

INFORMATION TO USERS

The most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this manuscript from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

U·M·I

University Microfilms International
A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600

Order Number 9108174

**Mothers' attachment representation and mother-daughter
discourse**

Sirey, Jo Anne, Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1990

Copyright ©1990 by Sirey, Jo Anne. All rights reserved.

U·M·I
300 N. Zeeb Rd.
Ann Arbor, MI 48106

A

MOTHERS' ATTACHMENT REPRESENTATION AND MOTHER-DAUGHTER DISCOURSE

by

Jo Anne Sirey

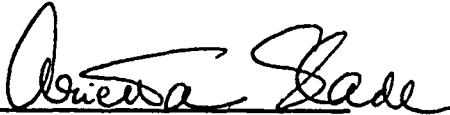
**A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
Psychology in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
The City University of New York**

1990

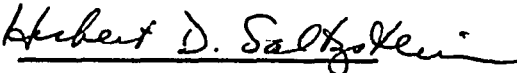
© 1990
Jo Anne Sirey
All rights reserved

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

September 20, 1990
date


Arietta Slade
Chairperson of Examining
Committee

September 24, 1990
date


Herbert D. Salkovskis
Executive Officer

Arietta Slade

Vera Paster

Marta Zahaykevich
Supervising Committee

The City University of New York

Abstract

MOTHERS' ATTACHMENT REPRESENTATION AND MOTHER-DAUGHTER DISCOURSE

by

Jo Anne Sirey

Adviser: Professor Arietta Slade

The present study investigates the theoretical notion that individual differences in mothers' attachment representations of their relationships with their adolescent daughters will influence the way the mother-daughter pair negotiates the individuation process and the daughter's development of autonomy.

Data for 30 mothers and their ninth grade daughters were used in the analysis. Each mother-daughter pair participated in two ten-minute videotaped discussions of their ongoing conflicts. Mothers and daughters were asked to explain their positions in the conflict to each other and attempt to come to a resolution. After the videotaping, each mother was interviewed individually about her perception of the relationship. A coding scheme was developed to capture the structure of argumentation mothers and daughters used in their discussions. The type of argumentation mothers and daughters used was predicted to be related to mothers' attachment representation. Mothers were classified as Autonomous, Preoccupied or Dismissing based on their representations of their relationship with their daughters. This classification was based on a modification of the Adult Attachment Interview coding scheme.

The findings support a relation between mothers' attachment representations and mother-daughter speech. Secure mothers were able to refer to the grounds underlying their arguments and provide a principle or developmental goal to justify their claims. This capacity to justify a claim was defined as legitimating argumentation. Secure mothers produced more legitimated arguments than either of the two insecure groups of mothers. Insecure mothers did not legitimate their

arguments. They tended to rely on assertions of authority rather than logical justifications. Preoccupied mothers were distinguished by their use of pragmatic arguments. No specific speech type distinguished Dismissing mothers from the other groups of mothers.

Daughters of mothers who were secure produced more legitimated arguments than daughters of insecure mothers. The legitimated arguments justified daughters' needs on the basis of self-development or developmental goals. Daughters of insecure mothers were more compliant towards their mothers and resisted mothers' claims in a passively negativistic manner. They were less likely to construct their own arguments.

The study establishes links between mothers' attachment representation and mothers' and daughters' speech in interaction. It suggests that the representation a mother holds influences mother-daughter interaction during adolescence.

Acknowledgments

This work has been constructed in the context of many relationships in my life and was influenced by the people who have shaped my own growth. I am deeply indebted to my core committee, each of whom has played a special role in this process. As my chair, Arietta Slade has been a role model who provided guidance, consistent support and intellectual inspiration. Vera Paster has championed my growth, challenged my thinking with warmth and believed in my ability to succeed. Marta Zahaykevich has provided intellectual mentoring and friendship, from the very beginning encouraging me strive towards excellence. I am grateful to her for collecting this data and breathing life into discourse as a way of seeing relationships. I also wish to thank Steve Tuber and A.J. Franklin for their time and comments on the final version of this manuscript. Marc Glassman, David Bernstein and Richard Vito provided statistical guidance. Lisa Cohen gave tirelessly of herself in refining the coding scheme and coding the data. Mary Ann Frank, Lisa Director and Michael Lipson read early versions of this work, I thank them. Judy Roth gave encouragement from start to finish and her critiques of my work were perceptive and sensitive.

On a more personal note, I wish to thank my family who supported my life as a student. Specifically, my parents whose love and generous support allowed me to devote myself to this work fully, knowing their support would always be there and my bills would get paid. Individually, my father shared his creative thinking and intellectual curiosity, providing a role model for exploring the natural world. In spite of the periods of turbulence during my development, my mother believed in the continuity of our relationship and demonstrated the power of a woman's voice. No doubt the power was inspired by my grandmother, whose memory lives on. I am deeply grateful to the insight and support of Steven J. Wein. Finally, I dedicate this work to Salomon Bankier who has brought love, laughter and intimacy into my life.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
ABSTRACT.....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	vi
LIST OF TABLES.....	viii
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER	
1. LITERATURE REVIEW.....	5
Theoretical Review.....	5
Empirical Review.....	20
Statement of Purpose.....	43
Hypotheses.....	47
II. METHOD.....	49
Subjects.....	49
Procedure.....	49
Measures.....	50
Mother-Daughter Interview Coding.....	51
Discourse Analysis.....	53
III. RESULTS.....	56
IV. DISCUSSION.....	73
The Findings.....	74
Profiles of Mothers' Attachment Representation Groups.....	74
Mothers' Attachment Representation & Daughters' Speech.....	80
Implications.....	82
Attachment Theory and Research.....	82
Adolescence and Gender Related to Attachment Representation.....	91
Discourse: The Co-construction of a Voice.....	95
Clinical Implications of the Study.....	97
Implications for Future Research.....	99
Limitations of the Study.....	101
Conclusions.....	103
APPENDIX 1. Mother-Daughter Interview Protocol.....	105
APPENDIX 2. Mother-Daughter Attachment Representation Coding Manual.....	108
APPENDIX 3. Means & Standard Deviations for All Speech.....	127
APPENDIX 4. Alpha Coefficients for Speech.....	128
APPENDIX 5. Correlations of All Speech.....	129
REFERENCES.....	129

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>	<u>Page</u>
1 Mothers' Speech Variables for Three Attachment Representation Groups: ANOVAs.....	62
2 Mothers' Speech Variables for Three Attachment Representation Groups: t-tests.....	63
3 Daughters' Speech By Three Attachment Representation Groups: ANOVAs.....	68
4 Daughters' Speech by Mothers' Attachment Representation: Two Group t-tests.....	69

**Mother's Attachment Representation
and Mother-Daughter Discourse**

"I had my first out-of-body experience when 16-year-old Rebecca flew to Cyprus for a month. She was by all appearances a solo traveler, but the physical distance she traveled was so palpable that I leapt the space anyway, staying awake all that night arching across the black Atlantic, getting a little fuzzy for the London stop-over but reconstituting my presence well enough to make the final leg into Larnaca, my mother's intensity paralyzing any terrorists that might have been on board. When we got the call that she was safely in Nicosia, I was content that I had done my job well and settled down happily to my reading - Durrell's *Bitter Lemons*, histories of the Mediterranean, whatever would help me experience the new worlds of a faraway daughter."

Molly Layton
"The Mother Journey"

Adolescence is a journey for both mother and daughter. It is the search for a land where the daughter can develop an individualized identity and still continue to correspond home. For the mother this journey is, as Layton (1989) poetically describes it, the search to share the burgeoning identity of her daughter and transform the childhood relationship. In addition, mothers' roles change during these years as their children become more independent and move towards adulthood. The processes of adolescence have mothers and daughters working with and against each other to create a new version of themselves and their relationship. It can be conflictual, despairing and intensely enriching for both. As a time of change and growth for both individuals, the transformations are best understood in the context of the mother-daughter relationship. For the adolescent girl, the mother-daughter relationship is of central importance in the development of identity and autonomy. The intrapsychic and interpersonal tasks of individuation for the girl require that she work to transform this relationship to achieve the goals of this developmental

period (Blos, 1962; Levenson, 1988).

