond appropriately to the child in terms of an empathic understanding of the child and how they experience their world. Normal development will proceed as long as the parent conveys an empathic understanding to the child. It does not matter if the child's drive-derived needs are not always satisfied. Conversely, Kohut maintains that interferences in

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normal developmental progression will occur if parents consistently fail to understand their child's experience.

As Kohut evolved his theory of self-development, he presented development as involving the unfolding of three developmental lines--the grandiose self, the idealized parent imago and the twinship or alter-ego imago--which culminate in the formation of psychic structure, or Kohut's "bipolar self" (Kohut, 1977, 1984). The quality of parental responsiveness determines whether individuals are able to transform their experience of interaction with their parents into reliable psychic structure or whether they are arrested in the process of structure formation and develop psychopathology which reflects structural deficits. While Kohut stresses the determining importance of parental responsiveness, he does not expect the empathic parent to be perfectly in tune and responsive all the time. Rather, he sees deviations from perfect gratification as being inevitable and growth promoting. Kohut views frustrations and disappointments that occur within the context of a parent who usually meets and understands the childs' needs as "optimal frustrations". They are optimal because they promote differentiation from the parent and help the child to internalize the parent's temporarily lost regulatory functions.

According to Kohut, the developmental line of the grandiose self emerges first. Ideally, young children display their talents and ambitions to their parents in unrealistic, but phase-appropriate ways. The parents respond with an appreciative "gleam in the eye" which enables children to gradually modulate and transform their strivings into realistic ambitions which become a basis for motivation and healthy self-esteem. However, if parents fail to offer this "mirroring" or if they devalue their children's grandiose self-display, the parents will injure their children's sense of self. Their grandiose strivings will be split off and will remain unaltered in their primitive archaic form.

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Consequently, the individuals will grow up feeling chronically inferior, failing to appreciate their actual accomplishments, while driving themselves unrelentlessly to succeed.

In Kohut's view, the next developmental line to become salient for children is the idealized parent imago. Children attribute all qualities which are good and perfect to the parents, and frequently to the father. In optimal circumstances, parents accept their children's unrealistic idealization and help them to gradually come to terms with their parents' limitations. As parents facilitate this process of optimum disillusionment, children identify with the lost image of the perfect parent and form their own ideals which become their guiding values. If however, idealized parents fail to accept the idealization or confront their children with sudden or total disappointments, children will become traumatized. They will retain the idealized object-representation in its initial, personified form instead of transforming it into a depersonified structure of guiding ideals. The individuals then seek external objects who they hope will live up to this idealized image. When these all-empowered external objects inevitably disappoint them, they feel empty and worthless once again.

Kohut came to theorize that children also need the experience of "twinship" in later childhood, of having someone who they perceive is like them and who will share in their pursuit of common interests and development of personal skills and talents (Kohut, 1984). Ideally, the same-sex parent or parent surrogate perceives this need and provides them with this experience so that children come to appreciate and value their interests, talents and skills. If however, the assigned parent or parent surrogate fails to join with their children as they exercise their talents and skills, then the individuals have difficulty valuing their abilities and developing the internal structures which will enable them to enact their talents and skills with confidence. Instead, these individuals

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seek new "twins" or "alter-egos" who are chosen to bolster their belief in their own interests and abilities.

In writing about development, Kohut emphasizes that parents should be particularly attentive to the narcissistic or self-esteem needs of their children. He has made an important contribution in delineating how parents need to provide their developing children with "mirroring" and with opportunities for idealization and twinship which will enable them to maintain self-esteem and self-cohesion. Perhaps most important though is how much Kohut stresses that good parents are empathic--they relate to their children predominantly out of an understanding of their children's experience.

D.W. Winnicott (Winnicott, 1965, 1975) differs from Kohut in that he has a more interactive position, initially stressing the role of the environment and then placing a greater emphasis on aggression. Mothers need to be "good enough" during infancy in order to allow infants to move from absolute to relative dependence. They can then experience impulses as their own, as they separate off the "not me" from the "me". Young children have a clear sense of their own "body ego" and know that it exists within the parameters of their own body, with their skin as the limiting membrane. Toddlers who have achieved this level of "ego integration" are able to "go on being". They can experience id-drives and id-satisfactions in highly personal, subjective ways. In addition, they are now are capable of seeking out id gratificatons.

During the stage of relative dependence children experience "ruthless love" for their mothers, consisting of initial love impulses mixed with primitive expressions of aggression. In the beginning, this aggression may be little more than the infant's motility, but later on it may consist of more purposive biting, chewing, kicking and the like. Children may fantasize eating or devouring the

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object, or part-object. Their love is called ruthless because they are unconcerned with what may happen to their love objects, who they do not even view as the recipients of their aggression. Children see the breasts they are attacking as "part-objects", and lack the awareness that these breasts belong to their mothers.

As children develop more complex ego organizations, they realize that the breast they have experienced so excitedly--with love and aggressive impulses mixed together--actually belongs to the mother. The realization that this object is the mother, who the child truly cares about, sets the stage for the transition from "ruthless love" to the "stage of ruth". Children feel guilty for experiencing aggressive feelings towards their mothers, and worry about hurting them. It is important for mothers to survive their children's aggression without retaliating. Mothers can help their children see that their destructive ideas and impulses are normative and acceptable. It is also important for mothers to remain physically and emotionally available. Their continued presence as well as their benevolent attitude helps children to hold onto their thoughts and feelings without needing to push them out of consciousness, or displace them. Once children are able to hold onto contradictory feelings of love and hate, they will feel guilty and will attempt to make reparation with their mothers. If these restorative efforts are accepted, then children will be aided in their ability to come to terms with their guilt feelings.

Winnicott believes that children who are capable of feeling guilty in the "Stage of Concern" and of being able to make reparation with their mothers will be able to integrate their good and bad feelings. They will have less of a tendency to use splitting than individuals who cannot integrate their feelings, and they will have "high level" relationships characterized by ambivalence and concern for the object. They will also be able to maintain their aggression as

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something that can be integrated with sexual impulses and directed towards a single object. Winnicott believes that aggression is a central component of love, and that children must come to terms with their own aggression. It is only through the acceptance of their destructive fantasies and activities that children can come to terms with their ambivalence and learn to love. The mother must be in touch with her own aggression in order to accept the aggression in her child.

Margaret Mahler was influenced by Winnicott, and studied his concept of the "good enough mother" in her research at the Masters Children's Center. Working with young children and their mothers, Mahler found tremendous variation in the "ordinary devoted mother". Mahler and her colleagues (Mahler, Pine and Bergman, 1975) characterize the period of time between four and thirty-six months as the "separation-individuation phase", and believe that toddlers are struggling to become separate, independent individuals from their mothers. At the same time, mothers are also struggling with wishes to have their children be dependent and "symbiotic" vs. desires to have their children be independent and autonomous. In optimal circumstances, mothers will be <u>flexible</u> in their ability to allow the child to come and go, and will be available when she is needed. This flexibility enables children to separate in their own way, and at their own pace. Young children can then use their mothers as auxiliary egos, or secure bases from which they can explore the world. However, mothers are often not able to be flexible in their emotional availability, and may have strong wishes to have their children remain "symbiotic" beyond the stage where this would be appropriate or they may push their children towards independence before they are ready. Mothers' inability to remain flexible in their emotional availability to their children may interfere with her

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childrens' progression through the stages of separation and individuation, so that the children will not be able to form and consolidate their individual identities. Interferences in these initial phases may set the stage for lifelong difficulties in the child's ability to separate from others, to retain self and object constancy or to neutralize aggressive energy.

Mahler conceptualizes the "separation-individuation" phase as consisting of four subphases: differentiation, practicing, rapprochement and "on the way to libidinal object constancy". Practicing is characterized by the affect of joy, as junior toddlers delight in their burgeoning autonomous ego functions. Toddlers learn to walk during this subphase, and Mahler points out that the infant's first steps are usually away from the mother. Young children are so enamored of their own abilities that they seem to turn their backs on their mothers, as if they do not need them any more. They experience "the world as their oyster", and appear to be at the "peak of their narcissism". Mahler believes the optimal parental response is delight with children's increased functioning and self-directed libidinal cathexis, and pleasure that the child is becoming a separate "object" who will soon be able to make his or her needs clear. Ideally, mothers should be able to respect their children's accomplishments and to tolerate the loss of the symbiotic tie. When mothers are in the same room as their children, optimal attention is "constant fluctuating attention", or attunement from a distance. Ideally, mothers will stay in "distance contact" with their children, so that they can provide "emotional refueling" when their child seems low. Children can then retain delight in their autonomous functioning, secure in the knowledge that mother is benign, and that she is there when needed.

When parents are not able to remain attentive to their children, or if they denigrate their accomplishments, then toddlers will spend so much energy trying to maintain contact with their mothers that they will not have enough free

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energy left over for the sphere of autonomous ego functioning. They will feel badly about themselves because they have lost acceptance or love from their mothers, and consequently, they will have less energy left over for the sphere of autonomous ego functioning. In later years, they may come to feel that they cannot be appreciated as individuals.

The next subphase of separation-individuation is rapprochement, and this subphase differs markedly from practicing in that toddlers now seem to remember the lost mother. This phase is set in motion by cognitive as well as emotional developments as children realize they are separate beings from their mother. This realization is frightening for children and the period is characterized by stormy vacillations between the toddlers' wish to be by themselves and maintain a libidinal tie to mother. At times they become preoccupied with the whereabouts of their mothers. Although mothers may welcome the change from practicing--in that rapprochement seems like a time of renewed intimacy--the challenge for mothers is that their toddlers' needs are constantly changing, almost from minute to minute. When mothers are able to remain emotionally constant, children can internalize a positively cathected image of the mother. The child will be able to hold onto this image later on, when the mother is not available or when the child is upset or angry with mother. The child's positive libidinal tie to the mother will help the child to neutralize aggressive energy.

When mothers are not able to remain emotionally available in response to the child's changing needs, then the child is not able to hold onto a positive, benign image of the mother and sees her in a more fragmented way. When she is there, the child may have an idealized, unrealistic view of her and when she is absent, the child may see his or her mother as an evil, persecutory object. The child splits the representation of his or her mother into "good images" and

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"bad images", and cannot see them both simultaneously. The child's aggression towards mother gets split off, and becomes quite frightening to the child as it is deemed unacceptable. This makes the attainment of the last subphase of separation-individuation, "on the way to libidinal object constancy", much more difficult as the individual is not able to hold onto a positively cathected image of the loved object. The child cannot integrate good and bad images of the object, and aggression predominates over libido. In rapprochement, certain symptomatic behaviors that suggest the child is struggling to hold onto a positive image of the mother are "shadowing" and "darting away". Children who "shadow" their mothers are excessively concerned with their mother's whereabouts. Children who "dart away" sometimes find themselves in dangerous, precarious situations, the intent of which is to provoke their mothers to run after them. "Shadowing" and "darting away" reflect opposite polarities on the same continuum, and in both cases, toddlers are trying to tell their mothers that their need for her increased involvement is greater than she realizes.

In their discussion of why some mothers are not able to provide the sort of flexible emotional availability that their toddlers need, Mahler and her colleagues (Mahler, Pine and Bergman, 1970) speculate about the meaning of different maturational phases to mothers. Each phase may trigger something different and specific in mothers' parenting which effects how they respond to their toddler's drive towards individuation. For example, some mothers have difficulty with symbiosis because they are frightened of harming their fragile and dependent infants. These mothers tend to do better when their child begins to differentiate, and they may feel relieved as the child becomes more independent. Other mothers may prefer the symbiotic period because the absence of clear-cut cues from the infant enables them to live out a symbiotic

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fantasy without having to take the actual needs of her child into account. The mother may become depressed as her child becomes less needy, and may shift her attention away from the child. During practicing, mothers have to be able to tolerate the relative loss of the dependent object, as well as the child's apparent indifference to the mother. This may pose problems for mothers who need to be affirmed by their children's dependence on them. Rapprochement may be difficult for mothers with rigid character styles, since they need to switch gears from the previous subphase of practicing, and be sensitive to their children's increased needs. In addition, this period can be confusing since mothers have to cope with such rapid fluctuations in their children.

Not only is the infant moving towards individuation, but the mother is also growing in relation to her child. Children have different meanings for their mothers, and the particular meaning the child has will help to determine the mother's ability to respond appropriately to her child. It is important to understand the meaning the child has for the mother.

Staying within a psychoanalytic framework, we are now going to switch our focus from the toddler to the mother. The theorists that we will be discussing here-Therese Benedek, Judith Kestenberg, Selma Fraiberg and Peter Blos Jr.- are focusing on the maternal factors which they see as being important in being good parents. Benedek stresses self-awareness as well as an ability to reflect on the meaning of the child, Kestenberg stresses being able to change in relationship to the child's changing identity, Fraiberg emphasizes being able to remember the past--not only in terms of what happened, but also in terms of how one felt at the time, and Blos underscores the significance of separating from one's own parents before becoming a parent. He feels that it is important to see one's children as they are, and not to use them to get something from

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them that one didn't get from one's own parents. Although none of these theorists are focusing on the toddler period per se, their ideas are applicable to this period. All of these theorists emphasize accessibility to the past and to one's inner experience, accomodation to the child and flexibility in dealing with the child.

Benedek sees parenthood as a time of change which can lead to increased ego organization (Benedek, 1959, 1970). It is a developmental stage which parallels, yet is different than the child's development. Through the experience of growing with their children, parents rework prior conflicts, and reach new levels of psychological integration. The mother relives her own childhood through an identification with her child, yet, because of the self confidence she has developed in her mothering, can respond in more adaptive ways than her mother did to her. Benedek believes that this process of change occurs spontaneously and naturally, except when the ego organization of the mother is too "immature".

In considering the particular factors that enable the mother to change and rework prior conflicts, Benedek stresses the importance of the mother's self-awareness. The deeper the level of her self-awareness, the more she will be able to change. For example, Benedek believes the mother sees her child as the "needed, loved and hated object" of her own past. It is important for her to understand who the child represents, and by doing this, mothers will be better able to sort out to what extent their responses are to their own children, and to what extent they are reactive to something from their past. It is also important for mothers to have some insight into conflictual periods in their own childhoods. Benedek believes that all parents have an unconscious awareness of this conflict, and that they become anxious about their ability to respond

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appropriately as their children move closer to the phase in their own life where this conflict took place. The more aware parents are of the nature of this conflict, the better they will be able to respond in adaptive ways to their children, rather than reenacting their own difficulties.

Benedek has a stage theory in which she conceptualizes parenthood as a lifelong process consisting of early, middle and late parenthood. Early parenthood is set in motion by the mother's conception and extends through the development of her child's sexual maturity. Pregnancy activates biological, physiological processes which call for psychological adjustments. When all goes well, mothers move from being children in relation to their own mothers to mothers in relationship to their children. It is important that mothers make this transition and develop independent object relationships with their children, respectful of their children's uniqueness. When the mother is not able to do this, she will only be able to care for her child biologically, and will not be able to care for her child beyond the infantile state of absolute dependency. As the child becomes more of a separate person, the mother will need to replace her child, either with another dependent infant or with something else over which she can exert authoritarian control.

Kestenberg addresses the issue of what allows parents to be flexible enough to respond to the actual child rather than to archetypal images from the parents' past (Kestenberg, 1970). She believes parents must change in relationship to their children's changing identity. Parents have an inner preparedness to meet their children's maturational advances which is based on memory traces of similar childhood states and is revived through closeness to their children and identification with them. Parents regress and progress with their children to a certain extent, but their regression is held in check by their

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ability to maintain their identity as parents, and their empathic understanding is tempered by knowledge, foresight, and the stability which comes from the constancy of adult object relationships.

Fraiberg believes the way in which mothers come to terms with problematic relationships with their own mothers depends on their ability to remember the past, and not to dismiss it or repress it (Fraiberg, 1980). A person's past history in and of itself is not the primary factor which predicts the sort of mother they will be since, "We have all known young parents who have suffered poverty, brutality, death, desertion, and sometimes the full gamut of childhood horrors, who do not inflict pain upon their children". Fraiberg says history is not destiny, and there are other factors in the psychological experience of the past which determine repetition in the present.

In considering those factors, Fraiberg stresses the significance of being able to remember the past along with the accompanying feeling states. She concludes that memory alone is not enough, because it is possible to remember what happened in a cold, clinical way, while cutting off the feelings that accompanied the pain. In fact, this is very often the phenomenon which leads to "identification with the aggressor". In thinking about cases in which this defense was a central mechanism in pathological parenting, Fraiberg says many of these individuals had vivid memories of the past. She writes, "memory for the events of childhood abuse, tyranny, and desertion was available in explicit and chilling detail. What was not remembered was the associated affective experience."

The factor which will both prevent a mother from repetition in the present and will lead to a time of renewal is being able to remember what actually happened in the past along with the accompanying feelings. Parents who have

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lived tormented childhoods but do not inflict pain upon their children are able to say--either explicitly, or in effect, "I remember what it was like....I remember how I cried when they took me and my sister away to live in that home....I would never let my child go through what I went through." Fraiberg believes that many people are motivated to give their child better opportunities than they themselves had, and are able to do this. The key to making the difference is for mothers to be able to remember how they felt when they were young. Fraiberg writes, "Our hypothesis is that access to childhood pain becomes a powerful deterrent against repetition in parenting, while repression and isolation of painful affect provide the psychological requirements for identification with the betrayors and the aggressors."