The caregiver-child relationship has been conceptualized as the primary developmental relationship in psychoanalytic theory. Most often this relationship is with the mother. Psychologically, the dyadic relationship is the infant's first world and as s/he develops begins to form relationships with the father, siblings and other members of the family. Adolescence is marked by the expanded interest in the world outside of the family and the work of developing a separate identity. It has been proposed that the processes of adolescent development reactivate the primary issues of self development which emerged initially in the first separation-individuation period. The adolescent must individuate intrapsychically from the mother (Blos, 1962, 1980). Adolescents begin to procure a meaningful identity that aids in organizing and understanding their experience and allows them to share their meaning systems with others (Josselson, 1987). This is done in an ongoing relationship that serves as the 'frame' for the transformations during this time.

Boys and girls both work towards individuation during adolescence, but there appear to be marked differences in the way this process unfolds for each gender. In addition, each parent plays a different role during adolescence and the task for the girl is not the same as the one for the boy. The boy separates from his mother and builds an identification with his father. The identification aids in shifting his relationship with his mother. For the girl, separating and developing an autonomous identity are complicated since the mother is the central figure for both processes. Thus, the adolescent girl is separating and identifying with the same person (Chodorow, 1978; Bergman, 1982).

The female adolescent creates her gendered self in the mother-daughter relationship and develops her sense of autonomy in this relationship. The adolescent girl is both pulling away and also becoming more like mother through these processes. This being the case, the way her mother perceives the tasks of this period, her relationship with her daughter and her own history will impact upon this process. While the mother-daughter relationship is not the exclusive relationship of adolescence, it plays a central role in the girl's development of an identity and autonomy. Relationships with the father, siblings and peers also play a

powerful role in development and the identity being forged, but this work will focus on the mother-daughter relationship.

This study examines the relationship between mothers' representational processes and mother-daughter discourse. Psychoanalytic theory suggests that a mother's psychological development and her inner representations are intricately related to her parenting (Levy, 1960; Bergmann, 1982). This is particularly true during adolescence, which is often a turbulent period for both mother and daughter. While psychoanalytic theorists of adolescence offer rich descriptions of the intrapsychic and interpersonal developments during adolescence, they primarily offer case studies and theoretical speculation for support. Attachment theory and research offer a dyadic representational system that captures interaction in attachment relationships -- the attachment representation. This system is a more useful tool for investigating the interaction during this period and understanding how mothers may influence this interaction.

A mother's attachment representation of her relationship with her daughter is her internal portrayal of this relationship. An attachment representation defines the expected guidelines for organizing information regarding significant relationships as well as the feelings associated with attachment experiences based on previous interactions (Main, Kaplan & Cassidy, 1985). It is a blueprint for interaction in this relationship, how feelings are processed and expressed and what is expected from mother and daughter. The mother's representation is also influenced by her own experience of being mothered during adolescence as she relives these struggles with her daughter.

Attachment representations offer a way to explore the individual differences between mothers and to better understand mothers' and daughters' discourse patterns, i.e., how they verbally negotiate their relationship. Discourse refers to two people engaged in a dialogue. When mother and daughter engage in discourse, they engage in verbal interaction that structures the relationship, and it is the relationship that influences the transformation of the individuals (Youniss, 1983). Mother and daughter develop through transforming their relationship which in turn fosters the daughter's adolescent development of autonomy. Discourse in this study

highlights mothers' and daughters' legitimated argumentation, specifically their ability to legitimate the claims they assert in conflict discussions. To legitimate an argument is to support the claim by invoking a generalizable principle such as fairness, mutual coordination of interactions, etc. Thus, the legitimating process allows one's needs to be better substantiated because the argument is backed by an appeal to a general principle or universal premise. This maximizes mutuality in a discussion of relationship issues where each individual has a competing claim (Habermas, 1973). To engage in the process of legitimating creates mutuality in the discourse, for a legitimated argument takes into account the competing perspective of the other person. For a daughter, this activity fosters her self-reflection and her capacity to reconcile her needs with her mother's needs. This is a new perspective on parent-adolescent interaction as defined through discourse. This study takes a novel approach by looking not only at what is being said but the formal structure of the line of argumentation used in conflict discussions. The study argues that the mother's attachment representation provides a valuable way of understanding the individual differences in mother-daughter discourse.

The study bridges three domains: attachment theory and research, adolescent individuation theory and discourse analysis. While attachment is an organizational construct that is meaningful throughout the life-span, this is the first study to look specifically at the mother-daughter attachment representation during adolescence and link it to speech in this relationship. This study narrows the focus of the attachment representation to a specific relationship during a specific developmental period. This attachment representation is then related to mothers' capacity to engage in speech activity that modifies and transforms the relationship, their capacity to legitimate. In addition, it explores the relationship between this representation and daughters' capacity to legitimate. In discourse, when legitimating argumentation is not being utilized, the mothers assert their authority in different ways and daughters challenge and resist this authority. The individuation process is being captured in discourse as mothers and daughters transform their relationship from an asymmetrical parent-child relation towards increasingly more mutual interaction that fosters adolescent autonomy.

CHAPTER ONE

Literature Review

The review of the literature relevant to this study is divided into four main sections. The first part reviews the psychoanalytic view of adolescence and the developmental gender differences proposed by feminist psychoanalytic theorists. This will provide the framework for the discussion of the issues negotiated by mother and daughter during this period. The second section explores the notion of representation as a way of thinking about mothers' contributions to the process of individuation. This includes considering representation as an alternative construct to ego development. The next section presents the attachment theory view of representation, which is the conceptualization used in this study. Attachment researchers have developed a meaningful way of defining and identifying representations, and this study seeks to extend the notion to the mother-daughter relationship. The final section reviews the literature on discourse analysis in parent-adolescent interaction. Speech analysis is a new and exciting area of developmental research which focuses on discourse as the means of constructing development change. It is through parent-child interaction that growth takes place and discourse in adolescence provides the opportunity to investigate the interaction in this changing relationship.

Theoretical Review

Classical Psychoanalytic Theory of Adolescence

Emotional development and the transformation of object relations during adolescence has been discussed by psychoanalytic theorists. In classical psychoanalytic theory, adolescence is seen as a period of upheaval and stress. In this view, the two primary tasks the adolescent faces are to strengthen the structures necessary to channel the genital drive and to relinquish ties to the infantile love

objects, thus promoting the pathway for adult heterosexual love and sex-appropriate identifications. The physiological changes during adolescence are seen as the catalyst for psychological changes (Freud, A. 1969). The emergent genital drive brings about transformations in ego organization, object relations, and social relations. The ego is thought to be weakened by the strength of the genital drives and therefore must build new defenses. The adolescent is pictured as relying on rigid defenses to protect him/herself and, alternately, as unable to contain the drives leading to impulsive and unrestrained behaviors. It is proposed that in response to the genital drive a shift takes place in object relations to accommodate the new demands and find appropriate objects. This brings the oedipal struggle to life once again. Anna Freud (1969) suggests that the only defense available to the adolescent against the drive activity is to completely disregard the earlier love objects. Withdrawal from the infantile objects leaves uncathected libido available for other objects. This brings about a movement out of the family and the establishment of new relations with peers and other adults.

In Sigmund Freud's earlier work he believed that the sequence of events described above applied only to male development. In adolescence, the girl undergoes a "wave of repression" which is equated with her femininity and the denial of her sexuality (Freud, S. 1905,1975). While it is commonly accepted that female physiology and psychological development was an area of short-sightedness for Freud, he believed he had stumbled upon a great insight in the recognition of the extended and influential pre-oedipal period for women: The prominent position of the pre-oedipal attachment to the mother in girls modified the nature of their later development (Freud, S. 1931,1961).

Since the girl does not have the fear of castration to force her to turn away from her mother, her oedipal constellation is conceived as less powerful and its dissolution less influential. The pre-oedipal relationship with the mother is seen as a powerful influence on the girl's psychological development. While the boy leaves the oedipal period and reenters it in adolescence with firm internalized fears of holding on to the mother, the girl neither has these fears nor, as some suggest, fully relinquishes the mother as the primary object (Chodorow, 1978; Dinnerstein,

1976). The pre-oedipal attachment to the mother is ambivalent and it is this ambivalence, as well as the hostility towards the mother for not having a penis, which is thought to eventually turn the girl towards her father. The little boy is able to channel his ambivalence towards the father who is seen as the rival for the mother. His option is to identify with this powerful rival (Abelin, 1980). The girl cannot direct her hostility towards the father, whom she must take as her love object, and thus finds herself in an unresolved position according to classical psychoanalytic theory. This is the way she enters adolescence and renegotiates the issues of the previous periods.

Contemporary Psychoanalytic Theories of Adolescence

Blos (1962) presents an in-depth description of the intrapsychic transformations that take place during adolescence. He labels adolescence as the "second separation-individuation" period. In pre-adolescence the boy is confronted with a surge of drive activity and an increase in castration anxiety; he attempts to release drive demands in pre-genital expressions. The girl is thought to attempt to turn towards a heterosexual orientation in order to defend against the "regressive pull" to the relationship with the pre-oedipal mother (Blos, 1962). Because of the partial identifications established during the oedipal period, and the bisexual nature of her development, the girl is thought to struggle fervently with her infantile object relations during adolescence. It is this struggle with the pre-oedipal relationship with the mother that has been internalized which is thought to be most pressing for the girl. In contrast the boy's most profound conflict is the oedipal struggle with the father. The adolescent girl must resolve her object relational struggles and strengthen her identifications before she can move outside the family.

In early adolescence the boy turns his attention to friends who represent the ideals he aspires toward and takes an active role in constructing a new identity. At the same time, the girl experiences "crushes" that are passive relationships where she seeks to be loved and cared for by either sex; overtly this is seen primarily with female objects. She passively seeks to woo the female objects who may aid her in establishing a sense of self. In this early formulation, the psychoanalytic polarities

between activity-passivity and masculinity-femininity are thought to emerge as a result of the developmental differences between the sexes and are intricately related to identity development. The girl's "crush" is thought to reflect her bisexuality and the "ultimate safeguard for her normal passage through this phase", according to Blois, "is the emotional availability of the parent, particularly the mother or a mother substitute" (1962, p. 87). She must be able to have the nourishment she craves from an available mother in order to avoid turning to precocious sexuality. The precocious sexuality is a way of satisfying the regressive pull to the nurturing pre-oedipal mother without resolving the concomitant rage of dependency and helplessness. Instead, the mother must be able to be available and tolerate the rage. In later revisions of his theory, Blois (1980) notes that the adolescent girl must resolve the ambivalence towards the pre-oedipal mother to be freed from emotional bondage and develop a gendered and cohesive sense of self. This includes being able to work through the rage directed at the "mother imago", which is thwarted if the process is intruded upon by the mother's needs for closeness and sharing that forbid aggressive or self-contained assertions of self.

In "adolescence proper" both sexes turn to a heterosexual orientation and fully renounce their infantile objects. They search for object choices that are appropriate and heterosexual, having fully renounced the bisexual and narcissistic positions of previous eras. This is a period of decisive change and of turning towards adulthood. In the sequence of changes proposed by the classical internalization model of development and further elaborated by Blois, the adolescent works to achieve full renunciation of the parents as love objects and struggles against drive activity. The adolescent ego is seen as weak and must build itself up and fight against pre-oedipal and oedipal longings. Following Freud's lead, Blois views the girl's development as much more ambiguous and amorphous. She struggles with her bisexuality and her original tie to her mother which is highlighted in both pre-adolescence and early adolescence. While both Freud and Blois note the importance of pre-oedipal dynamics for the girl, it is only recently that Blois (1980) explored the role of pre-oedipal attachments in female development in an effort to account for developmental research findings. The adolescent girl has a different intrapsychic experience as a

consequence of her different relationships, but ultimately this difference is translated into an assumption that she is unable to achieve autonomy and agency and remains passive and dependent. In this view, the adolescent girl is held down by her strong tie to her mother and relegated to a life of passively wooing the objects who are important to her. Along with the phallogentric bias reflected in this theoretical position, the rigid focus on purely intrapsychic drive-dominated development places the adolescent's development in a vacuum. The actual interaction between parent and adolescent and how this influences intrapsychic development is left unarticulated. Instead, what is highlighted is the tumultuous reworking of the adolescent ego and the relinquishing of early relations. This view which focuses exclusively on the intrapsychic and defensive functioning of the adolescent ego is modified by the psychoanalytic individuation view of development.

Separation-Individuation Theory Revisited

Josselson (1980, 1987), building on the work of Mahler, Pine and Bergman (1975), articulates a view of adolescent development that highlights the process of individuation from the internalized parental introjects, i.e., the internal images of the parents of early development. In this view this process ultimately leads to ego autonomy and the negotiation of a new relationship with the actual parents. Critics have suggested that adolescence is not experienced as a period fraught with drive-related concerns with the final objective of tossing parents aside (Offer, Ostrow, & Howard, 1981). In response, Josselson suggests that adolescence be understood as a process of individuation whereby reliance on the parents is transformed into reliance on oneself and autonomy from the introjects of childhood. Yet this is achieved through the continued relationship with the "reality parents". This individuation process is believed to follow the sequence of the earlier stages of separation-individuation. To draw the parallel between the toddler stages of separation-individuation, Josselson uses the terms coined by Mahler, Pine & Bergman (1975) to describe the first period of separation-individuation. Although the adolescent is aware of the actual boundaries of self and other, it is the subjective

experience of oneness with and reliance on the parents which is modified, and the dynamic and interpersonal processes of earlier development are reactivated.

In the first phase of "practicing" in adolescence, the adolescent begins to enjoy the new freedom and assert his or her independence. Like the toddler in the earlier practicing phase, the adolescent often protects his/her independence and new found will by protesting "no" in response to anyone attempting to constrain it. Internally, the self is experienced as all that is good and powerful and the "bad representations" of self are projected outward (Josselson, 1980). The dependency on the parents is denied. As the adolescent enters the rapprochement-like phase, there is a painful recognition of separateness, and the desire to be independent is combined with a desire for approval. This is the ambivalence of adolescent rapprochement. Josselson points to the adolescent lament of "my parents don't understand me" to illustrate the combined demands for individuality and autonomy and, at the same time, the need for approval and recognition of the developing identity. Thus, "discarding" the parental ties cannot be seen as the task necessary for development; the early parental images must be modified in the context of the ongoing relationship. Josselson suggests that the psychoanalytic "turmoil" view and the phenomenological critics can be reconciled by conceptualizing the adolescent as struggling with the dual needs of both pulling away from the introjects and maintaining an ongoing relationship with the parents.

The adolescent modifies the internalized images, or introjects, of the parents in the context of his/her current relationships. The introjects are modified so mature identifications can develop and the adolescent ego can gain intrapsychic autonomy. Yet this modification is embedded in ongoing interpersonal relationships and in day to day interactions with the parents. Josselson suggests that the internal images may become fused with the external reality of the parents. Thus, the adolescent may find him/herself attacking not the reality parents but the parental introjects. The reality parents may be transformed in emotional conflict into the incorrigible, omnipotent parents of childhood. In interaction, the adolescent may project the introjected image outward onto the reality parent and respond to it by attacking it. This projection enables the adolescent to modify the introject. By way of illustration Josselson (1980) gives the example of the outrage of an adolescent whose parent

asks where s/he is going. The parent's simple question may be seen as imbued with hostile and restricting intentions which may in fact be distortions of a simple request for information. The image of the parent is of the omnipotent, restricting, and controlling parent of the young child which is being projected onto the reality parent of the adolescent (Josselson, 1980). The distinctions between inner and outer experience may be blurred. This blurring, although trying for the parent, may be a necessary defensive action for the adolescent to modify intrapsychic representations and aids in the development of ego autonomy.