Peter Blos Jr. (1985) suggests that separation and individuation is a lifelong process that is sometimes reworked in motherhood, with children substituting for the original maternal objects. Here, Blos is adding to the work of Mahler and Peter Blos, who proposed that adolescence should be looked at as a second individuation process. Blos Sr. (1967) has written that the psychological task of adolescence is to relinquish the ties to the "infantile internalized objects" and that when this has been achieved the individuals will have consolidated their sense of individuality, psychic autonomy, responsibility and purposiveness in life. However, the failure to successfully individuate in adolescence leads to a prolongation of adolescence along with unrealistic dreams and an inability to function autonomously from childhood parental imagos.

Blos Jr. believes that women who are not able to successfully individuate during adolescence often enter into motherhood with competitive feelings in relation to their own mothers--"I will be a better mother than she was". There is

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often an unspoken, unrealized sentiment which is: "And for which I hate her". In such cases, when mothers have not worked through their feelings for their own mothers and are using their relationships with their children to make up for deficits in their own lives, it is often difficult for mothers to have difficulty seeing their children clearly. In a poignant clinical example, Blos (1985) shows that despite a clearly expressed wish to be a good mother, Mrs. A. got angry at her daughter for not appreciating her efforts to satisfy her or make her happy, just as she was angry at her mother for being unappreciative and ungiving. Mrs. A. became jealous of the attention she was giving her daughter and began to see her child both as the mother who did not care for her as well as the rival who received the attention which she wanted.

Blos does not believe it is unusual for young mothers to experience intergenerational confusion in relationship to their small children but he is very enthusiastic about the maternal readiness to make adaptive changes through mother-infant psychotherapy. Expanding on the work of Benedek, Blos believes there is a loosening of defenses and a plasticity which begins during pregnancy and extends beyond the delivery to about eighteen months postpartum. During this period striking gains can be made through psychotherapy, and they can be made with a rapidity that is entirely unlike the timetable of conventional psychotherapy. It is often necessary to consolidate the gains that are made during this time frame through extended psychotherapy; however, pregnancy and the postpartum period provide the basis for a powerful reorganization of psychic structure. Blos believes the extent of these changes is unprecedented in the ordinary psychotherapy situation.

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The Needs of the Toddler, Maternal Sensitivity and other Issues Involved in Parent Development: An Attachment Theory Perspective.

The fundamental tenet of attachment theory is that human beings, like other animals, are born with the propensity to display attachment behaviors. Attachment behaviors promote proximity to the central caregiver, especially in times of stress. It is only when the caregiver is consistently unresponsive that the young child will not attach themselves to the caregiver. Attachment theory is different from psychoanalytic theory in that it does not posit drives as being the central, moving force of the human organism. The theory is both more environmental and more deeply rooted in ethology. This section will begin with a discussion of Bowlby and Ainsworth. John Bowlby is a psychoanalyst whose interests broadened to ethology and biology over the course of his career. This led to the development of attachment theory. Mary Ainsworth was his student, and worked closely with him before developing the Strange Situation paradigm.

Bowlby (1979) believes that infants have relatively stable "behavioral systems" that operate to promote proximity to caregivers, and this behavior is activated when young children feel that they are not in close enough contact to their caregivers. Young children build "working models" of their attachment relations in the first three or four years of life. These models include predictable outcomes of varying attachment behaviors. "Signalling behaviors" such as crying, smiling and calling are used to attract principal caregivers, and these behaviors activate complementary behavioral systems in adults.

In his trilogy Attachment (1969), Separation (1973) and Loss (1982), Bowlby has studied children's responses to loss and to separations from their mothers and/or principal caregivers. He distinguishes between "brief" and

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"major" separations in terms of their effects on young children. Brief separations are not problematic, and if they are handled well, they can help to facilitate adaptive attachment behaviors. These sort of separations take place in routine, systematic ways within the context of familiar home environments--for example, a working mother who has a regular caretaker come to her home each day. Young children distinguish between principal caretakers even though they enact attachment behaviors with all of their caretakers. In Bowlby's view, infants need to have confidence in their mother's accessibility and responsiveness. Bowlby believes that children's need to attach themselves is so great that they will even attach themselves to inconsistent caregivers. It is only in extreme circumstances when adults are so disturbed that they are not able to display caretaking behaviors at all that young children will not be able to adapt themselves to them.

Ainsworth (1969, 1978) reasoned that since children are attached to their mothers in different ways, these differences in attachment must be reflective of differences in the ways they are treated by their mothers. Ainsworth and her colleagues set out to study mother-infant dyads in their naturalistic environment, the home, where they carefully recorded everything they observed. Based on these observations, Ainsworth designed a paradigm which she termed the Strange Situation. The paradigm consists of eight short episodes in which infants play with toys in a room with their mother and a "stranger", with their mother alone and with a "stranger" alone. When the infants reached their first birthdays, Ainsworth asked the mother-infant pairs to come into the university setting, where the Strange Situation was administered. These episodes were recorded on videotape. In examining differences in the ways in which infants are attached to their mothers, Ainsworth realized that there are infinite amounts

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of individual differences between infants, so that more can be learned by studying patterns of differences and similarities. After classifying and reclassifying patterns of behavior, Ainsworth realized that the most dramatic sorts of differences that emerged were those that took place after children had been separated from their mothers. Reunion behaviors differed considerably, and three broad patterns of differences emerged.

"Securely attached" infants (pattern B) are upset when their mothers leave and approach them when they return, either by clinging or in seeking to be picked up. These infants go to their mothers when they are upset, and are quickly comforted by them. After a brief contact with their mothers, "B" infants resume interest in their play. They use their mothers as secure bases which anchor them, yet provide them with the freedom and flexibility with which to explore the world, so that they are able to achieve a balance between attachment and exploration.

"Anxiously attached" infants fall into two distinct groups: "anxious avoidant" (pattern A) and "anxious resistant" (pattern C). "A" infants do not cry much when their mothers leave and do not approach them when they return. These infants are unable to be comforted by their mothers, and cannot use them as secure bases from which they can explore the world. Rather than achieving a balance between attachment and exploration, "A" infants explore at the expense of attachment. When they do attempt to approach their mothers, they are unable to complete their actions. For example, they may follow their mothers out of the room, but will then halt and veer in another direction. When they do make contact, it is not with their mother's entire body, but rather with a peripheral part of her body, such as a hand or a foot. "A" infants are unable to relax or to mold to their mothers' bodies, and want to be put down again. Then, once they are put down, they want to be picked back up again. Sometimes, "A"

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babies are friendlier to strangers than they are to their mothers. In general, these infants are prone to angrier behavior than the other groups, yet their anger is often displaced onto inanimate objects. At other times, these infants may hit or bite their mothers, though there will be little or no affect connected with their angry behavior.

"C" infants want a tremendous amount of physical contact with their mothers, and seem resistant and angry when their mothers attempt to get them interested in other things. These babies are upset by separations from their mothers, even though physical contact with their mothers does not provide them with much pleasure. These youngsters are passive in that they do not explore much, and seem to be constantly concerned and preoccupied with their mother's whereabouts.

Since Ainsworth and Wittig published the first account of the Strange Situation in 1969, a tremendous amount of research and criticism has been generated in the field of developmental psychology. Some of the criticism (Lamb et. al., 1984) has been leveled at Ainsworth's results and the methods she used to obtain them. In particular, Michael Lamb has emphasized that Ainsworth's original research was hypothesis-generating rather than hypothesis-testing, and that she did not use independent measures. L.A. Sroufe has done a tremendous amount of research using Ainsworth's Strange Situation paradigm, which has both validated her work, and has carried it forward.

Sroufe's position is that the quality of attachment is dependent upon quality of care. Children are not as resilient as developmental psychologists have posited in the past, and the effects of bad caregiving in early years will manifest themselves in subtle ways--perhaps in the ways in which individuals

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respond to stress, or in the ways in which they, in turn, parent their own children. Sroufe has studied continuity in personality development by looking at the underlying way in which people organize and represent their experiences. He has studied the relationship between attachment classification at twelve months and comparable modes of functioning throughout development. He has also examined the relationship between children's comfort with particular developmental tasks and the corresponding behavior of their caretakers (Sroufe, 1979, 1985). Sroufe underscores the significance of the quality of parenting in early years because he believes that prophylactic, preventative work is crucial and that it deserves public support. While a full review of his work is beyond the scope of this paper, two of his research studies will be cited below.

In a study in which the quality of attachment in infancy was compared with the quality of play and problem-solving behavior at two years of age, it was found that there was a positive relationship between quality of attachment in infancy and competence in the toddler period, as well as a relationship between corresponding maternal sensitivity (Matas, Arend and Sroufe, 1978). That is, mothers who were emotionally responsive to their children's signals in infancy by being quietly available were later able to help facilitate their children's autonomous functioning by giving them a "gentle push towards independence".

In a longitudinal study, a high-risk sample was used to compare the quality of attachment in infancy with behavior problems in preschool (Erickson, Sroufe and Egeland, 1985). Insecure attachment was found to be linked to difficulty with impulse control, aggression, prolonged emotional dependency and extreme difficulty in relating to others. Anxious-avoidant ("A") babies were less confident and had poorer social skills than securely attached children, and

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anxious-resistant ("C") babies were more dependent on teachers and had poorer social skills than securely attached children.

M.F. Erickson et. al. also discovered two other significant groups: securely-attached children who had behavior problems and insecurely-attached children without behavior problems. The researchers found significant differences between these groups in maternal responsiveness. Mothers of securely-attached infants who had behavior problems provided less support and encouragement for their children at 24 months and were less firm and consistent in setting limits with their children at 42 months than mothers of insecurely-attached children who did not have behavior problems. Mothers of children with behavior problems were also less respectful of their children's autonomy, and reported greater feelings of confusion, bewilderment and disorganization than mothers of children without behavior problems.

In her research on attachment, Margaret Ricks has hypothesized that maternal sensitivity should be associated with high self-esteem. A comparison between quality of attachment in infancy and maternal self-esteem and memories of childhood relationships showed that mothers of securely-attached infants had higher self-esteem scores and more positive recollection of childhood relationships with attachment figures and peers than mothers of anxiously-attached infants (Ricks & Noyes, 1982). A follow-up study showed that mothers of anxiously-attached infants had lower self-esteem scores, and were defensive and idealizing of their mothers and fathers. Mothers who reported feeling accepted by their own mothers in childhood had greater feelings of self-worth, and children who were more likely to be rated as securely attached (Ricks, 1983).

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Mothers who reported histories of loss, separation, disruption and rejection in their families of origin, yet who had securely-attached children, appeared to have reworked their own histories of maternal rejection. These mothers had positive self-esteem, stable marriages, supportive husbands and often had strong ties to their husband's families. Some mothers reported that they had been able to forgive their parents. In speculating about why these mothers are able to "break the pattern" (1985), Ricks suggests that change occurs when individuals have significant emotional experiences that disconfirm earlier postulates made about attachment relations. Representational models of self and other can be altered within the context of emotionally corrective experiences in the same relationship over time, strong emotional experiences in a single relationship or repeated experiences in different relationships. There are particular nodal points in which intrapsychic reorganization is most likely to occur, particularly when women give birth and spontaneously begin to think of their hopes and aspirations for their children.

As a student of Ainsworth's, Mary Main received her early training in the Strange Situation paradigm. As her own career developed, Main conducted a longitudinal study at the University of California at Berkeley in which she looked at the relationship between attachment classification in infancy and overall functioning and emotional openness in six-year olds. Main and her colleagues (Main, Kaplan & Cassidy, 1985) found a strong relationship between security of attachment in infancy and emotional openness in six-year olds ($r = .74$, $p < .001$).

In addition to doing a follow-up study, Main decided to talk to the parents of these six-year olds, to see whether they had relationships with their own parents which were similar to the sorts of attachments seen in their children.

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The difficulty in looking at models of attachment in adults is that these models become increasingly representational with the advent of language and more advanced cognitive skills. However, by using a semi-structured instrument which they designed--the Adult Attachment Interview--Main and her colleagues found that they could measure working models of attachment in adults. What had previously been observable by looking at the behavior of children could now be viewed by looking at the language, syntax and thought processes of adults.

The Adult Attachment Interview (George, Kaplan & Main, 1985) is a semi-structured interview which takes approximately an hour to an hour and a half to administer. It is comprised of 18 questions and probes which are designed to capture the way in which the individual represents attachment relations. Subjects are asked about the kind of parenting they had in childhood and the effect this had on them as parents and as people.

First they are asked where they were born, whether they moved around much and what their family did for a living. They are asked to describe their relationship with their parents as a young child, and to back up those descriptions with specific memories. They are then asked to think of five adjectives that reflect their childhood relationships with their parents, and for specific incidents that will support those adjectives. The nature of those early relationships is further probed by questions aimed at memories of early separations, rejections, means of seeking comfort during times of physical injury or emotional upset, and overall feelings of closeness to each parent. In the final section of the interview, parents are asked to explain how they currently understand why their parents acted as they did, and to reflect on how their relationships with their parents have affected their adult personalities and their approach to parenting their own children. Just as Ainsworth was able to

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distinguish three broad patterns in infants, Main identified three comparable categories in adults: secure, anxious-detached and anxious-enmeshed.

Secure: Autonomous with respect to attachment: These adults tend to value attachment relationships, to display a readiness of recollection about the past and to have accurate, nonidealized representations of their parents. Securely-attached mothers and fathers who had unfavorable attachment histories often begin the interviews by placing the past into perspective, and then elaborating on the specific nature of their difficulties, and how they impacted on them. These parents have given a lot of thought to their own histories and had organized this information long before the interview took place.

Anxious: Detached--Dismissing of Attachment: These parents tend to be dismissing, devaluing or cut-off from attachment relationships. They often report very little in terms of their own personal history. It is not unusual for them to present idealized memories of their parents and childhood on the one hand, but to be unable to support those semantic generalizations with specific, episodic memories. Thus, these adults need to idealize the past in order to prevent themselves from experiencing the painful feelings of rejection which they probably experienced in childhood. In their everyday lives these individuals have managed to create an existence in which their intimacy with others and the full impact of attachment relations on them is limited.

Anxious: Enmeshed--Preoccupied with Early Attachments: Enmeshed parents are confused, incoherent and unobjective about their relationships with attachment figures. These individuals often report personal histories which feature a weak parent--generally a mother--who failed to adequately protect them. Unlike the background of the detached parents, the parents of the enmeshed parents were not notably rejecting. For this reason, it is terribly

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difficult for the subjects to describe their parents' weaknesses in a coherent manner. In terms of their current state of mind, these parents tend to be caught up in their relationships with their parents, locked into cycles of forever trying to please them. These parents often appear "weak" or undeveloped because they do not have strong personal identities.

Main's findings are significant because she duplicated in adults what Ainsworth had found in child attachment. The difference is that whereas quality of attachment can be measured in children by looking at objective, observable behavior, quality of attachment in adults can be assessed by looking at the way that parents talk, organize their feelings and remember their past. Furthermore, in her longitudinal study in which Main administered the AAI to the parents of six-year-old children who had been previously classified by the Strange Situation at one-year of age, it was found that these adults' classifications were highly correlated with the sorts of infants they had ("matches" were found 76% of the time). In essence, then, we now have parallel measures for assessing internal models of attachment: the Strange Situation measures internal models in babies and the AAI measures internal models in adults.

Main's study was replicated by Caroline Eichberg, who studied mothers and their children concurrently. In a study in which the quality of maternal attachment was compared with the quality of infant attachment, Eichberg found "matches" 85% of the time; that is, securely-attached infants tended to have secure/autonomous mothers, anxious-avoidant infants tended to have dismissive mothers and anxious-resistant infants tended to have preoccupied mothers (Eichberg, 1987). Not only did Eichberg's findings replicate Main's research, but due to the fact that she was not working with retrospective data, she got an even higher percentage of matches than Main--85% vs. 76%. This

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research underscores the relationship between the way mothers represent their own attachment experiences and the quality of attachment between mother and infant.

Roger Kobak's research further affirmed the validity of the AAI. Kobak (1987) gave the AAI to college freshmen in conjunction with self-report measures and Q-sort peer ratings. He found that subjects rated as "dismissing" reported feeling rejected by mother and unloved as children. They tended to idealize their parents, and had difficulty remembering their childhoods. "Preoccupied" subjects had patterns of role-reversal in childhood, and their transcripts were less coherent than those for "secure" subjects. Subjects rated as "secure" had high ratings on coherency scales and reported feeling loved as children. This group had low ratings for parental idealization. Subjects were more ego-resilient than the anxiously-attached subjects. The dismissing group was seen as the most hostile and the preoccupied group was judged to be anxious.

Kobak believes that different attachment groups regulate their affect in different ways. Securely attached individuals acknowledge feeling distressed and turn to others for support whereas dismissive individuals do not acknowledge stressful feelings and do not turn to others for comfort or support. Alternatively, preoccupied individuals are hypervigilant in sensing feelings of distress but ask for help in dependent or clingy ways which are ultimately unsuccessful in alleviating anxiety or in promoting autonomy and self-confidence.

Kobak likens dismissive adolescents to avoidant infants. Dismissive adolescents are seen as being hostile and subtly negativistic by their peers--and avoidant infants direct their anger towards themselves or inanimate objects

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rather than to their mothers. In addition, these infants avoid their mothers following stressful separations. Kobak believes that both groups use a particular method for regulating negative affects, and that this method is adaptive when viewed from the perspective of the attachment relationship. That is, if the purpose of attachment behavior is to promote proximity to the caregiver, and if the display of negative affects is likely to be met with parental rejection, then it would be adaptive to find alternative control strategies for dealing with negative emotions. Thus, if individuals cut off or minimize negative affects or show them covertly through displacement, then they will not have to jeopardize their significant attachment relationships. Avoidant infants maintain their ties to the object by avoiding their mothers when they are in distress and dismissive, idealizing mothers preserve their parental relationships by regulating and minimizing negative emotions associated with childhood memories.

We are now ready to focus on the contributions of Arietta Slade and Larry Aber. In 1984 Slade & Aber embarked on a long-term research project to study parent development. Aber was Director of the Barnard Toddler Center, which had been set up to conduct research, and consequently was in a unique position to look at the parents of the toddlers who were attending the Center. Slade & Aber were well-versed in Ainsworth's Strange Situation paradigm and Main's Adult Attachment Interview, and they wondered whether it would be possible to use similar methods to study parents' internal representations of their emerging relationships with their young children. They wondered whether parents formed working models of their relationships with their children and if so, how these models differed from and impacted on previous working models. Consequently, Slade, Aber and their colleagues designed the Parent Development Interview (Aber, Slade, Berger, Bresgi & Kaplan, 1985).

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The Parent Development Interview (PDI) is a semi-structured interview which takes between one and two hours to administer. It consists of 45 questions which explore parents' relationships with their children, both in terms of the way they think about and act within the relationship. The three main areas which the interview addresses are the parents' view of their own internal experience within the parenting relationship, their view of the child's experience and their understanding of the dyadic relationship.

The interview begins by asking parents for a physical description of their child. They are then asked about their child's most and least favorite moments during the course of a day, what they like most and least about their child, and how they think their child is similar to and different from themselves and their spouse. They are then asked to choose five adjectives that reflect the relationship between themselves and their child. Subjects are asked to describe a time in the past week when they and their child really "clicked", and of a time when they really were not "clicking". Parents describe themselves as parents, and answer a number of questions which tap into their affective experiences of guilt, anger, neediness etc. Parents are asked about their reactions to many typical toddler situations, such as how they feel when they are not able to attend to their children, and how their children respond. They are asked to describe typical and atypical separation experiences, and are asked for in-depth responses as to how they feel about these situations and how they think their child feels about them. Finally, parents are asked how having a child has changed them, how their experiences with their own parents have effected them, and how those experiences might be impacting on their child.

The PDI gave Slade & Aber a window through which they could view parents' representations of their children. Ainsworth had observed children's

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behavior, Main had studied parents' representations of their own parents, and Slade & Aber were now able to look at parents' representations of their children. Through observing children's behavior and studying attachment on a representational level, reliable assessments could be made regarding children's attachment to their mothers, parents' attachment to their parents, and now, parents' attachment to their children.

The first study which Slade & Aber embarked on was a hypothesis-generating study (1986) in which they compared a small sample of securely-attached ("B") and anxious-avoidant ("A") child attachment classifications with patterns of parenting that emerged on PDIs. They found that what these mothers liked least about their toddlers was their negativism and stubbornness, even though these are typical toddler characteristics, and are even considered to be developmental achievements of the toddler period. Mothers of "B" children differed significantly from mothers of "A" children in their internal, affective experiences and in the way they coped with and responded to their children's affective complexities and contradictory behaviors. Mothers of securely-attached children described experiences of joy and clearly conveyed the premium they placed on intense, highly connected moments between themselves and their children. Mothers of anxious-avoidant children focused on their children's exploration away from them and on visible, tangible evidence of their child's separateness from them. Slade & Aber interpreted these results to mean that "A" mothers did not appreciate their children's underlying needs for affiliation and attachment.

Anger was also seen as being a significant part of the daily experience of parenting even though mothers of children of different attachment classifications had different ways of coping with their angry feelings. Mothers of "B" children experienced their anger directly, and often found ways of communicating this

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anger to their children. However, mothers of "A" children were either unable to acknowledge angry feelings, or experienced them in dissociated, unintegrated ways. Mothers of anxious-avoidant children denied having any angry feelings while mothers of anxious-disorganized children communicated their negative feelings to the interviewer in disorganized ways. Mothers of anxiously-attached children seemed to lack a schema to represent anger, either to themselves or to their children, and consequently externalized and concretized their feelings, so that they experienced their children as being difficult and angry.

Next, Slade and Aber (1987b) compared four pairs of AAI and PDI transcripts to look more closely at the relationship between working models of relationships with parents and children. Two of the mothers were securely attached and the other two were anxiously attached. Although the sample was small, several interesting patterns emerged. Securely-attached mothers presented integrated pictures of complex, yet gratifying relationships with their parents as well as with their children, while anxiously-attached mothers could not remember much about their childhood relationships and had difficulty presenting coherent views of their current relationships with their children. The two groups also differed when they were asked how they wished to be like and unlike their own mothers as parents. Securely-attached mothers knew just how they wanted to be like (and unlike) their mothers; however, anxiously-attached mothers could not answer the question. They became confused and they contradicted themselves. Whereas securely-attached mothers were able to express negative affects towards significant attachment figures, anxiously-attached mothers had difficulty labeling any sort of negative affects. One anxiously-attached mother dismissed her father's beatings as an expression of concern; similiarly, she justified the fact that her son hit and kicked her as indicative of "boredom".

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Once a significant number of PDIs had been collected, Slade & Aber were able to develop a means for scoring the data. Working with two of their graduate students, Slade & Aber modeled their coding system (Slade, Aber, Cohen & Meyer, 1988) on Main's (1985) analytic approach. Structural features of the interview were emphasized. Slade & Aber had also been influenced by the theoretical contributions of Kobak (1987); consequently, they were particularly interested in exploring differential patterns of regulating negative affects. Their aim was to describe qualitative variations along a number of affective dimensions. To begin with, they generated 14 variables which could be scored along five-point scales. Inter-rater reliability was established between two senior and two junior coders.

The establishment of the PDI Coding System cleared the way for the PDI to be put to empirical test. In their first study in which they used the PDI code (Aber, Slade, Cohen & Meyer, 1989), Slade & Aber explored the question of how mothers' internal models of parental relationships effect models of their relationship with their children. In particular, they asked whether there is a one-to-one correspondence between mothers' models of their relationships with their parents and their models of relationships with their children, or whether the uniqueness of the child and their relationship with that child mediates the influence of earlier attachment models.

Slade & Aber used a sample of 32 mothers whose children were attending the Barnard Toddler Center. Although they scored the interviews along 14 dimensions, they found that four of the variables could not be reliably coded. Acceptable levels of reliability were obtained for the remaining variables, which were then pooled into three composite groups: 1) maternal recognition of her own anger, 2) maternal recognition of her child's anger and autonomy, and 3) maternal recognition of parent and child neediness and

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dependency. This pooling together improved the reliability and predictive power of the variables. Slade & Aber correlated these three composite variables with three other parent-child measures: Epstein's Mother-Father-Peer Scale, Pat Crittenden's CARE code and a security of attachment rating based on a modified Strange Situaton (Aber & Baker, 1987).

When mothers of boys and girls were grouped together, only one significant correlation occurred: mothers who idealized their own parents were less likely to recognize their own or their children's feelings of neediness or dependency than mothers who did not idealize their own parents. However, when Slade & Aber analyzed the effect of gender differences, they found several significant correlations. It was clear that maternal recognition of affective experiences was associated with sensitive mothering and secure attachment for mothers of girls, but not for mothers of boys. Slade & Aber interpreted these results to have two significant implications: first, the role of gender must be considered in looking at maternal representational models of the child; and second, that the uniqueness of the child does have a significant impact on mediating the impact of previous representational models.

Statement of Purpose

The literature review has drawn from two theoretical frameworks: psychoanalytic theory and attachment relations. In the first section we saw that the psychoanalysts have focused broadly either on the toddler or on parenthood, but not on the mother of the toddler. In addition, there is disagreement amongst the psychoanalysts in the way they understand the needs of the toddler, so that they necessarily differ in how they view the maternal tasks. The attachment theorists have made significant contributions to our understanding of mothers of toddlers, but for the most part, their focus has been on the quality of attachment.

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Because attachment theory grew out of different assumptions than psychoanalytic theory, attachment theorists do not tend to see the close connection between quality of attachment and psychoanalytic notions. In this thesis, we have attempted to integrate these two theoretical perspectives.

While the AAI makes it possible to look at the way that the mother represents significant attachment relations from her past, the PDI allows us to look directly into the mother's internal experience, and to understand the way she thinks about her toddler. The comparison between the AAI and the PDI enables us to look at the ways in which mothers have come to understand their own experiences of being parented, and to see how this understanding impacts on mothers' perception of themselves and on their children's experiences. Although Slade and Aber did compare AAIs and PDIs in a pilot study (1987b), this was an informal study, and it was conducted before the PDI Coding System (1988) had been developed.

The intention of this study is to look at the relationship between quality of attachment, as measured by the AAI and affective experiences within the parenting relationship, as measured by the PDI. We are hypothesizing that securely attached mothers will be more attuned to their internal, affective states than anxiously attached mothers. We expect that this is true because securely attached mothers tend to know what they are thinking and feeling, and to present their experiences in coherent ways. We are further hypothesizing that securely attached mothers will be more aware of their children's affective experiences than anxiously attached mothers. Our rationale for expecting that this is true is that since securely attached mothers have been found to have accurate, objective and nonidealized views of their parents, we would also expect them to realistically appraise their children. Finally, we are hypothesizing that securely attached mothers will be more aware of the nature

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of the dyadic relationship than anxiously attached mothers. Since securely attached mothers understand the impact of their parents on them, we expect that they, in turn will understand the impact they are having on their children.

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CHAPTER TWO

Methods

Setting.

Both the Adult Attachment and the Parent Development interviews were conducted in the Toddler Center, located in Millbank Hall, on the Barnard College Campus. All of the interviews took place in one of two small, interview rooms. These rooms were furnished with two chairs for the mother and interviewer, separated by a rectangular table.

The Toddler Center is a research nursery with a developmental/psychoanalytic orientation. It is a popular place to send children among parents who live in the Columbia area, both because it is affiliated with Columbia, and because the play group affords children with an opportunity to meet other neighborhood children. The Center is often used as an observational laboratory by undergraduate psychology students at Barnard and Columbia where toddlers are observed and videotaped throughout the year.

The Center is designed to accomodate 24 two-year olds, who meet in two groups of 12 that are matched for age and gender. Play groups meet from 9:30 to 11:45 A.M., two mornings a week. Groups take place in a large, open classroom. One of the "walls" of this room is actually a one-way mirror, which sets off a small waiting area. This space allows mothers to chat informally and to continue to watch their toddlers--should they wish--even after they have said goodbye to them.

Subjects.

The subjects consist of nine white, middle-class mothers from the upper west side who sent their two-year olds to the Toddler Center during the

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1985/1986 school year. The subjects were first- and second-time mothers, from intact marriages, who ranged in age from their late twenties to early forties. All of the subjects were highly educated, and many of them had worked in professional positions before their children were born. About half of the mothers continued to work full-time, and the others had either taken a leave of absence or were working in part-time positions.

All of the subjects were mothers of the 24 children who attended the 1985/1986 class at the Toddler Center. Only ten mothers were able to participate in both interviews, and unfortunately, one of those interviews was lost due to equipment failure. This accounts for the unfortunately small sample size of N=9. Four of the subjects were mothers of boys, and the other five subjects were mothers of girls.

Instruments:

Adult Attachment Interview (AAI):

The Adult Attachment Interview (George, Kaplan & Main, 1985) was administered in order to assess the quality of mothers' internal working models of attachment. On the basis of interview responses, three patterns of attachment classification can be identified: secure, anxious-detached or anxious-enmeshed.

The interviews are scored by using an approach which emphasizes structural features of the interview. Thus, attachment is not determined on the basis of content, but rather on the basis of how adults organize memories and feelings about their experiences. The coherence of the interview is assessed as a whole, with a particular emphasis on the individual's ability to access episodic memories that support semantic descriptions, the value the individual places on attachment relationships, and the degree to which the individual can

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recall, integrate, and communicate their emotional reactions in attachment relevant situations (Slade & Aber, 1986).

The entire interview transcript is read several times, and subjects are rated on five 9-point scales. One of the scales--loving/unloving--refers to the subject's past experience with each parent, and the other scales--coherence/incoherence, idealization of parents, ease of recall for early experiences, and anger experienced toward parents now--reflect the adult's current state of mind with regard to attachment. With these five scale ratings in mind, the rater then considers the "general patterns of experience and state of mind with respect to attachment" (Main & Goldwyn, 1985) that are consistent with each of the three attachment classifications.

Once again, we would like to emphasize that interviews are considered as a whole. While mothers may vary on their scores on each scale, attachment classification is based on a careful assessment of the patterns which emerge. So, for example, a secure mother may have angry or unloving feelings towards one or both of her parents, but she will score high on the coherence scale. She would score low on idealization, and she would probably be able to recall childhood memories with relative ease. On the other hand, an insecure mother's transcript is more likely to be marked by high scores on anger and idealization, and on low scores for ease of memory for childhood. In addition, the transcript is likely to be marked by logical as well as factual contradictions.

Parent Development Interview (PDI):

The Parent Development Interview (Aber, Slade, Berger, Bresgi & Kaplan, 1985) was administered to examine the affective experiences of different "types" of mothers. The PDI consists of 45 questions which are relevant to mothers of toddlers. The interview addresses issues regarding

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parents' view of their relationship with their child, their view of themselves as parents (to this child), their awareness of a range of feelings in the relationship, their feelings about separations from their child and the ways in which they see themselves as being similar to and different from their own parents.

As with the AAI, the PDI is scored (Slade, Aber, Cohen & Meyer, 1988) using an approach which emphasizes a structural analysis of the verbatim transcript as a whole. Transcripts are read several times, and particular issues are evaluated in terms of their overall sense of coherence and consistency. The eleven variables that were considered fall into three main areas, including the mother's view of her own internal experience within the parenting relationship, the child's experience and the dyadic relationship.

Of the eleven variables that were evaluated, eight of them were scored along a five-point linear scale, one was scored on a three-point linear scale, and two were rated on a curvilinear continuum. For the linear scales, a score of five (and in one case three) was considered optimal. The highest scores were given when the coder felt that the mother conveyed full and consistent recognition of her own or her child's experience. Conversely, the lowest scores were given when there was no evidence that the mother recognized her own or her child's experience, or if it was clear that the parent consistently denied her experience. Midpoint scores were given when there was evidence that the mother's experience reached consciousness occasionally, but not consistently. For the two curvilinear items, a score of three was considered to be optimal. This score was given when the coder felt that the parent was able to strike a balance between two extremes. For example, for recognition of the source of her own anger, the mother was evaluated on her ability to strike a balance between blaming external circumstances on the one hand, and blaming the child on the other hand. An optimal score was achieved when the mother was

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able to take both factors into account, and to recognize how they interacted with each other. In this case, the mother might say that her child was being provocative, that she was exhausted and consequently, she finally "lost it".

Although the code has continued to be revised, we will briefly describe the version of the code that was used for this study. For Mother's View of own Experience within the Dyad, five variables were considered. These variables include: 1) Acknowledgment of Anger, 2) Recognition of Source of Anger, 3) Modulation of Anger, 4) Acknowledgement of Neediness and 5) Vividness of Portrayal of Intimate Moments. Variables #1 & 4 were coded along a five-point linear scale, #2 & 3 were coded along a five-point curvilinear scale and #5 was coded on a three-point linear scale. Mother's View of the Child's Experience included four variables: 6) Recognition of Anger, 7) Recognition of Dependency: Pain with Frustrated Dependency Needs, 8) Recognition of Autonomy 1: Need for independent exploration and 9) Recognition of Autonomy 2: Child having Distinct Will. Finally, Mother's View of the Dyadic Relationship included two variables: 10) Recognition of the Importance of her Effect and 11) Level of Differentiation. Variables #6-11 were all coded on a five-point linear scale.

For more complete information regarding both instruments, please refer to the three appendices. Appendix A presents the AAI, Appendix B portrays the PDI and Appendix C is of the PDI Scoring System.

Procedures.

Parent Development Interview:

The PDI was given to all of the subjects in our study. These interviews were administered by five specially trained graduate psychology students.

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Parents were notified that their children had been accepted to the Toddler Center in the spring of 1985. After the make-up of the incoming class had been determined, all of the 24 mothers whose children would be attending the Toddler Center were invited to participate in our study. Mothers were sent a letter welcoming them to the Toddler Center, and asking them whether they would be interested in participating in a project which involved interviewing parents of children attending the Toddler Center. The letter stated that the goal of the project was to learn more about the emotional experience of being the parent of a toddler.

All of the PDIs were administered in the late spring and summer. The Toddler Center was not in session when these interviews took place, and toddlers were not present with their mothers. Mothers were offered coffee or tea and every effort was made to help them relax. Many of the mothers seemed to enjoy having some "free" time away from their youngsters. Since their children had not yet been to the Toddler Center, they appeared to appreciate the opportunity to get a "feel" for the center. Informed consent was obtained at the time of the testing.

The PDI transcripts were scored by two senior raters as well as by two junior raters. For our statistical analysis, we averaged in two separate scores. Whenever possible, we used the scores of the senior raters.