Sex Differences in Separation-Individuation

While the classical theorists clearly outlined different developmental strategies for girls and boys, Josselson's (1980) account of the separation-individuation process of adolescence does not discuss sex differences in the relationships. She describes a process that is the same for both boys and girls. To understand the differences it is necessary to look back at discussions of the first separation-individuation process and extrapolate. The differences between the sexes were observed by researchers who observed toddlers negotiate this earlier period.

Bergman (1982) notes that little girls discover sex differences earlier and suggests that this discovery has a profound impact on their personality development. She also suggests that girls have greater difficulty resolving the rapprochement crisis which results in their having difficulty with investing energy in the outside world. Their difficulty separating from the mother thwarts their capacity to move to exploration and involvement in the world outside the dyadic relationship. Finally, she cites Mahler's recognition that girls have the dual task of separating from, and identifying with, the mother. Whereas boys move from the mother to an identification with the father, Bergman highlights the girl's tangle of differentiating from, and identifying with the mother. This is similar to the classical psychoanalytic notion that the ambivalence of the primary relationship with the mother cannot be resolved in the same way for girls as it is for boys. The boy can project his ambivalence out and identify with the rival father. In separation-

individuation terms the girl must simultaneously identify and dis-identify with the same person (Bergman, 1982 citing Mahler, 1979).

Finally, there is the special impact of the mother's attitude towards herself as a woman and as a mother which influences her daughter's development. A mother subtly communicates to her daughter what she wishes her to be, what she feels she can be, and what she ought to be through both conscious and unconscious communications (Bergman, 1982). As the daughter develops an identity of her own, she is being influenced by her mother's representations. They will be taken into account in the formation of her gender identity and her experience of this transition. Bergman (1982) also notes, as many others have suggested, that mothers may relive their own developmental phases with their children (Bibring, 1961; Benedek, 1973). This places the mother-daughter dyad in a special position in negotiating the separation-individuation process both in toddlerhood and in the modified stages of adolescence. While it is clear that in psychoanalytic theory and research the developmental pathways for the girl are proposed to be different from the boy's, the impact of gender of the primary caregiver hinted at by Bergman must be explored in greater depth. It is this last gender difference which will be highlighted in this research.

The Developmental Impact of Mothers Mothering

Tremendous changes in our society have taken place over the last twenty-five years. The role of women has expanded dramatically and with that expansion we have seen new issues emerge. Developmental psychologists and clinicians are addressing the processes of growth in the mother-child relationship and the impact of mothers working, daycare, alternative lifestyles and the myth of the "supermom". While these changes have expanded the options available to women, the raising of children is still primarily the work of women. Fathers are becoming more active in parenting but the continued primary presence of the mother reinforces the separation-individuation process as a mother-child process. This places the developmental sex differences in the context of a relationship with a parent of a particular gender and as influenced by the gender-related issues of that parent. The

influence of mothers' mothering has been noted by many prominent feminist psychoanalytic theorists (Deutsch, 1944; Balint, 1954; Dinnerstein, 1976; Chodorow, 1978).

Early in the mother-infant relationship, mothers identify more with their daughters than their sons; they see themselves in their daughters: what they are, what they could be, what they should be. Mothers often have desires for a child of a particular sex based on their own sense of self (Hammer, 1975). In the primary relationship of mother and daughter there is a "oneness" and "sameness" which does not exist with the male infant who is seen as the male opposite of the self. Mothers project more of themselves on their daughters than their sons (Chodorow, 1978; Levenson, 1984). Chodorow suggests that male children are pushed out of the primary relationship with greater ease than female children. The male child then struggles more with the difficulty of being close and intimate than with being autonomous and differentiated. The entrance into the oedipal constellation for the girl is a second layer on the primary relationship with the mother which continues to be of importance throughout development.

Bergman notes the differences in the sexes during rapprochement, but she does not fully articulate how female development differs from the male development of agency, autonomy and separateness. The interaction between mother and daughter during rapprochement influences the girl's ability to separate and become more autonomous but the specific difficulties, and how the transmission of an "unconscious boundarilessness" takes place, are left unclear.

Ambivalence and Aggression in Separation-Individuation

The process of individuation includes reworking the pre-oedipal attachment in classical terms or the ambivalence of the rapprochement-like period in separation-individuation terms. In this period, the assertion of aggression or the expression of anger or rage is important. It often occurs with the desire to be dependent and receive approval. How anger and aggression are handled is related to the adolescent girl's internalized experience of asserting herself. These issues are considered to be

central in understanding women's development and how the ambivalence of adolescent development is mastered.

Levenson (1988) focuses on the handling and expression of aggression and self-assertion in the mother-daughter relationship as the keystone of the girl's development of autonomy. Building on Mahler's claim that the expression of aggression is central to development in the separation-individuation process, Levenson argues that aggression and self-assertion, as it is initially expressed in action, becomes internalized in girls as selfishness, based on the management of these actions in mother-daughter interaction.

In our society aggression is discouraged in girls and tolerated and encouraged in boys. It is in the context of the mother-infant relationship that this double standard is transmitted and maintained. Through verbal and non-verbal communication the infant who strays too far or is too assertive is told that this is not acceptable behavior. The obvious examples are the famous visual cliff experiments where infants are seen to rely on parental expressions to determine whether they are safe. By reading the anxiety or disappointment on the mother's face the child learns that self-assertion and aggression are discouraged and may even injure mother. In a recent study of face to face infant-mother interaction Trolnick et al. (1989) report sex differences in mothers' responses to different affective expressions. Infant boys' expressions of anger were met with a furrowed brow whereas infant girls' anger was met with mothers' expressions of anger. While in both cases the anger is discouraged, there is a subtle but powerful difference between meeting a child's anger with an expression of disapproval and an expression of anger.

In the little girl, angry and aggressive interactions where the mother disapproves of these expressions are internalized to mean that aggression is selfish. These expressions are selfish because they do not consider the feelings of anxiety, disappointment or upset in the other. Levenson (1988) suggests that the girl may retreat to a less active, less separate position of "we-ness". This state of "we-ness" includes permeable boundaries, and the dyadic relationship is maintained with the girl inhibiting her own assertions and expressions of aggression. This may force the girl into maintaining an "unconscious boundariless" relationship with the mother or

a mother substitute (Levenson, 1988). While this stance means less autonomy and denying the needs for and individuality of the self, it may be preferable to the guilt and anxiety of rejecting the mother and ignoring her communications. Thus, in an attempt to maintain the relationship and the security, the girl may forego those expressions of herself which jeopardize the relationship. She may become compliant and quiet.

Highlighting the handling of aggression in the separation-individuation process, concomitant difficulties arise around the internalization of the meaning of autonomous behavior. All of these expressions are seen to occur at the expense of the mother and the primary relationship (Levenson, 1988). Bernardez-Bonesatti (1978) notes that women often translate anger into hurt. They suggest that this is a defense against the separateness and the demand for recognition of self needs implicit in being angry. An expression of hurt maintains a less differentiated position whereas anger involves the feelings of being separate, different and alone. In development, the expressions of autonomy and anger play an important role in the individuation process of girls that is different from that of boys. If the mother seeks to maintain the relationship and discourages her daughter's angry or aggressive expressions, which assert separateness, she contributes to the difficulty in resolving the ambivalence of being individuated. To have a separate identity may in fact come to mean being alone. The daughter may choose to preserve the protection, safety and closeness of the relationship even if she must deny asserting needs for herself. Alternatively, she may strike out to be separate in a hyper-independent way, closing off the relationship with the mother completely. The way this bind is worked out impacts upon how the self is defined and what boundaries between individuals are established or left unarticulated.