Adult Attachment Interview:

The AAI was given to all of the subjects in our study. These interviews were given by three clinical psychology students, who were specially trained in their administration by Slade and Aber. Slade and Aber were both personally trained by Main in a two-week training session, and in turn, they have trained a number of students, both in administering and in rating the interview.

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The AAIs were administered six months after the PDIs had been given, during the winter of 1985-1986. First, mothers were sent a letter describing the AAI, and then they were contacted by the interviewers. Mothers were interviewed in January when the Center was not in session, and their children were not present during the interviews. Every effort was made to ensure the mothers' comfort. As with the PDI, informed consent was obtained at the time of testing.

All interviews were taped on Sony recorders. To ensure that we would have "clean" recordings, the mothers wore special microphones that fed directly into the tape recorders. The AAI transcripts were scored by two members of a research team that was led by Dr. Slade. Each transcript was coded by two raters who have achieved high inter-rater reliability on this measure. For seven out of the nine subjects, both raters were in full accord. The ratings for the other two transcripts were resolved by an expert coder, Dr. Diane Benoit.

The breakdown of the subjects included five secure mothers, three anxious-detached mothers and one anxious-enmeshed mother. Because the sample size was too small to distinguish meaningfully between the two groups of anxious mothers, anxious-detached and anxious-enmeshed mothers were combined into one overall anxious group.

Data analysis.

The data will be analyzed in two ways: first, in a quantitative analysis and then in a more in-depth qualitative analysis. In the quantitative analysis, a statistical approach will be used to examine the relationship between maternal attachment classification and variability on the Parent Development Interview. The qualitative analysis will be conducted in order to elaborate on the statistical findings. This approach will provide a more in-depth, clinical understanding of

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the differences between an anxiously- and a securely-attached mother in their approaches to parenting.

In our Results Chapter, we will be looking at these three categories, as well as at each specific variable. The reason for this is that we would lose valuable information if we confined ourselves to looking at the three categorical headings.

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CHAPTER THREE

Results

Quantitative Findings

Eleven PDI variables were correlated with two adult attachment (AAI) classifications, secure or anxious. Each PDI variable was coded by two raters, and their scores were averaged together before being correlated with the AAI classifications. A separate statistical analysis shows the strength of the interrater reliability. As can be seen from table #1, acceptable levels of reliability ($r \geq .70$) were obtained for only four out of eleven variables. Three of those variables have to do with the mother's view of her own experience: acknowledgement of anger, recognition of source of anger and modulation of anger, and one of the variables, level of differentiation, has to do with the maternal view of the dyad.

It is important to bear in mind that the low interrater reliability means that these results may or may not be reliable. In a previous study using a larger sample of N=40 (Slade and Aber, 1989) it was found that five other variables--the mother's recognition of the child's anger, recognition of dependency: pain with frustrated dependency needs, recognition of autonomy-1 and autonomy-2 and recognition of the importance of her effect--could also be reliably coded. However, even though more reliable interrater results have been achieved with increased training, only four of eleven variables were reliably coded in this study, and this limits the implications of the results.

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Table #1

Interrater Reliability for the
Parent Development Interview Variables

I. Mother's view of own experience:	r:
1. Acknowledgement of anger	.93
2. Recognition of source of anger	.84
3. Modulation of anger	.78
4. Acknowledgement of neediness	.58
5. Vividness of portrayal of intimate moments	.69
II. Mother's view of child's experience:	
6. Recognition of anger	.33
7. Recognition of dependency: pain with frustrated dependency needs	.62
8. Recognition of autonomy-1: need for independent exploration	.30
9. Recognition of autonomy-2: child having distinct will	.45
III. Mother's view of the dyad:	
10. Recognition of the importance of her effect	.43
11. Level of differentiation	.90

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Because the sample size turned out to be so small (N=9) it cannot be emphasized enough that the findings of the statistical analysis reported in this section must be interpreted as merely suggestive of real group differences. The small sample size makes it prohibitive to do more than speculate about the meaning of these results.

The data were analyzed using a rank sum test. The Mann-Whitney U Test was used in order to overcome some of the difficulties associated with having such small independent sample sizes. In addition, the two groups of anxious mothers were collapsed into one overall anxious category, so that the overall distribution of this sample was 67% Secure (N=6) and 33% Anxious (N=3). Because the sample size was so small, results were considered up to the .10 significance level.

It was predicted that maternal attachment classification would predict differences in the mother's view of her own experience, her child's experience and of the dyadic relationship. Our hypothesis was one-tailed, and it was predicted that secure mothers would be more aware than anxiously attached mothers of their own affective experience, their child's affective experience and of the significance of the mother-child relationship. Eleven PDI variables were correlated with maternal attachment classification. Although each variable has been analyzed independently, the variables are distributed into three subgroups. Five variables are grouped under the Mother's View of her own Experience, four variables are grouped under the Mother's View of her Child's Experience and two variables are included under the mother's View of the Dyad (see table #1).

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Attachment Group Differences on the Mother's View of her Own Experience.

Mann-Whitney U tests were used to compute attachment group differences on five PDI variables which examined the mother's view of her own affective experience within the parenting relationship. For acknowledgment of anger, it was found that the mean ranks of the securely attached mothers were significantly higher at the .01 level than the mean ranks of the anxiously attached mothers. This means that securely attached mothers were more able to acknowledge their anger to themselves than anxiously attached mothers. For recognition of the source of anger, the mean ranks of the securely attached mothers were significantly higher at the .05 level than the mean ranks of the anxiously attached mothers. Securely attached mothers were therefore less likely to blame their child or external circumstances when they felt angry, but rather, were able to recognize that their angry feelings were related to the way in which their child and external circumstances were impacting on each other. For the next variable, modulation of anger, the mean ranks of the securely attached mothers were significantly higher at the .01 level than the mean ranks of the anxiously attached mothers. Variable #4., acknowledgement of neediness, just missed being significant at $p. \leq .05$, and was significant at $p. \leq .10$. For vividness of the portrayal of intimate moments, there was no significant difference between the mean ranks of the securely and anxiously attached mothers.

In summary, there is a significant difference between the ways that secure and anxiously attached mothers represent their own affective experiences within the parenting relationship. Securely attached mothers are more able than anxiously attached mothers to acknowledge, recognize and modulate their angry feelings. Securely attached mothers are also more able to

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acknowledge feeling needy than anxiously attached mothers. Table #2 summarizes these results.

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Table #2

Correlations between

Maternal Attachment Classification and

Parent Development Interview Variables

I. Mother's view of her own experience

Variable	Group	Count	Mean Rank	Z	1-Tailed P
Acknowledgment	Secure	6	6.50	-2.34	.0095***
of anger	Anxious	3	2.00		
Recognition	Secure	6	6.16	-2.00	.0228**
of source of anger	Anxious	3	2.67		
Modulation	Secure	6	6.50	-2.59	.0047***
of anger	Anxious	3	2.00		
Acknowledgment	Secure	6	6.00	-1.58	.0568*
of neediness	Anxious	3	3.00		
Vividness	Secure	6	5.33	-.57	.2819
of portrayal	Anxious	3	4.33		
of intimate moments					

*** p. $\leq$ .01

** p. $\leq$ .05

* p. $\leq$ .10

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Attachment group differences on the Mother's View of her Child's Experience.

Mann-Whitney U tests were used to compute correlations between maternal attachment classification and four PDI variables which examined the mother's view of her child's experience. Securely attached mothers were more able than anxiously attached mothers to recognize their children's anger ($p. \leq .10$). Thus, not only were securely attached mothers more able than anxiously attached mothers to recognize their own anger, but they were also more likely to recognize their child's anger. For recognition of dependency, there was no significant difference between the mean ranks of the securely and anxiously attached mothers. For recognition of autonomy-1, the mean rank scores of the securely attached mothers were significantly lower at the .10 level than the mean rank scores for the anxiously attached mothers. As predicted, the anxiously attached mothers tended to overvalue their children's autonomy, and were more comfortable with their child's need for independent exploration than they were with acknowledging their child's anger. Recognition of autonomy-2 was not found to be significant.

To summarize then, there are significant differences between the ways that secure and anxiously attached mothers understand their children's affective, internal experiences. Securely attached mothers are more comfortable with their children's anger than anxiously attached mothers, and anxiously attached mothers are more likely to value their children's need for independent exploration than securely attached mothers. In fact, anxiously attached mothers have a tendency to overvalue their children's need to explore by themselves. These results are summarized on table #3.

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Table #3

Correlations between
Maternal Attachment Classification and
Parent Development Interview Variables

II. Mother's view of her child's experience

Variable	Group	Count	Mean Rank	Z	1-Tailed P
Recognition of anger	Secure	6	5.92	-1.51	.0654*
	Anxious	3	3.17		
Recognition of dependency	Secure	6	5.75	-1.17	.1197
	Anxious	3	3.50		
Recognition of autonomy-1	Anxious	3	6.67	-1.33	.0907*
	Secure	6	4.17		
Recognition of autonomy-2	Secure	6	5.17	-.27	.3933
	Anxious	3	4.67		

* $p. \leq .10$

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Attachment group differences on the Mother's View of the Dyadic Relationship.

Mann-Whitney U Tests were used to compute mean rank differences between maternal attachment classification and two PDI variables which assessed the mother's view of the mother-child relationship. Securely attached mothers were more able than anxiously attached mothers to recognize the importance of their effect on their child ($p. \leq .10$). Although level of differentiation could be reliably coded, there was no significant difference between the rank mean scores of the secure and anxious groups, indicating that securely attached mothers were not more able to differentiate their own experience from that of their child's. Results are summarized on table #4.

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Table #4

Correlations between
Maternal Attachment Classification and
Parent Development Interview Variables

III. Mother's view of the dyadic relationship

Variable	Group	Count	Mean Rank	Z	1-Tailed P
Recognition of the importance of her effect	Secure	6	5.83	-1.30	.0965*
	Anxious	3	3.33		
Level of differentiation	Secure	5	4.90	-.60	.2731
	Anxious	3	3.83		

* $p \leq .10$

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In summary, the quantitative analysis of the data suggested differences between attachment group membership and variability on the PDI. The most significant differences were found between the ways that secure and anxiously attached mothers represent their own affective experiences. Mothers differed most in their acknowledgement, recognition and modulation of anger. Not only could these variables be reliably coded, but there was also a significant difference between the ways that secure and anxious mothers dealt with anger. Securely attached mothers were more able to acknowledge their anger than anxiously attached mothers. Securely attached mothers were less likely to blame their child or external circumstances for causing them to feel angry than anxiously attached mothers. In addition, securely attached mothers were more able to modulate their anger in their dealings with their children than anxiously attached mothers. There was also found to be a significant difference between the ways that secure and anxiously attached mothers were able to acknowledge feeling needy, such that securely attached mothers were more able to acknowledge needy feelings than anxiously attached mothers.

There were also significant differences between the ways that secure and anxiously attached mothers understood their children's affective experiences. Securely attached mothers were more comfortable with their children's anger than anxiously attached mothers, and they were less likely to place a premium on their children's efforts at independent exploration. Finally, there was a significant difference between the ways that secure and anxiously attached mothers thought about their impact on their children, such that securely attached mothers were more aware of the impact they were having on their children than anxiously attached mothers.

We will now turn to the qualitative results section in order to look more closely at the variables we have just enumerated. Our purpose will be to

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convey a deeper understanding of what these statistical results mean, in a clinical sense.

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Qualitative Findings

Qualitative analysis of the data revealed that the way in which the mother represents her relationship to her toddler, as depicted by the PDI, is correlated in significant ways to her representation of relationships with her parents, as measured by the AAI. Analysis of mothers' responses to questions about the way they understand their children's affective states were similar to memories of early relationships as evoked by the AAI. There was a high degree of correspondence in the ways that memories were organized, the structure of language and the sorts of thoughts and feelings that were evoked. This was also true with regards to fluency of speech, linguistic coherency and factual contradictions. Similar sorts of distortions occurred in relationship to particular kinds of affect.

In order to elucidate the important ways in which anxious and securely attached mothers differ in their representations of attachment relationships with their children, we have chosen to focus on one securely attached and one anxiously attached mother in our discussion. In some respects these mothers will exemplify the differences found between all of the mothers in the sample, and in other ways the differences will be less extreme than the overall differences which were found. In any case, we will take an in-depth look at mothers #203 and #173, and this will serve as a vehicle for us to examine the variables which were found to be significant in the PDI, thereby gaining a greater understanding of what was actually being measured. We will begin with a brief description of these two subjects.

Mother #203 was a 42-year-old woman who had one child, a daughter. She had grown up in the surrounding suburbs of a large urban city. She was from an intact family with a professional father and a nonworking mother. She

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was the oldest of two children, with a brother two years younger than herself. Although she showed compassion in her understanding of her brother, she also saw him as quite disturbed and had opted to cut off ties with him. This college-educated mother had worked in a prestigious position in the sciences before her daughter was born, but had not returned to the work-force since her daughter's birth. Although she was not working, she retained an image of herself as a professional person, and was involved in some part-time activities.

Mother #173 was also a 42-year-old woman, who had one child, a son. She was pregnant with a second child when the AAI interview was administered, although she eventually miscarried. This mother was from a Spanish-speaking country in South America. Although English was not her first language, she was quite comfortable with English. She had been educated in bilingual secondary schools, and had graduated from an American college. Like mother #203, she was also from an intact family. Both of her parents had worked. She had one brother a year older than herself with whom she had infrequent contact. She did some part-time work at home but like #203, she was primarily an at-home mother.

As can be seen, there are some superficial similarities between these two mothers: they both had one child, were 40 years old when they delivered their first child, had brothers close in age with whom they had remote relationships and were not working outside the home. Perhaps of potentially far greater significance, they both described their mothers as being overbearing, narcissistic women who saw their daughters as extensions of themselves. However, their ways of coming to terms with their mothers were entirely different. As we shall see, mother #173 was quite angry at her mother without any awareness of her anger. Mother #203 was also angry with her mother, but

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her awareness of being angry enabled her to come to terms with her mother more effectively, though not completely.

Mother #203 was angry with her mother because she felt that she tried to control her. Her mother had lots of unfulfilled needs and wishes for herself, and she had tried to get her daughter to live out her life and her ambitions for her. Not only was #203 angry with her mother for imposing this agenda on her, but she was also angry with herself for complying with her mother's wishes. It had taken her a long time to rebel, and it was not until she was in her twenties that she was able to have a rebellious adolescence. On the AAI, her anger could be detected both through the quantity of spontaneous angry statements which she made and through a particular linguistic pattern in which she laughed every time she was talking about a conflictual area between herself and her mother. The laughter seemed to reflect a reaction formation and an attempt to make light of the difficulties.

Mother #203 had some awareness that her mother was limited and that was why she had needed to live vicariously through her. In part, she was able to see that her mother's limitations got in the way of her "appropriateness". However, this knowledge was incomplete and it didn't totally cut through her anger. There was still an edge and a level of sarcasm that came through whenever she talked about her mother. In addition, she was so bent on not having her daughter have the same experiences that she had that she encouraged her daughter to disobey her or to act aggressively. She could not see that the circumstances her daughter was growing up under were totally different than the circumstances in which she had grown up.

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Mother #173 was angry with her mother for being critical, perfectionistic, rigid and unbending. She was also angry with her mother for being more lenient with her brother because he was sickly and for not having the same high standards for him that she did for her. On the AAI, her anger was apparent both because of the quantity of angry comments that she made, and because of the quality of her affect. She was cold and detached in her anger towards her mother, as the following example illustrates: "...she's very unbending and...she's not going to change now...I don't confide in her, I'm not terribly warm towards her...and I'm not trying very hard either..."

Although mother #173 had a history of being physically abused by her father, she retained an idealized image of him. One of the hallmarks of an anxious-detached attachment classification is not being able to integrate positive and negative images, and this was exemplified by #173. Not only did her idealized view of her father protect her from the pain he had inflicted on her, but it also seemed related to her anger at her mother. Despite her harsh, angry feelings towards her mother, there was also a vulnerability and a longing for her mother that came through at times. In the following quote she seems to be saying that she wished she had been able to spend more time with her mother, and this might have been possible if her father had been more helpful: "...in South America the men don't do very much and my mother always had something to do while my father...was just available...I didn't get a chance to do much with (my mother)."

Although #173 was aware of having a detached relationship with her mother, she was not able to articulate the extent or the source of her anger. She did not see that she was angry with her mother for not having been more available for her, and there was no conscious awareness of wanting to have a closer relationship with her mother. Her feelings about her father were quite

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the opposite: she totally idealized him and was not aware of having any ambivalent feelings towards him at all. As we will see, this pattern of being unable to recognize angry feelings towards her parents replicated itself in relation to her son. Mother #173 was never able to acknowledge feeling angry with her son and when she did realize that she was angry, she could only blame external circumstances. At times it seemd as if she lost control with her son, but because she was not able to recognize being angry, her outburst seemed to come from out of the blue. Not surprisingly, she was also unable to recognize when her son was feeling angry.

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I. Mother's View of her Own Experience

We will now turn to the individual variables that were found to be significant in the PDI. We will begin with mothers' representation of their own affective experiences. Three variables will address the mother's ability to deal with different aspects of anger; the last variable has to do with the mother's internal experience of being needy.

Acknowledgement of Anger

This variable measures the mother's awareness of feeling angry at her child, and her ability to acknowledge these feelings to herself. Although the differences between mothers #173 and #203 were in the expected direction, they were not as great as the differences which were found in the overall sample ($p. \leq .01$). While #173 was not able to acknowledge her anger at all, and was therefore prototypical of the mothers in the sample, #203 was only able to acknowledge her anger to a moderate degree.