Other psychoanalytic theorists have noted the special difficulty of the mother-daughter dyad with separation. Balint (1954) focuses on the mother's transmission of her anxious or ambivalent feelings about her daughter's separation and the expression of individuated agency. She notes two patterns of actions daughters may choose to cope with mothers' ambivalence about separation which are concordant with Levenson's ideas. Daughters may reject the mother and/or the relationship to

free themselves from the ambivalent closeness. Alternatively, as a consequence of the mother's ambivalence expressed either with tenderness or hostility, the daughter may find herself caught in a web of guilt or unable to achieve the recognition necessary to securely establish an independent sense of self (Balint, 1954). In adolescence, when these issues are revived, daughters may respond to this ambivalence by striking out. While as adults these women may appear separate, their representations of their primary relationships are not worked through and issues of closeness and intimacy may be recast in other relationships. This parallels the findings noted by Bergman (1982) where the girl's difficulty with rapprochement leads to problems expending energy exploring the world. In both cases the tie to the mother-daughter relationship comes at the expense of movement to other relationships and/or investment in the outside world. In a mother-daughter relationship that is enmeshed, there is no room for recognition of the other's needs and developing self. A daughter may unconsciously choose to maintain an unboundaried relationship, as Levenson suggests. Incompletely working through this relationship may lay the groundwork for either cutting off emotional attachments or an unconscious preoccupation with maintaining the relationship with the mother or mother substitute.

In the last decade strong criticisms have been voiced against individuation theory as being too focused on the development of separateness and disengagement from the parents during adolescence. Kaplan & Klein (1985) argue that there is no acknowledgment of the relational nature of women's development and the ongoing relationship with the mother. They argue that development occurs within the relationship and to preserve it is an important part of the developmental process. They see the adolescent girl as developing an increasingly more differentiated self in the relationship, and conflict as an essential means through which the relationship is modified. This is an important addition to the psychoanalytic theory of individuation. To have an individuated identity does not mean breaking off the current relationship. The transformation of self occurs in a relationship and the preservation of the relationship remains important.

To this point the focus has been only the adolescent daughter's development and the mother's identification. The variables that contribute to a mother's handling of the separation-individuation process of adolescence must be looked at more closely. How is a mother able to support a daughter's growth and be flexible enough to transform the relationship? It is the premise of this study that the discourse interaction between mother and daughter during this period is informed by mother's attachment representation of her daughter and their relationship. If a mother has a flexible attachment representation and can attend to the affective experiences and reflect upon herself and her daughter, she will be better able to work with her daughter. She will be better able to facilitate this process than if she is unavailable psychologically or defensively cut-off. This representation is influenced by the mother's own history of being mothered and her developmental stage of life. It may reflect her own unconscious fantasies of what it means to be a woman as well as internalized images and interactive expectations. To look more closely at a mother's contribution to the separation-individuation process, it is necessary to consider how we can think about and assess representations.

Mothers' Development and Mothers' Representation

The mother's developmental issues at the time of her daughter's adolescence are important contributing variables to the relationship. Life-span developmental theorists have noted that adolescence often coincides with a parent's mid-life crisis (A. Freud, 1969; Anthony, 1970; Kimmel, 1985). This period of reevaluation may be particularly difficult for a mother whose sense of self is based primarily on being a mother. As a mother watches her daughter moving forward, her own aspirations and life goals may need to be re-evaluated. In a study of parent-adolescent conflict, mothers whose daughters reported the greatest emotional control and autonomy, as assessed from a clinical interview, reported more intense mid-life crises (Silverberg & Steinberg, 1987). This finding seems to suggest that as daughters separate, their mothers concurrently may experience a crisis of identity. No doubt this interaction may have converse effects where the mother's crisis will impact

upon the daughter's identity struggles. In the same study, it was also found that the more intense conflicts with daughters were correlated to mothers reporting psychological symptoms and lowered self-esteem. Mothers have strong emotional investments in the separation process and this may contribute to the ambivalence they experience as their daughters begin to develop autonomy. A mother's increased ambivalence or her own struggle with self definition will be felt in the mother-daughter relationship. It will no doubt make the daughter's struggle more intense and her ambivalent feelings more difficult to resolve.

It is clear that not all adolescent-parent interactions are confrontative or conflictual, but conflict and working through conflicts are important ways of modifying and negotiating a relationship and expanding it. As mentioned earlier, Kaplan & Klein (1985) see conflict as crucial to working on a relationship, and for the adolescent girl it is a way of working out the developing self in the context of a relationship. A relationship without conflict implies compliance or avoidance of asserting oneself and one's needs in order to avoid confrontation. It is in conflict that the adolescent is afforded an opportunity to argue for what she believes to be important for herself. In studies of adolescent-parent conflict, adolescents report significantly more conflicts with their mothers despite reports of equal time with both parents (Montemayor, 1982, 1986). This supports the assertion made by Chodorow (1978) that mothers remain the primary caregivers and the primary parent with whom the individuation process is negotiated, since the mother is the parent with whom the child establishes the first relationship. The mother-daughter dyad is reported to have the greatest number of conflicts and the longest, most intense conflicts of all dyads. Adolescent girls reported being most upset when in conflict with their mothers (Montemayor, 1982).

Gender Differences in Parent-Adolescent Interaction

In a recent special issue on sex differences in the *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 1987, interesting findings were reported on the different family relations at adolescence. While the issue was specifically devoted to sex differences in family interaction, very few main effects attributable to sex alone were found. A

study looking at psychosocial development found that adolescent girls had to work harder to establish autonomy in family relations than boys (Cooper & Grotevant, 1987). This is consistent with the psychoanalytic position that relations with significant figures are the central concern of girls during adolescence, more so than boys whose sense of self is more firmly set upon entrance to adolescence. Secondly, Steinberg (1987) notes that the most impressive findings point to differences in mothers and fathers and the distinctions between the four individual parent-adolescent pairs. He notes that mothers are more emotionally involved in the adolescent, and this involvement appears to have strong effects on the mothers' mental health. When placed on a continuum of emotional involvement, the four parent-adolescent dyads range from the mother-daughter dyad as the most intense and involved and the father-daughter dyad as the least interactive and most distant. This finding provides support for the mother-daughter dyad as the most emotionally charged and possibly conflictual during adolescence. These findings are consistent with the premises of psychoanalytic theorists who note the closeness, intimacy, and sometimes enmeshed nature of the mother-daughter relationship. Steinberg (1987) suggests that future research in adolescence focus on these dyadic relationships as opposed to the adolescent alone or the parent-adolescent relationships in general.

Given these studies, it appears that the mother-daughter relationship requires the greatest reworking at this time and that it is the relationship in which the adolescent girl must learn to assert her autonomy, as theorists have suggested. Conflict may be a difficult yet important ingredient of the adolescent daughter-mother relationship. It is in conflict with the mother that the adolescent girl expresses her demands and the needs that she feels are necessary for her developing self. In this dyadic relationship she may be able to make assertions and establish her sense of agency in her environment. This is contingent on the availability of her mother to encourage these assertions and reflect the importance of these needs without perceiving rejection, abandonment or senseless hostility. The research discussed by Steinberg (1987) suggests that the intense conflict between mother and daughter also impacts on the mother's sense of self. If this is true, it may be difficult for a mother to foster her daughter's autonomy because of its relation to her

own sense of self. If a mother holds a representation of her daughter as developing a separate identity with justified needs and expectations, she will be able to negotiate the conflicts and foster her daughter's growth, without experiencing this growth as injurious. If her daughter is perceived as an extension of herself or as an intrusion she will be unable to facilitate the individuation process. She may thwart her daughter's expressions or be unable to support autonomous strivings. For some mothers, the intensity of the mother-daughter relationship may reflect issues which are extensions of the mothers' own dynamics, marital or vocational satisfaction. This will place extra weight upon the relationship during this period which may not have been evident or as influential during other developmental periods.