Mother #203 was able to let her angry feelings reach consciousness briefly, but as soon as they did, she would employ defensive processes which prohibited her anger from remaining conscious. The defenses that she used were minimization as a first-tier defense, and then when that no longer seemed to work she would resort to intellectualization. This defensive process is illustrated in the following clinical example in which the subject was briefly able to recognize feeling angry about not being able to console her daughter, but could not stay with this feeling, and rationalized her feelings through minimization and intellectualization.

I: Describe a time in the last week when you and E. really weren't clicking.

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M: ....there was nothing I could do to console her...she was just screaming.... (Minimization): ...when she does cry like that I always worry that maybe she's sick or something hurts... But she was just tired. And it's actually made me think it's better to make sure that she gets a little nap at sometime during the day. You can't force a child to sleep... (Intellectualization): I read in a book somewhere about the disintegration of the ego that occurs when a child, well some kind of disintegration occurs when they you know when they get tired, and they just are over the edge.

As demonstrated in the example above, this subject had a tendency to minimize her angry feelings by focusing on concrete difficulties, like not being able to get her daughter to be still so she could put on her diaper or get her dressed, rather than acknowledging her anger more fully or directly. Another variant of minimization which #203 frequently used was laughter, so that whenever laughter appeared in her transcript it was a tipoff to a conflictual area. This is illustrated in the following example:

I: Okay....do you ever feel really angry as a parent?

M: The only thing that she's done that makes me really angry is, she pulls my hair (minimization) (laughs)....(Intellectualization): Someone told me that kids don't empathize until they're about two and a half....

Even though #203 minimizes and intellectualizes her anger, the defenses she uses are less rigid than the defenses employed by #173, who does not allow her anger to surface at all. It was so difficult for #173 to recognize feeling angry that she resorted to complete denial. For example, when she was asked what it was like when her child refused to do what she

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asked him to do or deliberately provoked her she said, "He doesn't do that". Her level of denial was so extreme, and the defense so brittle that it completely broke down when her anger did surface. Observe what happens in the following clinical example:

I: Okay, describe a time in the last week when T. was being especially aggressive either towards you, a toy or himself.

M: Sometimes I don't know where he'll start, I think when he's bored basically or he'll start hitting me really hard or kicking me he thinks it's a game but it really hurts and (Defenses break down) um, I'm sorry I lost track of the question.

From a clinical viewpoint it seems quite apparent that #173 is very angry with her son, but what the PDI is measuring is her awareness of being angry. Not only did she deny having angry feelings within herself, but she also used other defense mechanisms to keep her anger from surfacing, such as minimization, devaluation, rationalization and displacement. For example, when she was asked how it made her feel when her son threw a temper tantrum, she said:

M: (sighs) (Devaluation): I find it amusing because you know I know exactly why he's doing it. (Minimization): It doesn't bother me, I just think it's part of growing up.

I: What do you do?

M: I try to distract him. He normally is easily distracted and in two minutes he's forgotten it. (Denial and rationalization): Or if it gets bad I just walk away and in a few minutes it's alright.

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The strategies which these two subjects used for dealing with negative affective emotions that got stirred up in relation to their children were directly related to their feelings towards their parents, as measured by the AAI.

Subject #203 talked about her mother a great deal on the AAI, and repeatedly made it clear that she was angry with her mother for controlling her and for acting out of her own narcissistic needs. This mother was trying very hard to ward off an identification with her mother, and did not want to act out of her own needs in relationship to her daughter. However, she was more like her mother than she realized, and on some level, she did want her daughter to be perfect and compliant, but she was ashamed of being like her mother in this way. She coped with this conflictual area by minimizing her feelings of anger towards her daughter. When minimization did not work she employed a higher level defense, intellectualization. However, as we have seen, neither defense really worked because the subject was still only able to acknowledge her angry feelings to a moderate degree.

Subject #173 was also unable to acknowledge feeling angry with her mother, even though it was clear that she was angry with her. Although the AAI was replete with statements which belied her anger towards her mother for being controlling, critical and unavailable, when she was asked whether there were any aspects to her early experiences that she felt were developmental setbacks she said, "No, they...made things easy for us...and I always felt that I could get whatever I wanted and I never really had to work too hard to get it, you know I always expected things to happen for me and they did and it was just luck..." Similarly, even though she described times that her father beat her with a belt and left welt marks, she claimed that she never worried that her father's anger would "get out of hand".

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This subject is prototypical of an anxious detached mother in her inability to integrate her angry feelings towards either of her parents, so that the reader is struck by the linguistic incoherency and the logical contradictions in the interview. This is exactly the same feeling that is evoked in the reader when the subject says that on the one hand her son never provoked her and then proceeded to describe ways in which he deliberately hit and kicked her. Just as she was not able to pull together her contradictory feelings towards her parents, she also was not able to integrate her angry feelings towards her son. She denied having any angry feelings, but the picture the reader was left with was one in which her anger was frequently aroused so that she often acted quite sadistically, with practically no awareness.

Recognition of Source of Anger

This variable rates mothers on their ability to discern where their anger is coming from. Since this is a curvilinear variable, a high score (3) indicates that the subject is able to enumerate a number of factors that may be interacting with each other. Scores at either extreme (1 or 5) indicate that the mother needs to pin blame either entirely on her child or entirely on something else. In the case of a score of 1, the subject seems to be saying "All the badness is inside of my child", and with a score of 5, the mother needs to shift blame onto external circumstances, often because she can only see her child as a perfect extension of herself. On this dimension, mothers' #173 and #203 scored 5 and 3 respectively, making their scores prototypical of the rest of the sample.

As we saw in the previous section, mother #203 has a defensive style which includes intellectualization as one of her primary coping strategies, and this tendency towards intellectualization helped her on this dimension. She was very thoughtful about trying to understand what might have been triggering

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her anger, and it was clear that she struggled to find the "correct" explanation. When she was asked how she felt when her daughter cried, she acknowledged that it made her uncomfortable, but felt this was something she could tolerate if her daughter was simply crying because she did not get her own way. In the following example we will see that the subject first tries to rule out external circumstances, and if she can change them she will. But, if she feels she needs to enforce limits for safety reasons, then she is able to tolerate her daughter's temper tantrum.

I: ...how does her getting upset make you feel?

M: Well I don't I'm bad about children crying, at least when she was younger I never let her cry for very long, I always felt that meant something was wrong, you know that she needed something. Um now when she cries because she's angry, well if I feel justified in what I did, um then that's that... Like last night she didn't want to come out of her bath...and she cried and she wanted to play some more so I put her back in. Okay. So you give in to that. But when she walks aroundand she tries to grab the scissors away from me, you know that's not negotiable, that's (pause) that's just so she cries and then she goes on to something else. It's not the end of the world.

Consistent with what we have observed in the past, subject #173 tends to deal with stressful situations through the employment of minimization and denial. She minimizes her anger at her son and denies that anything in him could possibly be making her angry. Instead, she focuses entirely on external circumstances and blames them for causing the problems:

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I: Now describe a time in the last week when you and T. really weren't clicking.

M: (clears her throat) I guess that I was taking him to an audition and I wanted him to wear long pants and he doesn't like to wear long pants he likes to wear shorts most of the time and I guess I didn't handle it properly I was afraid of being late and he just wouldn't put his pants on, he wanted shorts. I sort of made him do it and I felt really badly about that.

In summary, security of attachment is strongly correlated with mothers' ability both to recognize when they are feeling angry, and to be able to figure out what is making them feel that way. The more securely attached the mother is, the more likely she will be to recognize that her anger is attributable to a number of factors, as well as their interaction with each other. Even though mother #203 had only a moderate degree of awareness of being angry, she was able to pinpoint exactly why she was feeling that way. She was able to see that there was an interaction between her daughter's inability to tolerate frustration and the necessary limitations of reality. On the other hand, mother #173 could not tolerate feeling angry, and was therefore unable to focus on what might be making her feel that way. She blamed herself and the audition for making her son unhappy, without recognizing that her son's temperament also played a significant role in her son's response.

Modulation of Anger

This variable assesses the mother's ability to modulate her expression of anger towards her child. Similar to Recognition of Source of Anger, this is also a curvilinear variable. A score of 3 indicates that the subject is able to express her anger directly, yet appropriately. Scores at the extreme ends of the scale

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indicate that the mother either overmodulates (1) or undermodulates (5) her anger. On this dimension, mothers' #203 and #173 scored 3 and 1 respectively. Thus, their scores are excellent examples of the overall differences which were found between secure and anxiously attached mothers.

On the previous variable we saw that mother #203 was able to recognize the source of her anger, and in this section we will see that she is also able to optimally modulate her anger. This mother recognizes that her daughter is occasionally provocative, but she never loses control in response to being provoked. When her daughter pulls her hair, she prohibits her from continuing to hurt her by holding her wrists, and at the same time she ministers verbal instructions to her to stop. This response is optimal because she does not minimize her daughter's behavior and she is not retaliatory.

However, even though she is able to act appropriately, she still wants her daughter to know how she is feeling. She says, "I say to her, 'E. that hurts'...and I try to be very stern with her..." In part, #203 is embarassed by her wish to have her daughter empathize with her experience, and part of her seems to know that this wish reflects a temporary loss of parent-child boundaries. After attempting to rationalize her comments, the subject settles on a retaliatory fantasy, "I have to wait until someone does it to her. Then maybe she'll understand (laughing)". Perhaps this mothers' ability to tolerate retaliatory fantasies helps her to act in appropriate ways towards her daughter.

Subject #173 is prototypical of mothers who overmodulate their anger. Not only does she deny that she ever feels angry, but when she is angry she is unable to express it to herself or to her son. When she is asked how she feels when her son throws a temper tantrum, she minimizes and belittles his experience, saying "I find it amusing..." Unlike #203, #173 is not able to stay with her child's experience. She is so uncomfortable with the feelings that are

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aroused in herself that she says, "I try to distract him....Or if it gets bad I just walk away and in a few minutes it's alright". Rather than modulate her anger, and help her son deal with his angry feelings, the subject withdraws.

Since this subject has so much difficulty addressing her angry feelings, it is sometimes difficult to get a clear picture of what goes on between herself and her son. When she is asked how she handles it when her son kicks and hits her she says, "Right, well, you know, I handle it properly and sometimes I don't. When he's like that I just try to get away from him and tell him it's not the thing to do." Since this mother does not explain what happens when she does not "handle it properly" we can only speculate that her anger may break through in powerful, and potentially destructive ways. When she feels she is "handling it properly" she seems to mean that she is able to absent herself from the situation.

In summary, the differences which were found between the mothers' ability to modulate their anger were consistent with the differences found between secure and anxiously attached mothers in the AAI. Just as subject #203 was able to present a coherent, believable picture of her relationship with her parents, she was also coherent and articulate in her description of what went on between her and her daughter. She had a balanced understanding of her daughter's behavior: on the one hand she could recognize that her daughter was provocative, but she was also able to laugh about it. This ability to see what was going on was positively correlated with her consequent ability to modulate the anger which she directed towards her child.

Subject #173 had no words with which to explain her parent's behavior towards her, and there was a marked discrepancy between her episodic memories of loneliness and physical brutality and her idealized, semantic

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descriptions of her parents. There was a similar linguistic discrepancy between her actual description of what was going on with her son when he was hitting and kicking her and her idea that she could walk away and everything would be alright. Her denial and minimization of what was happening and how it made her feel left her with few choices about how to adequately modulate her anger. Although she overmodulated her anger in ideation, the reader is left wondering what happened when her denial stopped working.

Acknowledgment of Neediness

This variable measures mothers' awareness of having dependency needs of their own that may get evoked in caring for their children. Subjects were measured in three ways: on their capacity to recognize needing supportive help in caring for their children, having needy feelings in connection to loss, and having needs that are exclusively met by their children. On this variable, mothers #203 and #173 had scores that were consistent with the overall differences found in the sample ($p. \leq .10$). Not only did these mothers vary in their overall assessment of feeling needy, but they also differed in their comfort with different aspects of neediness.

Subject #203 had no difficulty seeing that she needed physical help in caring for her child. She realized that she needed help from her husband, "it's very important to be able to trade off, to take a nap..." and that she needed a fulltime babysitter. She also was in touch with her own feelings of attachment to her daughter, and was quite articulate about how much she missed her: "I didn't go home....I felt very odd, I missed her....I just don't like to be away too long." However, for reasons that have been touched on in the past, this subject

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had tremendous difficulty with the feeling that she had needs that could be fulfilled by her child.

Subject #173 had no awareness of needing external support and practically never left her child. When she was asked whether she ever felt needy as a parent, she could not comprehend what the interviewer was asking: "Needy? In what sense I don't understand the question." However, she cherished the symbiotic relationship that she had with her son when he was younger, and felt a tremendous sense of loss with her son's growing independence. "...Well certainly he's not the same as he was when he was a little baby when he was more dependent on me, now he's a little person and he has his own ideas..." The subject was clearly gratified by having her son be so dependent on her when he was younger and as he began to grow away from her, she started to long for another child. "...it's just kind of sad when you know that he's becoming more his own independent self....that's when I wished I had another child so I could recreate those early months."

Although there is evidence that both subjects felt personally gratified by their children, neither mother was comfortable with these feelings. Subject #173 minimized and denied her feelings, saying "I don't dwell on them. It's not that big a deal", and then became pregnant. Subject #203 was so worried about being like her own mother--who she felt used her as a narcissistic self-extension--that she could not tolerate the idea of wanting something from her child. When she was asked whether she ever felt needy as a parent, she said, "...Not in a deep way, you know want my child to replace something I don't have..." So, while subject #203 could recognize her own needy feelings, she could not tolerate the idea of needing something from her child. Her concerns about impinging on her daughter's experience actually interfered with her natural ability to empathize. For example, even when she was experiencing

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intense feelings of longing for her daughter, she did not assume that her daughter might have similar feelings. The following examples illustrate how readily she could talk about her own experience, but not about her daughter's: "I don't know how she felt about it, but I felt very odd...", "I was thinking of going to a film seminar for a week and it's just...too long. I'm not ready to do it. I'm not sure she might be okay.", "I don't like to leave in the morning and then not see her till the next day... I don't know if it was a problem for her but it was a problem for me." It is interesting to note that this mother was able to spent a lot of time with her child--not because of her maternal instincts--but rather because she could attend to her own feelings of neediness.

To summarize, securely attached mothers were much more able to recognize their own needy feelings than anxiously attached mothers. In our continuing case illustration, we saw that subject #203 was able to admit that she needed help in caring for her child, and that she was in touch with missing her child when she was separated from her. She was not able to recognize that she also had the need to feel important and reciprocally needed by her daughter. It is significant that her unresolved anger at her mother for using her extractively had an impact on her ability to feel needed by her daughter. Subject #173 was much less aware of having needy feelings. She had no recognition of needing concrete help in parenting, and although she had some dim awareness of feeling a sense of loss in connection with her child's increased autonomy, she needed to minimize and deny these feelings. Similarly, she was not aware of having needy feelings in connection to her parents, and when feelings did surface, they were minimized and denied.

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II. Mother's view of her child's experience

We will now depart from examining the mother's view of her own experience, and the next two variables will explore the mother's view of her child's affective experience.

Recognition of anger

This dimension measures the mother's ability to recognize her child's angry states. Although there were significant differences between the ability of securely and anxiously attached mothers to recognize their children's anger ($p. \leq .10$), there were only slight differences between subjects #173 and #203. While #173 exhibited no recognition of her child's anger, #203 could only recognize her child's anger to a low to moderate degree. Thus, the small variability between these two mothers in their ability to recognize their children's anger was almost identical to the pattern that was found in their ability to recognize their own anger.

Mother #203 provided very few examples of her daughter's anger. When she was asked the sorts of questions in which issues of anger might spontaneously emerge, she tended to provide intellectualized rationalizations for why something might happen, rather than being able to provide answers that really dealt with her child's negative affective state. For example, subject #203 was not really able to answer the question, "what are your child's least favorite moments?" She talked around the question, and gave intellectualized responses such as, "if she gets tired her...frustration threshold will go down", or "toddlers like everything on their own terms". The closest she came to actually answering this question was by saying that if she was pressed for time in the

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morning, then getting dressed could be difficult, but she then minimized the possibility of this sort of friction, saying, "fortunately I'm set up so I don't have to rush her that much..." When she did touch on negative affective states, her tendency was to minimize her child's anger and to provide intellectualized examples that would account for it.

As we have seen throughout this comparison, one of the chief differences that emerged between subjects #173 and #203 was in the quality of their defenses. Subject #203 minimized and provided intellectualized explanations to account for her daughter's anger, while subject #173 used denial to deal with her son's anger. She could not tolerate the possibility that her son might be angry, and dismissed the very suggestion. When she was asked to describe her child's least favorite moments, she said, "God that's hard to answer. I never seem to think of him as not having favorite moments, um, I don't know".

Although both subjects had some difficulty recognizing their children's anger, as predicted, subject #203 had less difficulty recognizing her child's anger than subject #173. As we have seen in the past, particularly with recognition of neediness, subject #203 was angry with her mother for demanding that she be a particular way, and was determined not to repeat this experience with her daughter. She felt identified with her daughter and did not want to have her experience impinged upon. It may be that this subject had difficulty recognizing her child's anger because she felt responsible for her daughter's emotional state, and if she felt her daughter was angry she would feel that she had caused her to be this way. While she may not be that conflicted about the emotion of anger per se, she was conflicted about feeling that she might be impinging on her daughter's experience. Thus, even though

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attachment classification can predict differences in maternal responsiveness, individual areas of conflict can always alter these expected differences.

Subject #173, on the other hand, was more prototypically anxious-detached. Although it was clear that she was angry with both parents--especially her mother--as measured by the AAI, angry comments were followed by contradictory, pollyannaish comments. Similarly, even though she provided examples of times when her son cried and threw temper tantrums, and hit and kicked her so that it really hurt, she could not provide a coherent example of her son's least favorite moments.

Recognition of autonomy-1: Need for independent exploration

This variable measures the mother's ability to recognize her child's need to exert some degree of control over his or her own life and environment. At one extreme it is possible for mothers to have no recognition of their children's need for independent exploration, and at the other extreme mothers may overvalue their children's need to play autonomously. As anticipated, anxiously attached mothers were found to be more concerned with their children's ability to explore and to play independently than securely attached mothers ($p. \leq .10$). The individual differences between subjects #173 and #203 were very slight: both subjects valued their children's ability to do things on their own, but subject #203 was slightly more realistic about the fact that there were some things her daughter really could not do without her help.

Both subjects took great delight in their children's autonomy. Subject #203 was pleased that her daughter tried to do such things on her own as getting dressed and getting her own plate or glass. She recognized that her daughter was happier when she could do things on her own, and it was

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important for her to have her daughter have this sense of inner satisfaction, "I mean the more things she can do herself the happier she is, she loves it, and the happier we are, I can't wait until she can do it all (laughs)". Similarly, subject #173 was thrilled with her son's resourcefulness, and with his ability to occupy himself, "And you know he likes to find...something new to play with, not necessarily a new toy but something that he finds around the house that he...can use in a different way. He seems to entertain himself quite a long time with that".

The main difference between these two mothers lay in their ability to realistically appraise their children's limitations. Subject #203 could see that there might be times when her daughter would not really be able to do something on her own, and she tried to anticipate these times, and to help give her daughter the sense that she was functioning autonomously: "I try to let her do it of course herself as much as possible, and then I step in, I try and step in in a way that we can do it together so that she feels she's doing it..." She was also aware of her daughter's limitations: "she's no genius", though she balanced this with her sensitivity to her daughter's strengths: "...she's not that easily thwarted or doesn't throw up her hands right away if she can't do something".

Perhaps subject #203 fell most short in her ability to recognize that there were things that her daughter really did need her help for, though to her credit, she was aware of this shortcoming. She said, "Sometimes she says 'help help, help help'. Um, and sometimes I'll say to her, 'Oh you can do that, I saw you do that yesterday', and that's when she needs help, you know she really can't figure it out". In this regard, subject #203 differed most from subject #173, who had real difficulty recognizing that there were things her son could not do without her help. When she was asked how her child did when he couldn't explore and solve problems without her help she said, "I really haven't noticed

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that he uh, he he'll just occupy himself with something else. He doesn't dwell on the fact that he can't do something." Then, when she was asked how she felt about this, she misheard the question and treated it as if she had been asked how she felt about his ability to explore on his own, "I love it, I mean it's great for him that he's so resourceful..."

To summarize, maternal attachment classification does predict differences in mothers' abilities to recognize their children's need to order their own environment, and anxiously attached mothers were found to be more sensitive to this issue than securely attached mothers. The differences between mothers' #203 and #173 were not as great as the differences between all of the mothers in the sample group. Both mothers had a tendency to overvalue their children's ability to do things on their own; however, subject #203 was more realistic about her child's limitations than subject #173. Subject #203 saw that there were some things that her daughter really could not do without her help, and she was also able to recognize that there were times when she was unresponsive to her daughter's cries for help. Subject #173 was delighted when her son did not need her help, and could not see that there were things that he really could not do on his own. The difference found between these two subjects reflects real differences that get taken into account in assigning subjects to different attachment categories. Securely attached subjects have come to accept their dependence on others, whereas anxious detached subjects tend to deny that they need help from anybody and think of themselves as self-reliant. As we have seen, subject #203 may be angry with her mother, but her anger is based on a very real relationship whereas subject #173 appears to be angry with her mother for not having been there. Clearly,

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mothers need to have models of interactive relationships in order to come to terms with the realistic limitations of themselves and their children.

III. Mother's view of the dyad

This last section will examine the mother's view of the interactive relationship between herself and her child.

Recognition of the Importance of her Effect

This variable assesses mothers' ability to recognize that as parents, they will have enduring impacts on their children. Not only do mothers need to be able to evaluate the effect of their own experiences, but they also need to have some objective sense of who they are and how they are with their children in order to appraise how they might be impacting on them. Although there were significant differences between the ways that securely and anxiously attached mothers recognized the importance of their effect on their children within the overall sample group ($p. \leq .10$), there were less significant differences between mothers #173 and #203. While #173 showed a prototypical inability to recognize the significance of her impact on her son, #203 had a moderate recognition of the importance of her effect. She was so caught up with wanting to be different than her own mother that she could not be realistic about how she actually was with her daughter.

When subject #203 was asked how she thought her daughter's relationship with her was affecting her development or personality, she immediately referenced to her mother, and examined how she was different from her. She reiterated how much of a burden it was for her to feel that she had to take care of her mother, and said that she felt this was a particular burden that her daughter wouldn't have because she had broader interests

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than her mother did, and was not living vicariously through her daughter. She felt that she was giving her daughter the freedom to develop on her own, rather than imposing a particular agenda. While it certainly was true that subject #203 was very different from her own mother, she did not elaborate on the potential long-term impact of her involvement with outside interests. For example, while her daughter may be free to develop in her own way, it is also possible that she might wish her mother was more involved with her and less involved with outside interests. While the specifics of the maternal impact are not significant, it is striking that the subject did not elaborate on how she might have been effecting her daughter. She said, "So it's a matter, it's more to do with what I don't do, rather than what I do, necessarily".

Subject #173 was more defended than #203, and when she was asked how her son's relationship with her was effecting his development, she denied having any negative feelings about him. She emphasized that she never found him a burden of any kind, that he always got totally acceptable feedback from her and that she supported him in everything he did. Even if we did not know that this mother seemed to prefer her son when he was occupying himself, and that she could be quite rejecting and withdrawn at times, her answer still would not have rung true. The subject was unable to see that the question was asking her to elaborate on particular ways in which she might be effecting her child. Instead, she heard the question as a potential criticism, and it became so important for her to prove that she was not doing anything wrong, that she could not be objective in her answer.

Perhaps what was most striking abut subject #173 was that she had not thought very much about the sort of enduring impact that she was in a position to have on her son, as a mother. She did not seem to be operating out of a larger schema which would have guided her behavior when particular issues

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emerged. For example, when the interviewer asked this mother whether there had been any experiences in her son's life that she felt had been a setback for him, she described an instance when her son had come down with a very high fever the day before the family was scheduled to go to South America. Rather than postpone the trip, the subject chose to stay at home with her son while her husband and mother proceeded as planned. In retrospect, the subject thought it had been very difficult for her son to suddenly be away from these two close people he was used to seeing all the time. However, at the time she did not think about the potential impact of this separation. Although it is understandable that it might have been very difficult to postpone this vacation, what is striking is that this mother did not anticipate her son's reaction.

In summary, there is a significant difference between the ways that securely and anxiously attached mothers think about the significance of their impact on their children. Subject #173 had no recognition of the relatonship between cause and effect in her own life, and consequently, she had no awareness of how her thoughts, feelings and behavior might impact on her son. While subject #203 was aware of the way in which she had been effected by her past, she was still so caught up with what had happened in the past that she had some difficulty being objective about the present. Although the differences between these two subjects were not as great as the differences found within the larger sample group, they are still within the expected direction. Once again, we are reminded that there are varying degrees of secure attachment, and that an overarching cognitive style can be altered by idiosyncratic areas of conflict.

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CHAPTER FOUR

Discussion

Summary of the Findings

In this study we set out to examine the correlation between maternal attachment classification, as measured by the AAI, and affective experiences within the parenting relationship, as measured by the PDI. We had hypothesized that securely attached mothers would be more aware of their own and their children's affective experiences than mothers who were anxiously attached. We had also predicted that securely attached mothers would be more aware of the significance of the dyadic relationship than anxiously attached mothers.

Although we were limited by a small sample size, quantitative analysis of the data showed that our findings were in keeping with many of these predictions: securely attached mothers did appear to be more able to recognize their own anger, the source of their anger and to modulate the anger they directed towards their children than anxiously attached mothers. In addition, securely attached mothers appeared to be more able to recognize their children's anger than anxiously attached mothers. In our sample, we found that securely attached mothers were more able to acknowledge feelings of neediness in themselves, and showed a statistical trend toward being better able to recognize their children's dependency needs. Our group of securely attached mothers was less likely to overvalue their children's independent activity than anxiously attached mothers, and they were more aware of the significance of their effect on their children.

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In this small study, quantitative analysis disconfirmed the prediction that securely attached mothers would be better at differentiating between self and other than anxiously attached mothers. Two other variables that were also found to be insignificant were: vividness of portrayal of intimate moments and recognition of autonomy-2: the child has a distinct will that may conflict with mother's.

A qualitative analysis of two mothers picked at random, one who was securely attached and one who was anxiously attached, lent general support to the quantitative findings.

<u>The Findings: Acknowledgment of Anger, Recognition of Source of Anger and Modulation of Anger.</u>

The results of our study provided direct support for Slade & Aber's previous study (1986, 1987b), in which they found that mothers of "B" children experienced their anger directly and often found ways to communicate this anger to their children while mothers of "A" children were either unable to acknowledge feelings of anger, or experienced it in dissociated, unintegrated ways. Subject #173 is an excellent example of an anxiously attached mother who said that her son never made her feel angry, and then described an example of a time when she appeared to be very angry. The subject was describing some tension which occurred between herself and her son when she took him to an audition. She said, "I sort of made T. wear long pants...I guess I didn't handle it properly...and I felt really badly about that". When this subject says "I guess I didn't handle it properly", it is clear that she can't talk about what actually happened, probably because it is too painful for her to think of herself as being angry, and as acting on those angry feelings. Slade & Aber said that mothers of anxiously-attached children seemed to lack a schema to

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represent anger, either to themselves or to their children, and consequently externalized and concretized their feelings. Subject #173 does not experience her child as being difficult and angry, but rather blames the situation for being stressful.

Our findings are also in keeping with those of Kobak (1987), who found that anxiously-attached college students are viewed by their peers as being more hostile and subtly negativistic than securely-attached college students. Just as anxiously-attached college students were seen as being angry, we found that anxiously-attached mothers appeared angrier than securely-attached mothers. This was evidenced by the difficulties they experienced in modulating their anger. Fraiberg (1980) says that mothers who are able to remember the pain and anguish of the past are less likely to repeat it through an identification with the aggressor. Not only do our results confirm Fraiberg's theorizing, since securely-attached mothers are by definition better able to remember the past than anxiously-attached mothers--but they also suggest a relationship between being able to feel angry in the present and being able to modulate the anger that is experienced. Perhaps the corollary to Fraiberg's proposition is that mothers who are in touch with their anger in the present are less likely to act on their angry feelings than mothers who have no awareness of being angry in the moment.

Recognition of Child's Anger.

Winnicott (1965, 1975) was one of the first theorists to underscore the significance of being able to recognize children's anger, and of urging mothers to help their children see that their destructive ideas and impulses are acceptable and normative. Winnicott argued that when mothers are able to accept their children's aggression without retaliating, children are better able to

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integrate their loving and aggressive feelings. When mothers can acknowledge their children's aggressive feelings, children are more likely to be able to distinguish between feelings and actions. To some extent, Winnicott's theorizing is supported by Ainsworth's (1969, 1978) findings that securely-attached babies are less angry than anxiously-attached infants. "A" babies are unable to show their anger to their mothers, and often resort to displacing their anger onto inanimate objects. Erickson, Sroufe & Egeland (1985) found that mothers of children without behavior problems reported less feelings of confusion, bewilderment and disorganization than mothers of children with behavior problems. Since the children who were deemed aggressive had previously been found to be securely attached infants, these results strongly suggest that there is a link between mothers' internal worlds and actual behavior demonstrated by their children.

While our study does not focus on the actual behavior of children, our data does show that mothers who are viewed as secure are more comfortable with their children's aggression than mothers who are anxiously attached. Since mothers who are securely attached are more likely to have securely attached children (Main, 1985; Eichberg, 1987), and since securely attached infants are less angry than anxiously attached infants (Ainsworth, 1969, 1978), our findings suggest a relationship between maternal attachment classification and level of aggression in children. It may be that maternal awareness of anger in their children helps mothers to mediate their child's aggression so that it does not escalate or become displaced or split off.

Since securely attached mothers were more in touch with their own aggression and with their children's aggression than anxiously attached mothers, the findings also suggest that the more comfortable mothers are with

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their own aggression, the more comfortable they are with their children's aggression.

Acknowledgment of Maternal Neediness and Recognition of Child's Dependency.

Kobak (1987) found that securely attached college students could acknowledge feeling distressed and were able to ask for help from others whereas anxiously attached college students could not acknowledge stressful feelings, and did not turn to others for comfort. Our study replicates these findings with a different population, lending further support to the idea that there is a relationship between attachment classification and recognition of personal neediness. The differences between secure and anxiously-attached mothers in their ability to recognize their own neediness as parents is nicely illustrated in their different approaches to babysitting. Subject #203 recognized that she needed help in taking care of her daughter, and consequently hired a regular babysitter. Not only did subject #173 not have a regular babysitter, but when she was asked if she ever felt needy she could not comprehend what was being asked. "Needy?" she replied. "I don't understand the question".

Although it seems reasonable to speculate that the more in touch mothers are with their own needs, the more in touch they would be with their children's needs, this was not always the case. As we have seen, subject #203 was extremely aware of her own feelings of loss when she was separated from her daughter, but she did not assume that the separation would be equally difficult for her daughter. She qualified her comments by saying that the separation was difficult for her, but she did not know how it was for her daughter, and thought it might have been fine for her. Although subject #203 was attentive to her daughter, and only left her for brief separations, she did this

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because she was attending to her own needy feelings. Our results showed that there was a clear-cut trend in which securely attached mothers appeared to be more aware of their children's dependency needs than anxiously attached mothers, but at .12 this variable just missed being statistically significant.

Both Mahler and Bowlby stress how important it is for mothers to be attuned to their children's attachment needs. Bowlby (1969) says that children need to have confidence in their mother's accessibility, and Mahler (1975) emphasizes how frightening it is for toddlers to realize that they are separate beings from their mothers. During the rapprochement stage, children vacillate between wanting to be by themselves and wanting to maintain a libidinal tie to their mothers. When mothers are able to remain emotionally constant then children can internalize a positively cathected image of the mother which helps them to neutralize aggressive energy, but when the mother is not emotionally and physically available, children become preoccupied with their mother's whereabouts. Ainsworth (1969, 1978) found that "B" infants welcomed their mothers following a brief separation, whereas "A" babies barely made contact with their mothers at all.

Mahler, Pine & Bergman (1970) speculate that the rapprochement period is more difficult for mothers who want to live out a symbiotic fantasy with their children because the rapprochement phase forces mothers to take their children's actual needs into account. Subject #173 was a classic example of this sort of mother. She became more depressed as her son grew up, and said "...he's not the same as he was when he was a little baby when he was more dependent on me, now he's a little person and he has his own ideas...it's just kind of sad when you know that he's being more his own individual self....that's when I wished I had another child so I could recreate those early months". We were not surprised to learn that this mother was pregnant again when she came

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for her second interview, and later learned that she had been devastated after miscarrying the second child.

Recognition of Child's Autonomy-1: Need for Independent Exploration.

Our study confirmed Slade & Aber's previous finding (1986, 1987b) that mothers of anxious-avoidant children focused on their children's interest in exploration away from them, and on visible, physical evidence of their children's separateness from them. They interpreted these results to mean that these mothers did not appreciate their children's underlying need for attachment and affiliation. This is consistent with the findings of the current study, in which anxiously attached mothers were found to be more comfortable with their children's need for autonomy than with their need for attachment, and tended to overvalue their children's independent explorations. Perhaps one of the reasons why anxiously attached mothers could not appreciate how much their children needed to be close to them had to do with their difficulties in recognizing their own limitations and in seeing that they needed help from others.

A number of theorists have written about the importance of early maternal attentiveness and availability in promoting autonomy and independence later on in children. For example, Kohut (1971) says that young children learn to transform their unrealistic ambitions into realistic ambitions by getting mirroring responses, or a "gleam in the eye" from their parents. When parents fail to give these responses, children's grandiose strivings become split-off and remain unaltered in their primitive archaic form. Winnicott (1958) believes that the capacity to be alone is learned from being alone in the presence of the mother. Mahler (1975) has emphasized the significance of being a secure base who will let children come and go as they please. When mothers are not able to do this,

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or if they denigrate their children's actual accomplishments then toddlers spend so much energy trying to maintain contact with their mothers that they don't have enough free energy left over for the sphere of autonomous ego functioning. Unless significant changes take place, this situation continues as the child matures. Ainsworth (1969, 1978) found that securely attached infants were able to use their mothers as secure bases which anchored them, allowing them to achieve a balance between attachment and exploration. Anxiously attached infants were not "free" to achieve such a balance, and "C" babies would not leave their mother's side. Bowlby (1969) has also stressed the significance for children of having confidence in their mother's accessibility and responsiveness, and believes that when they don't, children become quite troubled.