Given that the process of individuation is central to adolescent development and there appear to be specific difficulties inherent in the way mothers and daughters negotiate this process, we must now begin to address the way these theoretical issues can be investigated. While the premises of the proposed study are generated from psychoanalytic individuation theory, this study will rely on measures and methods of investigation developed by other domains.

Empirical Review

While individual development and intrapsychic phenomena have been the focus for psychoanalytic theorists, developmental researchers have begun to look at adolescents in the context of the family. Adolescent emotional development is seen as embedded in family interaction. The analyses of these researchers have sought to link parental functioning to types of parent-adolescent discourse and adolescent development. It may seem obvious to say that a mother's understanding of her relationship with her adolescent and her own level of emotional development influence her adolescent's development. However, determining how this process occurs as well as how it is best investigated and measured is less obvious. In much of the parent-adolescent discourse research, parental speech in interaction is presumed to be guided by parental level of ego development as measured by the Loevinger Sentence Completion Test (Hauser et al., 1987; Hauser et al., 1984;

Cooper, Grotevant & Condon, 1983; Bell & Bell, 1983). Since this is the predominant method of study, the first part of the empirical section will review the use of parental ego development as a predictive measure in parent-adolescent discourse and the difficulties of this approach.

The second part of the empirical section will define attachment representation and its use as a predictor of mother-daughter discourse. Since representation is of interest to many theoreticians and researchers, this section is not meant to exhaust the definitions or measures of representation. Instead, it will focus on the investigation of parental representation by attachment researchers who offer a new way of conceptualizing and assessing the representational system. They propose a representational system that is an internal dynamic model of attachment relationships developed out of past interactions.

Finally, the discussion will address how the individuation process may be observed in discourse. Josselson (1980) discusses both the intrapsychic and interpersonal changes which she believes take place. This study examines how mother-daughter discourse can facilitate adolescent growth and be seen as the vehicle through which mother and daughter can shape their relationship. The specific content of the discourse will be their discussion of conflictual issues in the relationship. Their negotiation of conflict provides a window into how they work through the issues characteristic of the separation-individuation process. Speech analysis allows researchers to explore the way adolescents develop in interaction and how their parents may facilitate or thwart this development. The discussion will conclude with a description of the speech analysis used in this study.

Ego Development in Parent-Adolescent Developmental Research

Ego development is an important psychological construct with much to contribute to the understanding of adolescent development. The growth of the adolescent ego is central to classical psychoanalytic theories of development. The ego is seen as but one of the motivating structures of the tripartite theory of personality. It is the structure which is comprised of motives and their corresponding representations

and associated behavior patterns (Schafer, 1968). It is the seat of the defenses and presumed to include autonomous functions which aid the individual's interaction with the world. When ego development is used as a variable in parent-adolescent research it is most often used as defined by Loewinger (1970) and measured by the Sentence Completion Test.

Recent research studies in adolescent-parent interaction have included parents' level of ego development as the primary parental variable hypothesized to influence the parent-adolescent interaction and adolescent development (Powers et al., 1983; Bell & Bell, 1983). The hypotheses guiding these studies are that a parent's level of ego development guides his/her discursive interaction with his/her adolescent and this, in turn, influences the adolescent's ego development. The level of ego development is defined as "the framework of meaning that an individual imposes upon experience" (Hauser et al., 1987, p. 2). This is a broad definition which only becomes clear when the characteristics and dimensions of the stages outlined by Loewinger's theory are examined. Her definition of ego development uses stages that reflect the psychosocial tasks of adolescence and adulthood.

The concept of ego development proposed by Loewinger and used by researchers of adolescence is a broad construct that includes impulse control, character development, interpersonal style, conscious preoccupations and cognitive style. Stages are delineated ranging from low to high levels of ego development based on development of the areas listed above. Individuals with low levels of ego development are characterized by impulsive, concrete, stereotyped cognitive styles, and exploitative or dependent interpersonal behaviors. Individuals with high levels of ego development are characterized by a focus on inner conflict with heightened self reflectivity, complex cognitive styles and an interpersonal focus on empathy, mutuality and autonomy. This notion of ego development has been extended to understand development in a familial context. While this is a popular and useful measure there are two constraints which make it inappropriate for this study.

The first difficulty is that the studies seeking to establish relationships between Loewinger's notion of ego development and familial discourse patterns have not produced consistent over-arching patterns linking parental ego development,

discursive patterns and adolescent ego development (Powers et al., 1983; Bell & Bell, 1983; Hauser et al., 1984). The only relationships found link parental ego development with parental speech in mothers, and parental speech with adolescent ego development. No link has been established between parental ego development and adolescent speech. Instead, in each study individual ego development is linked to speech but the relationship between parent and adolescent is not evident.

Interestingly, the strongest patterns found in one study speak more directly to gender differences than to the link between ego development and speech in interaction. It was found that mothers' ego development level related to mutually enabling patterns of interaction between mother and daughter (Hauser et al., 1987). This finding suggests that mothers with a higher level of ego development can foster the expression of differing perceptions of a situation in their daughters. In turn, these daughters can enable their mothers' discourse. In the same study, no significant relationships were found for fathers' level of ego development. An earlier study found that a mother's level of ego development was related to her interpersonal perceptions which was related to her daughter's level of ego development (Bell & Bell, 1983). Again, no direct relationship was established between parental and adolescent ego development through discourse. The most interesting findings of these studies are not related to ego development but to gender differences, and they support psychoanalytic notions of different relationships on the basis of gender. Ego development as measured by Loewinger is limited in its usefulness in establishing links between parental functioning, family speech interaction and adolescent development. While it does offer the reliability and standardized format desirable to researchers, it is too global in its scope and too focussed on individual functioning to be useful in understanding development in an interpersonal context.

The second difficulty lies in what is omitted by this measure: interpersonal interaction and affect. The notion of ego development is too far away from the interactive sequences that are demonstrated in speech analyses. It can offer a broad estimation of the way the individual will approach his/her world but it is not specific enough for this context. Interestingly, it is too focussed on the individual to be a good predictor of relationships between parent and adolescent that become

enacted in family interaction. While the measure may be a good predictor of what an individual parent may be capable of saying, it is less useful in understanding how one parent will differ from another in the actual interaction. Given the psychoanalytic premise that the essential task is to work through ambivalence, this measure is strikingly devoid of information about a mother's perspective on this specific process. It says little about how anger and aggression are experienced. Instead, the concept of attachment representation is a more useful way of defining the inner blueprints for how a mother will act with her daughter as they modify their relationship during adolescence.

Psychoanalytic theorists have discussed in depth the nature and role of object representations and their impact on interpersonal relationships through their exploration of rich clinical data. Schafer (1968) defines an internal object representation as an idea that a person holds about another person which can be at the conscious, preconscious, or unconscious level. These ideas include the affective, physical and interactive experiences of the person and serve as "guideposts of behavior" (p. 28). They provide the expectations for interactions and are the prototypes of important figures. These representations may be close to and reflective of the reality of the person represented, or archaic, primitive distortions. It is through the analytic process that a trained analytic observer may have a glimpse at object representations and their corresponding behavior patterns. While conscious representations may be more accessible in other situations, the preconscious and unconscious representations which guide interactions are less available. The retrospective reconstructions documenting the link between internalized representations and current functioning often omit the developmental process by which representations are built and the ways in which these representations may be assessed. It is only more recently that psychoanalysts have stepped into the research labs and begun to empirically investigate representations which serve as the cornerstone of psychoanalytic theory and technique. The majority of work on internal structure has been done by developmental psychologists. They have lead the field through their exploration of internalized structures that govern language and behavior.