A study by Matas, Arend & Sroufe (1978) showed the relationship between early maternal responsiveness and later functioning in children. These researchers found that children who were seen as more autonomous and competent at problem-solving behavior at two years of age had mothers who were more emotionally responsive to their children in infancy. Our study underscores the misguided assumption that is shared by many anxious mothers who are actually quite frightened of intimacy. The assumption is that too much attention will "spoil" a child and make them incapable of being by themselves. In fact, the more children feel attended to when they are younger, the more they will want to do things on their own as they get older. In our study anxiously attached mothers were pushing their children away from them. Ultimately, this may backfire and prevent the children from achieving real autonomy.

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Mother's Recognition of the Importance of her Effect on her Child

One of the factors which makes mothers aware of the impact they are having on their children is an awareness of the impact that their parents had on them. Several theorists have made this point, including Benedek (1970) and Fraiberg (1980). According to Benedek, the key to understanding the impact that parents are having on their children is self-awareness. The more parents are aware of how they were effected by their parents, the more aware they will be of their effect on their children, and the better able they will be to respond adaptively to them. Fraiberg writes about mothers who are able to give their children a better past than they had. The reason they are able to do this is because they remember how they felt when their parents acted in particular ways, and they are conscious of wanting to be different sorts of parents to their own children.

Our study showed that the ability to affectively remember the past was not in itself enough to overcome the impact of the past. Although most of our securely-attached subjects were able to recognize the impact they were having on their children, this was not always the case. For example, even though subject #203 was in touch with the pain she felt as a child for being forced to be good and compliant, she remained very angry with her mother. The vehemence of her feelings mobilized her to be a totally different sort of mother to her own daughter--a mother who would encourage her daughter to be disobedient and aggressive. When this subject was asked how she was effecting her daughter, she talked about how different she was from her own mother, and not what she was actually like. As we know, freedom is contingent upon the ability to realistically appraise new situations as they arise, and so people cannot be free if they are motivated by a compulsion to be different. In

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this case what seems crucial is that subject #203 had not forgiven her mother or come to terms with the past.

As part of her description of secure attachment, Main (1985) has emphasized a lack of idealization--i.e., the ability to realistically appraise what has happened, and a lack of anger. Ricks (1985) found that mothers who had histories of loss, separation and rejection, yet who had been able to "break the pattern" with their own children, and who had securely attached children, had reworked their histories with their own mothers and had been able to forgive them. The results of our study suggest that in order for mothers to recognize the impact they are having on their children they must have an awareness of the impact their parents had on them. However, while this is important it is not enough, and in cases where mothers feel that they were adversely effected by their own parents they must come to terms with the past through understanding and forgiveness.

Level of Differentiation.

Difficulties in differentiating between self and other are generally related to disturbances in maintaining boundaries and being able to appreciate where one's own experiences end and the other person's begin. However, being able to differentiate between self and child is somewhat different, and requires parents to be able to hold onto an image of themselves as the parent and the other as the child. Benedek (1959) and Kestenberg (1970) both underscore the significance of mothers being able to see themselves as parents in relationship to their children, and they both stress the way in which biological processes help to motivate maternal instincts. Benedek sees parenthood as a developmental stage which mothers grow into spontaneously and naturally, except when the ego organization of the mother is too "immature". When

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mothers are unable to make the transition from being children in relationship to their own mothers to being mothers in relationship to their children, then they are unable to appreciate their children's uniqueness and will only be able to care for them in a biological sense. As the child moves beyond the stage of absolute dependency, the mother will have to replace her child. Similarly, Kestenberg says that mothers who are not maturationally ready to be parents may respond to their children as if they were archetypal images from their own past. Blos (1985) believes that intergenerational confusion is most likely to occur when women have not been able to successfully separate and individuate from their own mothers prior to becoming parents in their own right. Although this process often takes place within the context of an adolescent rebellion, it is not confined to this time period. For example, subject #203 did not have an "adolescent rebellion" until she was in her twenties.

At first glance, it may seem puzzling to understand why there was no difference between anxious and securely-attached mothers in their ability to differentiate between themselves and their children. The reason for this is that neither group of mothers in our study was so primitive that they could not differentiate between themselves and their children. We are reminded that secure and anxious attachment classifications are both variants of normal, and this is what one would expect to see within a normal population.

Vividness of Portrayal of Intimate Moments and Recognition of Autonomy-2: Child Having Distinct Will.

In their first hypothesis-generating study, Slade & Aber (1986) found that mothers of securely-attached children were able to describe experiences of joy and clearly conveyed the premium they placed on intense, highly connected moments between themselves and their children. Since the purpose of a

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hypothesis-generating study is to lay the groundwork for future research, one of the aims of this study was to test out whether there was a statistical difference between secure and anxiously-attached mothers in the vividness of their portrayal of intimate moments with their children. Subject #173 may shed some light in helping us to understand why there was no significant difference between our two groups of mothers. This subject seemed to feel badly about herself for not being a patient enough, or "good-enough" mother, so when she was given the opportunity to talk about a time when she and her son were really "clicking" she seemed delighted. She described a time when she and her son laughed and kidded around as they played with a beaded necklace together. While both groups of mothers may wish to feel close to their children, securely attached mothers may be more adept at creating situations in which they are able to feel close and connected. However, this does not mean that anxiously attached mothers do not value close, intimate moments between themselves and their children. When they do occur, it is conceivable that they make an equally vivid impression on both groups of mothers.

Recognition of Autonomy-2 proved to be a poor variable both in the sense that we had poor interrater reliability and because the variable was not statistically significant. Perhaps the variable overlapped with other variables that had already been covered, such as Recognition of Autonomy-1, Level of Differentiation and Recognition of the Child's Aggression. On closer inspection, we did not think that this variable was specific enough, and this variable has been eliminated from subsequent studies.

Limitations of the Present Study and Need for Further Research

Because of the small size and the low interrater reliability of the current study, these findings can only be regarded as suggestive of real group

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differences. In order to better understand the nature of the differences between the groups, it would be necessary to replicate this study using a much larger sample size. Larger independent samples would allow for analysis of three different attachment groups--secure, anxious-detached and anxious-enmeshed--so that we could refine our understanding of the differences between the two groups of anxiously attached mothers. For example, it was found that anxiously attached mothers tended to overvalue their children's autonomy, and were more comfortable with their children's need for independent exploration than securely attached mothers. If there were two groups of anxiously attached mothers, one could pursue the question of whether there was a difference between the value that anxious-detached and anxious-enmeshed mothers placed on their children's autonomy and need for independent exploration. In addition, further refinement of the PDI rating scale would lead to higher agreement among raters, which in turn would allow for more reliable overall results.

Both a strength and a limitation of the current study was the focus on the mother's self-report and internal, subjective experience. The strength of this approach is that it was possible to analyze consistent themes between the mother's view of her parents, her own experience, and her view of her child without being distracted by what actually happened. This situation is analogous to the clinical situation, in which self-report is the primary tool that is used. The downside of this approach is that it is not possible to verify what the two mothers that were focused on were _actually_ like with their children, or to know whether there were differences between the children in their aggressiveness. For example, it would have been interesting to see whether subjects #203 and #173 really did handle their children's aggression differently, or whether it was just their self-reports that differed.

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One of the surprise findings in this dissertation was that the securely attached mother had only a moderate degree of awareness on many of the variables. While it seemed likely that her experiences in psychotherapy had helped her to gain a greater understanding of the past, we do not know how her treatment experiences effected her overall attachment classification. In follow-up studies it might be useful to ask mothers whether they have ever been in treatment, and if so, to inquire about the nature of their experiences. In addition, one of the findings of this study was that even though subject #203 had benefitted from being in treatment before her daughter was born, her treatment was incomplete, and certain conflicts that may not have emerged before her daughter was born became an issue after she became a mother. Thus, there is an implication that psychotherapy may be especially important--even for people who have already been in successful treatments--after they have children. Blos (1985) emphasized the loosening of defenses which occurs during pregnancy and extends through the postpartum period. Because of this plasticity, he argued that striking gains can be made during pregnancy and the postpartum period. Although he was writing about pathological mother-infant dyads, findings from this study suggest that early intervention can also be helpful in a normal population. It would be interesting to pursue this issue in a follow-up study.

Conclusion

The findings of the present study lend general support to the hypothesis that quality of attachment will be reflected in different ways of experiencing affects within the parenting relationship. As a group, our small sample of securely attached mothers were tuned into their own affective experiences, their children's affective experiences, and the significance of the dyadic relationship.

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The insecurely attached mothers that we studied were unaware of aggressive feelings or dependent longings in themselves or in their children, and they did not recognize how the sum total of their experiences impacted on their children.

In the qualitative analysis it was shown that while the securely attached mother was more aware of her own and her child's internal experience than the anxiously attached mother, the degree of her awareness varied, depending on the variable that was being examined. This finding underscores our belief that security of attachment does not imply that all past conflicts have been resolved. Rather, security of attachment implies a state of mind in which the subject is open to thinking about significant relationships from the past, and may be on her way to a resolution. While the two mothers were different from one another, they were not so dramatically different as one might have predicted. Some of the differences we saw may have to do with the fact that the securely attached mother had been in psychotherapy. The findings suggest that security is not mental health, but rather a state of mind in which the subject is aware of her own and her child's affective experiences, and is able to be open and flexible in her dealings with her child.

The findings of the current study also suggest that even though motherhood can constitute a time of intrapsychic reorganization, the effects of the past cannot be underestimated. For example, even though subject #203 had benefitted from being in treatment, and even though she was different from her own mother in some ways, in other ways she was strongly identified with her mother. On a conscious level she tried to be different from her mother in not using her daughter as a narcissistic extension of herself, but the unconscious message she gave her daughter was that she thought she had the power to control her, and needed to guard against this tendency. In other words, while some of her symptoms had been addressed, she had not uncovered

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underlying, systemic causes. While our study suggests that securely attached mothers are probably in a better position than anxiously attached mothers to break past cycles and to parent autonomously, the power of the past is very strong.

One of the most significant factors which we were able to identify as being crucial in terms of helping mothers to parent autonomously is being able to remember the past. Not only is it important to have memory linked up to attendant affect, but it is also necessary for mothers to have reworked and overcome the impact of the past. Mothers need to have forgiven their parents for what has happened in the past and to have gotten over their angry feelings towards them. Two of the most frequently employed vehicles for reworking the past are beneficial experiences in psychotherapy and/or closer experiences with a mentor or another parental figure. For example, these types of experiences could help an anxiously attached mother to become more comfortable with closeness and intimacy, so that she would be able to simply be with her child. While it is best when mothers have separated and individuated before becoming parents, it is still possible for mothers to rework significant issues in the early months following the birth of their child. This can be achieved through treatment or parent-child groups. In our study, we also found that even though it is important to be able to remember the past, it is equally important to be in touch with affective experiences in the present. This can include an awareness of aggressive feelings in oneself or towards one's child, as well as an awareness of feelings of neediness. We found that mothers who were able to recognize their own limitations were better able to ask for physical as well as emotional help in parenting. When mothers were able to ask for help where it was needed, they did not deplete their internal resources, and had more energy left over for parenting.

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Appendix A.

THE ADULT ATTACHMENT INTERVIEW

Carol George
Nancy Kaplan
Mary Main

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Revised 1/12/84.

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Introduction:

We've been hearing a lot lately from parents about the way their own parenting has influenced them as people, and the way their relationships with their children have been affected by their relationship with their parents. This has sounded so interesting that we've decided to dedicate a whole interview to asking about early relationships and what you think about their influences. I'll ask you mainly about your childhood, but we'll get on to your later years and current relationships with parents.

1. Could you start by telling me a bit about the place and family in which you were raised? We'd like to know where you were born and brought up and with whom? What did your parents do for a living? Did you have brothers and sisters?

(**Comment:** This question should be used both to gain basic data which may be lost elsewhere within the interview, and to establish a relaxed and conversational atmosphere. Do not go on to the following question until the parent seems a bit relaxed and oriented.)

2. Would you describe your relationship with your parents as a child? We'd like to know from as far back as you can remember. To begin with, I'd like you to choose five adjectives that reflect your childhood relationship with your mother, and then five adjectives that reflect your relationship with your father....Could you tell me why you chose those adjectives for each parent?

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(**Comment:** Encourage parent to try to remember very early. Many parents say they cannot remember childhood, let alone early childhood. Nonetheless, shape the questions to start around age five if possible, or previously if the parent remembers that early.

(**Comment:** This adjective choice has proven very helpful both in starting an interview, and in later interview analysis. It helps some parents to continue to focus upon the relationship when otherwise they would not be able to come up with spontaneous comments. Interview analysis will very much depend upon being able to contrast what the parent says about early relationships at a general level with what the parent says about specific episodes. Hence, you do need to obtain these adjectives or generalities for each relationship.)

(**Comment:** In terms of time to answer, this is usually the longest question. If it is difficult to get a feel for the relationships and the probes are getting awkwardly long, you can return to the question of describing the relationship later following the later questions. Example: "I think I understood what you were saying about your relationship with your mother earlier, but I still don't have a feeling of understanding your relationship with your father. Could you tell me a bit more about it?")

3. To which parent did you feel the closest, and why? (Pause) Why isn't there this feeling with the other parent?

4. When you were upset as a child, what would you do? (Pause)

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(**Comment:** This is a critical question in the interview, so as much as possible encourage the parent to think up her own interpretations of upset--emotionally upset, hurt physically, etc.--but then begin on the probes.)

Probes: When you were emotionally upset as a child, what would you do? When you were hurt physically? (Pause) When you just needed comfort, support?

(**Comment:** When the parent pictures going to a parent, see first what details they can give you spontaneously, then ask directly if they were held by the parent, and if so, how?)

Probes: Can you illustrate with a specific incident?

When this series is over, go back and ask remaining questions with reference to the parent whom they have not mentioned. If it seems more natural, you can ask with reference to the other parent as you ask this series of questions.

(**Comment:** Be sure to get expansions of every answer. If they say, "I withdrew" for example, you need to know what they mean by "withdrew".)

5. How do you think these experiences with your parents have affected your adult personality? (Pause) Are there any aspects to your early experiences that you feel were a set-back in your development?

6. Why do you think your parents behaved as they did?

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7. Have there been many changes in your relationship with your parents since childhood, I mean from childhood through until the present?

(Comment: Here we are trying to find out, **indirectly,** whether there has been a period of rebellion from the parents, and also, indirectly, whether the subject may have re-thought early unfortunate relationships and "forgiven" the parents. If the subject does bring up a period of acting up, but it is unclear whether this was real rebellion, probe sufficiently to find out. "Acting up" can be done to gain attention, or to hurt the parents, without constituting a period of real rebellion in the interests of establishing an independence. Do **not** ask anything about forgiveness directly--this will need to come up spontaneously.)

8. What is your relationship with your parents like for you now as an adult?

9. Were there any other adults you felt close to, like parents, as a child? (Be sure to find out ages, whether this person lived with the child, or had any caregiving responsibilities, and the significance and nature of the relationship.) (Pause, continue if necessary right away). Or had other adults who were especially important to you, even though not parental?

10. Did you know all of your grandparents? (**CRITICAL:** If not, find out if they died before the subject's birth, and if so--**FIND OUT** subject's parent's exact age when grandparent died.)

11. What is the first time you remember being separated from your parents? (Pause) How did you or they react? (Pause) Are there any other separations

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that stand out in your mind? (Pause) What about the first days of school? (Pause) We'd like to know about your responses to these separations. (Not too much time on this set of questions.)

12. Were your parents ever threatening with you in **any** way, perhaps for discipline, perhaps jokingly? (Encourage subject to think of any way parent was threatening.) Some parents have told us for example that parents would threaten to leave them or send them away from home.

--If positive answers are given then ask When did this happen? Was it frequent? How did you cope with it? Why did you think your parents did this? Do you feel the experience affects you now as an adult? Does it influence your approach to your own child?

13. Did you ever feel rejected as a young child? (Interviewer may need to give an example eventually, but at first give parent a good bit of time to respond to/interpret the question.) Could you describe this incident? How did you feel when this happened?

--Why do you think your parent did those things--do you think he/she realized he was rejecting you? (Pause)
--Does this experience affect you now as an adult? (Pause)
--Does it influence your approach to your own child?

(**Comment:** Many subjects tend to avoid this in terms of a positive answer. It may be helpful for the interviewer to give examples from his/her own life with parents. The interviewer should also be prepared to finally cite

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examples from earlier in the interview when the subject conceivably would have felt rejected, e.g., when threatened with being sent away from the parent.)

14. Did you experience the loss of a parent or other close loved one while you were a young child? Who? At what age? How did this affect you at the time?

--Do you remember how you felt, how you coped with this loss?
--Does this loss affect you now as an adult? Do you think it influences your approach to your own child?
--Have you lost other close persons? In adult years? (Same questions.)
(Pause between all questions for this set.)

(Comment: Be sure to make clear the parent is to include any important persons--not only siblings and grandparents but aunts, uncles and friends.)