Developmental Representations

In developmental psychology a great deal of work has been focussed on how cognitive representations are built throughout the life span. In an important study by Nelson & Gruendel (1981) investigating how children build representations of events, they postulate that what develops are cognitive models of experienced events called "generalized event representations." These generalized event representations are believed to be made up of scripts for experienced events. Scripts are structurally whole representations that contain the temporal sequence of actions typifying an event. The event may be either a frequently occurring experience or a single event. What is believed to be internalized is the general script for the event. This script specifies the sequence of actions presumed to comprise the event, but allows for variability in the specific characteristics of the event (i.e., the script of going to a restaurant will allow for variability on which restaurant and what meal but may still contain the basic temporal ingredients for the script of the general event of eating out). A script is the cognitive model of a representation of an event. While the details of script construction will not be discussed, this model suggests the process by which actual events are built into representations which guide action. This theory is both supported by empirical evidence and fits an intuitive picture of the mind, it lacks a way of integrating affective experience. The contemporary work of attachment theorists builds on this work using it as the prototype for how affect is organized and then internalized.

Representation in Attachment Theory

Bowlby (1980) thinks of representations as an "internal working model" of attachment relationships and affective experiences. This model is based on an information processing model of affectively powerful experiences. It is a conceptual model for a dynamic system which regulates behavior and affective expressions in interpersonal domains (Bretherton, 1985). In each person the model is constructed from repeated experiences with early significant figures and serves to guide future

interactions. Bowlby's proposition that human infants are born with an innate predisposition to form attachments led him to propose an attachment system which regulates behaviors serving to maintain the infant's tie to the caregiver. The attachment system is presumed to be a goal directed system that insures the infant's felt security and sense of safety with the parent. The model is based on early experiences with a significant other. The attachment system has a complementary system which guides exploratory behavior. In order for the exploratory system to be activated, the infant must have a sense of security.

The majority of work in attachment research has focussed on the infant's attachment behaviors toward the caregiver, the degree of stability over time of an infant's attachment status, and the behaviors correlated with an attachment system judged secure or insecure. It is only more recently that the parent's internal working model of attachment has been investigated as a representational system. Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters & Wall (1978) noted that infants classified as securely attached had parents who were sensitive to their signals, responsive and able to provide security and comfort. Main, Kaplan & Cassidy (1985) have sought to further differentiate parental contributions to parent-infant interaction by extending Bowlby's notion of the internal working model and Ainsworth's parental variables. Main et al. define the internal model as the parent's "state of mind in relation to attachment." It is a set of "conscious and/or unconscious rules for organization of information relevant to attachment and for obtaining or limiting access to that information, that is to information regarding attachment-related experiences, feelings and ideations" (Main, Kaplan & Cassidy, 1985, p. 93). This is the parent's guiding model of interaction with attachment figures. It determines not only retrieval of information regarding the past but also the feelings and ideations which are related to attachment experiences. The classification of an individual's state of mind in relation to attachment seeks to assess a mother's sense of security and her capacity to be there and provide security for her child (Main & Goldwyn, 1988).

The attachment representational system has been elaborated by Kobak & Shaver (1987) who suggest that an important component of the system is affect regulation.

They argue that negative affect plays an important role in the attachment system. Negative affect expresses the infant's distress, fear, and anger and aims at eliciting support from the caregiver. The caregiver's responses to the infant's expressions then determine the socialization of these affects. Depending on the response, the infant will come to view the expression of negative affect as an effective means of eliciting support, or as an ineffective communication. This then becomes internalized. Kobak & Shaver argue that if the infant's expression of distress or anger are met with sensitivity and responsiveness, this leads to the reduction of negative affects but these expressions are able to be maintained in the affective repertoire. When negative affects are met with rejection the infant develops fears of punishment or abandonment based on these expressions, and they become internalized as threats to the maintenance of the attachment relationship (Kobak & Shaver, 1987). Infant attachment studies support this view. Belsky & Nezworski (1988) noted that avoidant infants whose mothers were rejecting only communicated directly to their mothers when feeling well. When upset these infants did not signal to their mothers. This study suggests that the socialization of expressions of negative affect occurs early in the mother-infant relationship and modifies the attachment system and the associated behaviors. This finding is similar to Levenson's (1988) theoretical proposal that if a child's anger and aggression is met with rejection it may be internalized as selfish and threatening to the mother-child relationship. If the parent's response is inconsistent, then the affects may become exaggerated and overwhelming since they are not effective signals with predictable responses. An infant cannot reliably predict what expressions will result in felt security. In each case, repeated affective interactions with the caregiver become internalized, and come to serve as the prototype for the regulation of affect and one's responsiveness to others' affective expressions.

Three Types of Attachment Representations

The three categories of attachment representation describe the parents' current state of mind in relation to attachment but are presumed to develop as adaptations to the parents' attachment experiences. Parallel to the individual differences in infant

attachment behaviors and the regulation of negative affects, Main proposes three classifications of parents' state of mind in relation to attachment. These classifications are based on their ability to recall early attachment experiences and speak about them in a coherent, comfortable manner. It is not only the organization of the parents' speech which is evaluated but also their capacity to access and articulate the feelings associated with their experiences. Unlike the cognitive developmental model, the attachment model classification places a high premium on the individual's integration of affect. It is not merely the recall of events and experiences in a clearly structured manner, but also the ability to discuss the feelings related to these events and experiences. The three classifications of state of mind in relation to attachment are: Autonomous with respect to attachment, Preoccupied with attachment, and Dismissing of attachment. These three classifications suggest the parents' current value and degree of focus on attachment-related concerns.

Autonomous. These parents are considered secure in relation to attachment. The parents who are autonomous with respect to attachment "value attachment relationships and regard attachment-related experiences as influential" but maintain an autonomous sense of self with regard to past and present attachment relationships (Main & Goldwyn, 1985). These adults have been able to organize their attachment experiences in a meaningful and coherent way, with affective color. They value attachment relationships without becoming overwhelmed or lost in them. They are able to articulate and experience negative affects and understand them as expressions of distress, anger, and fear which are connected to interpersonal experiences. At the same time they have the ability to reflect upon their experiences.

Dismissing. These parents are considered insecure with respect to attachment. The parents who are dismissing of attachment, or detached, are "dismissing, devaluing, or cut-off from attachment relationships, attachment experiences and attachment phenomena" (Main & Goldwyn, 1985). These adults often idealize their attachment relationships and are unable to integrate their affective experiences in an insightful way. They have relied on defensive exclusion of past, often painful

experiences and the affects associated with them, in order to minimize their influence and protect themselves from the painful feelings. These adults are believed to have developed representational models which exclude negative affects as a result of these affects being linked to threatening their attachment relationships.

Preoccupied. Adults judged to be preoccupied with or by early attachments continue to be caught up in past attachment experiences and are unable to organize them. They also have insecure representations. They are often confused and incoherent, sometimes strikingly angry at or dependent on their parents. Continuing to experience themselves as immersed in their past, they are unable to develop an autonomous sense of self and organize their relationships in an objective manner. These adults are believed to have had inconsistent attachment experiences and have been unable to extricate themselves from past emotional attachments.

The Autonomous parent either has had consistent and sensitive parenting enabling the growth of a view of self as lovable and as able to rely on others for support and security, or has worked through painful and problematic past experiences and has developed a modified sense of relationships. By contrast, those parents with Dismissing or Preoccupied status have developed models reflective of parenting which was rejecting and insensitive or inconsistent and unreliable. The early parenting experiences form the representational model of attachment relationships which serve as the prototype for other relationships. What individuals have experienced and learned to expect contributes to their capacity to attend to attachment related information, feelings, and needs. This suggests an intergenerational transmission of attachment status, unless a new and different attachment experience modifies the earlier experiences. Main & Goldwyn (1988) found strong correlations between mothers' attachment classifications and their children's attachment status. There is a high correlation between parents judged secure and their infants and later pre-schoolers being judged securely attached and developing age appropriate secure behaviors (Main, Kaplan, & Cassidy, 1985; Ricks, 1985). While there are strong relationships between a mother's representational model and her child's attachment status, the representational model

can not be seen as static. It is a dynamic model which can be modified and is always processing attachment experiences.