15. How do you respond now, in terms of feelings, when you separate from your child?

(Comment: Be sure to give the subject time to respond to this question. Subject may respond in terms of leaving child at school, leaving child for vacations, etc., and this is encouraged. What we want here are the **subject's** feelings about the separation. This question has been very helpful in terms of analyses, for two reasons. In some cases it highlights a kind of role-reversal between parents and child, i.e., subject may respond as though the child was leaving the parent alone, i.e., as though she felt deserted by the child. In other

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cases, the subject may suddenly speak of a fear of loss of the child, or a fear of death in general.)

16. Is there any particular thing which you feel you learned above all from your own childhood experiences? What would you hope your child might have learned from his/her experience of being parented?

(Comment: Give the parent plenty of time to respond to these questions. These questions are intended to help the parent use and integrate whatever she has said or remembered within this interview for her own benefit and the benefit of her relationship with the child.)

Privileged Communication; Revised 1/12/84.

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Appendix B.

THE PARENT DEVELOPMENT INTERVIEW

J. Lawrence Aber
Arietta Slade
Brenda Berger
Ivan Bresgi
Merryl Kaplan

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A. View of the Child:

1. Could you describe (your child) to me?

2. In an average day, what would you describe as his/her most favorite moments?

3. And least favorite moments?

4. What do you like most about your child?

5. What do you like least about your child?

6. Parents often notice similarities and differences between themselves and their children. How do you think (your child) is both like and unlike you?

7. How is he/she like and unlike your spouse?

B. View of the Relationship:

1. I'd like you to choose five adjectives that you feel reflect the relationship between you and (your child). (Pause while they list adjectives.) Could you tell me why you chose those adjectives?

2. Describe a time in the last week when you and (your child) really "clicked". (Probe, if necessary: Can you tell me more about the incident? How did you feel? How do you think (your child) felt?

3. Describe a time in the last week when you and (your child) really weren't "clicking". (Probe, if necessary: Can you tell me more about the incident? How did you feel? How do you think (your child) felt?)

4. How do you think (your child's) relationship with you is affecting his/her development or personality?

5. Are there any experiences in (your child's) life that you feel were a setback for him/her?

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C. Affective Experience of Parenting:

1. Describe yourself as a parent.

2. What gives you the most joy in being a parent?

3. What gives you the most pain or difficulty in being a parent?

4. When you worry about (your child), what do you find yourself worrying most about?

5. Do you ever feel really needy as a parent? (Probe, if necessary: What kinds of situations make you feel this way? How do you handle your needy feelings? What kind of effect does it have on (your child)?)

6. Do you ever feel really angry as a parent? (Probe, if necessary: What kinds of situations make you feel this way? How do you handle your angry feelings? What kind of effect does it have on (your child)?)

7. Do you ever feel really guilty as a parent? (Probe, if necessary: What kinds of situations make you feel this way? How do you handle your guilty feelings? What kind of effect does it have on (your child)?)

8. Do you ever feel ashamed or embarassed as a parent? (Probe, if necessary: What kinds of situations make you feel this way? How do you handle your feelings of shame or embarassment? What kind of effect does it have on (your child)?)

9. When your child is upset, what does he/she do? How does that make you feel? What do you do?

10. What is it like for you when your child refuses to do what you ask him/her to, or deliberately provokes you?

11. Describe a time in the last week when (your child) was being especially aggressive--either towards you, a toy, or himself. (Probe: How did this incident make you feel? How did you handle it?)

12. Does (your child) ever feel rejected?

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13. How do you want to be like and unlike your mother as a parent?
14. How about your father?
15. How are you like and unlike your mother as a parent?
16. How about your father?

D. Parental Reactions to Typical Infant/Toddler Situations:

1. How does (your child) feel when you are busy, and can't pay attention to him/her? (Probe, if not spontaneously volunteered: How do you feel when this happens?)

2. How does (your child) feel when you are able to devote considerable attention to him/her? (Probe, if not spontaneously volunteered: How do you feel when this happens?)

3. How does (your child) do in exploring the world and solving problems on his/her own? (Probe, if not spontaneously volunteered: How do you feel when this happens?)

4. How does (your child) do when he/she can't explore or solve problems without your help and support? (Probe, if not spontaneously volunteered: How do you feel when this happens?)

E. Separation:

1. What is the first time you remember being separated from your child? How did you both react?

2. Now, I'd like to talk about routine separations. By routine separations I mean a separation in which (your child) is left with someone familiar for the usual or expected length of time.

a. Can you briefly describe a typical routine separation for me?

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b. How do you think he/she feels about these separations? (Probe, if necessary: How does he/she feel when you leave? What kinds of reports do you get about his/her response while you're away? How does he/she feel when you return?)

c. What are these separations like for you?

3. Now, could you describe the kind of separation (your child) might experience as somewhat more stressful than a routine separation?

a. How do you think he/she feels about these separations? (Probe, if necessary: How does he/she feel when you leave? While you're away? When you return?

b. What are these separations like for you?

4. What is the longest time you have ever left (your child)?

a. How do you think he/she felt about this separation? How do you think he/she feels about these separations? (Probe, if necessary: How did he/she feel when you leave? While you were away? When you returned?

b. How did you feel during the time you were away?

5. Are there any other separations that stand out in your mind? Tell me how you and your child responded to these separations.

6. Has there ever been a time in your child's life when you felt as if you were losing him/her just a little bit? What did that feel like for you? (Probe, if not spontaneously volunteered: How did you handle those feelings?

7. Is there anyone very important to you who (your child) doesn't know but who you wish he/she was close to?

8. Besides you, who does (your child) feel close to? (Pause while they answer) Anyone else? (They can name as many people as they like.)

9. Pretend that you were all in a room together. Besides you, who would (your child) turn to if he/she were upset or in trouble? (Probe: When and under

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what conditions does your child see (reference person named)? What is his/her relationship to them?)

F. Spousal Relationship:

In this section, use spouse/partner/lover's name when reference is to (your spouse).

1. Now, I'd like you to choose five adjectives that describe your relationship with (your spouse). (Pause while they respond.) Can you tell me why you chose those adjectives?

2. Does your relationship with (your spouse) affect your relationship with (your child)? How?

3. Every parent needs support to do their job. What particular kind of support do you find most helpful? Who gives you this support? How?

G. Change:

1. How has having (your child) changed you?

2. How has having (your child) changed your marriage?

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Appendix C

CODING MANUAL
for the
PARENT DEVELOPMENT INTERVIEW

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We're interested in the mother's perspective of the mother-toddler relationship. The code is designed to assess her subjective organization of the dyadic relationship. We're looking at the quality of her recognition of her own affective experience, her recognition of her child's affective experience, and her recognition of how the two interact.

I. MOTHER'S VIEW OF OWN EXPERIENCE WITHIN THE DYAD. Here we are assuming the existence of a range of affective experience. What we are looking for is the balance between access to the affect through conscious awareness and defenses against the affect through processes such as denial, negation, contradiction, oscillation, and minimization.

The first sentence of every scoring level should be used as the basic guideline for scoring. The following sentences should be seen as examples to help scoring but not as more important a scoring criterion than the initial descriptive sentence of each scoring level.

1. Acknowledgement of anger. When mother is angry at her child she is aware of these feelings and acknowledges them to herself. CODE 1-5

1= No recognition or mention of anger or complete denial of anger.

2= Slight recognition overruled by dismissal of anger; denial, oscillation (I was, no I wasn't), or minimization, such as insisting anger is only frustration.

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3= Greater recognition with some defensive processes still present, such as contradictions, oscillations, minimizations, or negations. As contrasted with level 2 anger does more consistently reach consciousness but the concurrent defenses against it prevent a higher classification.

4= Strong and broad recognition. Slight defenses against acknowledgement may be present. Recognition may be vague and general with lack of sufficient elaboration. Mother may say "Yeah I get angry sometimes," but offer no specific incidents.

5= Full recognition not contradicted elsewhere. Recognition includes mention of specific incidents or rich generalizations. It may also include understanding of cause of anger.

Look specifically at questions A5, B3, C3, C6, C9, C10, C11 to code this. If in doubt weigh C6 particularly heavily.

2. Recognition of Source of Anger. How does mother distinguish her anger at the child from anger at external circumstances, such as child's immaturity, "the situation", her lack of sleep, etc.? CODE 1-5

1= Blames child entirely. Child's actions are seen as only source of anger.

2= Blame of child overshadows the anger at external circumstances, though both are present.

3= Balances anger at child and anger at external circumstances. Both are equally present, neither overshadows the other.

4= Blame of external circumstances overshadows direct anger at child though both are present.

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5= Blames only external circumstances.

Use the same questions used in question #1 to code this.

3. Modulation of Anger. Based on her reports, to what extent does mother modulate expression of anger at her child? CODE 1-5

1= Overmodulates; no direct expression of anger towards child. This also applies to mothers who present no evidence of getting angry with child.

2= Some direct expression of anger but still inhibited. Mother may articulate intent to inhibit or conceal direct expression of anger towards child but states that she is not always successful.

3= Expresses anger directly with clear modulation. Mother communicates her anger in an appropriate fashion.

4= Anger is modulated but there are times when modulation fails. Mother may articulate intent to express anger directly with modulation. Mother does not intend to conceal her anger from her child. It is her intent to modulate it. However she is not always successful.

5= Shows insufficient modulation, expresses anger with little control. Mothers may speak of expressing anger in a consistently undermodulated fashion but without any stated intent to do otherwise. Or mothers may be aware of their difficulties with modulation but the extent to which they fail to modulate their anger prevents them from a level 4 classification.

Use the same questions as the ones used above to code this, with the addition of C7.

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4. Acknowledgement of Neediness. Recognition of own neediness as parent, own dependency needs. CODE 1-5 Include in the scoring the following information:

a. need for external support for job as parent.

b. difficulty with loss or rejection from child (missing child when gone, feeling loss at child's growing independence).

c. own needs from child (affection, feeling important to child)

1= Denial of neediness or only acknowledging concrete, physical needs.

2= Defenses against her own neediness predominates although some admission of it is present. Minimal recognition of neediness occurs such as missing child when separated but the overall dismissal or minimization of neediness prevents a level 3 classification.

3= Greater admission of neediness but some difficulty with acknowledgement still present. As contrasted with level 2, neediness more consistently reaches consciousness but concurrent defenses against it prevent a higher classification. May admit some needs and not others, or may oscillate and contradict her admission of neediness.

4= Recognition of neediness broad but not complete with minor defensive processes still operating. Or recognition may be general and vague with lack of specific elaboration.

5= Full and consistent recognition of neediness with sufficient elaboration. Mother may provide rich generalizations or specific incidents.

Use questions C3, C5, C7, C8, E1-6, F3.

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5. Vividness of Portrayal of Intimate Moments. How richly and vividly are these moments described?

1= Vague and General; no specific intimate moment reported. Generalized routine described as opposed to specific incident.

2= Intimate moment described with limited elaboration of detail. Richly elaborated generalized routines are also coded level 2.

3= Specific incident is elaborated sufficiently such that reader can easily picture it.

Use same questions as above.

II. MOTHER'S VIEW OF CHILD'S EXPERIENCE WITHIN THE DYAD - HOW WELL DOES MOTHER RECOGNIZE CHILD'S NEEDS & AFFECT?

6. Recognition of Anger. How well does mother recognize her child's anger? CODE 1-5

1= No recognition of child's anger. Child's anger may be viewed only as frustration, impatience, or a conflict of will.

2= Mother may occasionally recognize child's anger but her tendency is to dismiss it by denying it, misinterpreting it, or minimizing it.

3= Stronger but still limited recognition. As contrasted with level 2 mother is more consistently conscious of child's anger but her tendency not to recognize it is strong enough to prevent a higher classification.

4= Strong but not complete recognition. Recognition may still be slightly limited. Although mother's tendency may be to recognize child's

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anger, recognition can be general or vague with reasons behind child's anger unclear.

5= Full recognition of child's anger. Mother may express awareness of reasons behind child's anger.

Use questions A3, B3, C9, C10, C11, D1.

7. Recognition of Dependency: Pain with frustrated dependency needs. How well does mother recognize child's difficulty and pain with frustrated attachment needs such as missing mother when separated and feeling rejected sometimes? CODE 1-5.

1= No recognition. Mother may deny child's feeling of rejection and any difficulty with being separated from mother.

2= Some recognition overridden by lack of acknowledgement. Mother may see herself as interchangeable caregiver not as uniquely important individual to child. Mother may minimize child's missing her during separation.

3= Greater recognition though some difficulty with acknowledgement is still present. Mother recognizes that she is a uniquely important individual to child but she may not recognize child's need for physical comfort.

4= Stronger and broader recognition of child's difficulty with frustrated attachment needs. Although mother may discuss child's ease with and attachment to other caregivers, she recognizes child's difficulty with being separated from her. What keeps this from a level five classification is a slight difficulty with acknowledgement or vague and general discussion.

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5= Full recognition of child's difficulty with frustrated dependency needs. Mother may have access to specific incidents or rich detailed generalizations. Mother may recognize differences in child's responses depending on subtle variations in situational conditions.

Use questions C9, C12, D1, E1-5.

Autonomy: Child's need to have some degree of control to order own life and environment

8. Recognition of Autonomy-1: Need for independent exploration. (playing, not cuddling) CODE 1-5. Here mother's difficulty with child's autonomy can be shown by mother's derision of child's exploratory abilities or physical coordination or by other subtle indices of ambivalence.

1= No recognition of child's need for independent exploration.

2= Some recognition but overridden by dismissal or ambivalence. This may manifest itself in strong derision of child's exploratory abilities or in emphasis on child's clinginess or shyness.

3= Greater recognition of child's need for exploration and independent play but some difficulty with it may be present. Mother may underemphasize autonomy or be somewhat critical of child's exploratory ability.

4= Broader and stronger recognition of child's needs for exploration. Mother may speak of actively encouraging child's exploration. If mother criticizes child's abilities, balances criticisms with recognition of strengths. However evidence of slight difficulty with

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acknowledgement may be present.

5= Full recognition of and encouragement of child's autonomous play. Mother may recognize child's enjoyment and pride derived from independent exploration.

Use questions A2, A3, D3, D4.

9. Recognition of Autonomy-2: Child having distinct will. (may conflict with mother's) CODE 1-5.

1= No recogniton of or denial of child's distinct will.

2= Some recogniton of child's distinct will but overridden by dismissal or ambivalence. Child's will may be recognized only when not in conflict with mother's. Emphasis may be on child's cooperation as if absence of conflict is due to child's lack of a distinct will.

3= Greater but still limited recognition of child's distinct will. While mother recognizes distinct will she may not recognize child's need to express own will or act upon it at times.

4= Stronger recognition of child's need for distinct will. Recognition of child's need for independence may be vague and general with content and reason for child's desires not completely understood. Mother may otherwise be held back from level 5 classification by evidence of slight defensive processes against recognition.

5= Full recognition of child's need for a distinct will even if conflicts with mother's. Mother may express support and respect for this although she bases her responses on what she thinks is appropriate, i.e., she does not necessarily capitulate. Mother may accept child's separate will even while acknowledging own frustration or anger.

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Use questions A2, A3, B3, C9, C10, C11.

III. MOTHER'S VIEW OF THE DYAD.

10. Recognition of the Importance of her Effect. To what extent does she recognize the importance of the effect of her experience and her resultant behavior on the child's development? CODE 1-5.

1= No recognition. Denying effect of her feelings and resultant behavior on child's development, minimization and dismissal of her impact.

2= Admission of some effect overshadowed by defensive processes operating against it. Mother may recognize immediate effect on child but denies any enduring impact.

3= Stronger but still limited recognition of mother's effect. Mother may recognize enduring effect on child in some areas and not in others.

4= Broad but not complete recognition of effect. Mother may acknowledge importance of effect on child in general, nonspecific ways or may show evidence of minimal difficulty with acknowledgement.

5= Recognition of importance of mother's experience and resultant behavior on child's development and personality. Mother may convincingly elaborate or identify specific ways in which her emotional experience and resultant behavior may have an enduring effect on child.

Use questions B4, B5, C5-8, C12, F2.

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11. Level of differentiation. To what extent can she recognize the differences and similarities between herself and her child as reflecting two separate personality organizations resulting from different histories of affective experience? How deep or superficial is her understanding of her separateness from her child? Score the questions in full, including both the way she talks about differences and about similarities. CODE 1-5

1= Differences are physical, e.g. "He looks like my husband." Score this level if there is substantial evidence of this level differentiation and there is no evidence of any level of differentiaton higher than level 3.

2= Differences are patterns of activity, things they like to do. "He's more coordinated than I." "She's an excellent problem solver." Elaborate discussions of purely intellectual styles will be included here if no aspects of affective experience are included. Score this level if this level of differentiation predominates and there is no evidence of any level of differentiation higher than level 3.

3= Differences refer to interpersonal styles but only from self's point of view. There is no sense of child's subjective experience, e.g. "She's got a hot temper", "She's selfish", "He's more friendly and outgoing than I am". Score this level if this level predominates strongly over lower levels and no higher levels are present.

4= Differences refer to interpersonal styles with recognition of child's subjective experience present. Awareness of child's differentiated self is not well elaborated. E.g., "He's shy", " she's scared of new people". Score this level if there is evidence of this level of differentiation and there is no evidence of level 5 differentiation.

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5= Differences refer to interpersonal styles with recognition of child's subjective experience elaborated. Some sense of cause and effect or integration of two or more traits or aspects of the person. E.g. "she's closer to her father than I was as a child so I think she's more comfortable around men than I was." Code this level if there is clear evidence of this level of differentiation.

Use questions A6, A7. Code only what is not contradicted elsewhere.

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