A mother's own attachment views will strongly influence her capacity to respond to her developing child. What is most powerful about the representational approach to the study of attachment is the focus on the structural aspects of the representation. It is not the actual experiences the parent has had that determine her attachment status but the manner in which she can organize and integrate them. Slade & Aber (1986) have extended the attachment structural analysis to interviews with parents about their affective experiences with their toddlers. They found that secure toddlers had parents who were able to coherently discuss the intense feelings, both positive and negative, they felt towards their toddlers and reported communicating these feelings to their children. Insecure toddlers had parents who were unable to integrate the negative affects they experienced and often saw their toddlers as angry (Slade & Aber, 1986). These researchers note the importance of affective flexibility which a parent of a secure child appears to demonstrate. A parent who is affectively flexible can attend in appropriate ways to the attachment needs and communications of her child without having to avoid attachment phenomena to protect herself or become overly attentive because of her own unresolved attachment experiences. This affective flexibility appears to be the important variable to sensitive and responsive caretaking noted by Ainsworth et al. (1978) in their parent-infant research.

How will these categories of attachment representation and affective flexibility bear on a mother's negotiation of the separation-individuation process with her adolescent daughter? Although attachment research has focussed primarily on infant-parent and toddler-parent interaction there have been some studies demonstrating links between linguistic production and security of attachment (Main, Kaplan & Cassidy, 1985; Strage & Main, 1984). These studies are beginning to extend the assessment of attachment to older children and look at the interaction between parent and child. Yet no one has looked at the attachment relationship between parent and adolescent and its relation to parent-adolescent interaction. Although the attachment representational system is presumed to be active throughout

the life cycle, the developmentally appropriate behaviors and attachment interactions have not yet been explored. This study is the first to look at parents' attachment representations during adolescence and to look for interactions that relate to each attachment representation:

To anticipate what these relationships might be we can look at earlier developmental periods. Reasoning by analogy, the early adolescent-parent relationship may be similar in some respects to the toddler-parent relationship in the demands it places on the parent to both foster autonomy and provide support. For parents of toddlers, this means being able to integrate their varied emotional experience and facilitate the exploration and developing autonomy of the toddler. A parent with an affectively flexible internal representation of the toddler-parent relationship appears to be better able to support the toddler's emotional demands for comfort, security and encourage exploration (Slade & Aber, 1986). In contrast, parents who are unable to be flexible and do not have secure internal representations of their relationship cannot meet their children's emotional demands or allow for their burgeoning autonomy. What then can be the expected influence of a mother's representational system on her daughter's negotiation of the second separation-individuation period?

Mother's Representation and Adolescent Development

Similarities between toddlerhood and adolescence are proposed by theorists such as Blos (1962) and Josselson (1980) who consider adolescence a second period of separation-individuation. Adolescence is the period of transition from childhood to adulthood. It is a period in which the adolescent ideally works to define an identity which will begin the adult process of reshaping it, forming attachments based on this identity and finding a meaningful community position. Yet it is similar to the earlier phase of separation/individuation because it is also a period where the earlier issues in the family are reactivated. Like the toddler period, adolescence is an affectively charged period during which the parent must facilitate the development of a separate identity and yet maintain an emotionally open relationship. However, the demands for security and comfort made by the toddler differ in many respects from the

adolescent's demands. The adolescent makes requests for understanding and recognition of her newly developing identity; the parent should be able to reflect on the complex evolution of the adolescent's self. Whereas the parent of the toddler encourages the toddler's exploration, the parent of the adolescent must help the adolescent learn to take care of herself and to elicit support when necessary. The task of extending the representational model to a relationship with an adolescent involves translating attachment terms into the developmentally appropriate needs of the adolescent and the expectations of the parent of an adolescent.

The interactions at both periods can be most difficult and make emotional demands on the mother. Summarizing the typology of representations discussed earlier, it is possible to posit a relation between a mother's representation and the impact it will have on her adolescent daughter's development. If a mother is secure in the relationship with her daughter, this security may enable her to facilitate her daughter's emotional individuation. She will be able to integrate her own negative feelings, recognize her daughter's developing needs, and provide security for her daughter. In turn, her daughter may continue to develop her own sense of self as worthy, lovable and autonomous. If a mother has a secure representation and may be classified as Autonomous, it is presumed that she will be able to tolerate and manage the expression of negative affect from her daughter. This is crucial in the first separation-individuation process as noted by Levenson (1988) and may influence the development of a sense of agency and autonomy. It seems reasonable to assume that the issue of management of negative affect surfaces for the adolescent girl as she learns to make demands and express her anger and her disappointment. Similar to the ability of the parents of secure toddlers to encourage exploration, it is presumed that mothers of adolescents who are secure will be able to foster the development of the ability to articulate and argue for needs that are important to the self. These parents will be able to understand the adolescent's anger and frustration and help her articulate her needs in a rational and logical manner so she can be heard. They can then work towards a more mutual understanding and transform their relationship.

Discourse in Family Interaction

The proposed research is designed to look at the differences in mothers' representations of their relationships with their daughters and how their representations impact on their negotiation of the separation-individuation process. Attachment researchers have described specific interaction styles that typify the different representational systems. However, as of yet, no one has extended these interaction styles to the parent-adolescent discourse. Adolescents, while struggling with individuation and autonomy, express their needs verbally. Unlike toddlers who express themselves through play, adolescents are competent speakers and are able to articulate their concerns and desires in a dialogue with their parents. During adolescence and in interactions with their parents, they are afforded the opportunity to develop their abilities to assert and to argue for the things that are important for their developing identity. They can develop linguistic competency and verbally construct arguments for their needs.

The proposed research focuses specifically on mother-daughter negotiations of ongoing conflict. Conflict discussions where each person has a competing claim demand a way of coming to a consensus where both individuals can articulate their views, deepen their understanding of each other's positions and perhaps find a resolution. Analysis of these discussions allows one to look specifically at how mother and daughter resolve conflicts in their relationship and navigate the transformation of the relationship. While the proposed study highlights conflict, many developmental studies have analyzed discursive interaction using problem solving tasks generated for a research setting. Before discussing the method of analysis used in this study, the difficulties of problem solving tasks and some of the findings generated from earlier studies will be reviewed.

Discourse Analysis as a Method of Interactive Study

Speech analysis provides a method of analysis by which verbal interaction can be understood in terms of how speakers influence each other in a dialogue. Individual speech is viewed by Searle (1969) as action, and two people engaged in a dialogue

are viewed as participating in a rule-governed form of discursive behavior. In speech, the speaker communicates not only information but also intention and expectation. To analyze discourse one must take into account the context, the form of speech, the delivery, and the relationship of the speakers to each other. Labov & Fanshel (1977) studied therapeutic dialogues between therapist and patient and outlined the rules governing speech and the interactive sequences. They argue that there are limited interactive sequences that are available in order for a dialogue to be maintained. Special interactions characterize asymmetrical authority relations where authority challenges to a speaker's claim are threats to the hearer's competence and can be countered with limited possibilities. The hearer can either defend him/herself or admit incompetence and acquiesce. Recent clinical work with couples has outlined communication patterns that aid in the identification of dysfunctional communication patterns and demonstrate the sequential nature of speech forms in a dialogue (Gottman, 1977). The focus of this work has been to explore the way marital discourse is used and how couples can work through their speech to facilitate their experience together. Additionally, this research suggests that individual speech is not discrete but organized by a structure or a sequence. Discourse analysis most recently has been adopted by developmental researchers to investigate how parents and adolescents act on each other and how this interaction impacts on adolescent development.

Discourse Analysis: Family Interaction During Adolescence

While psychoanalytic theorists have outlined the internal processes central to adolescent development, developmental psychologists have begun to investigate adolescent growth in the family context. They vary in their perspectives on development from an individualist perspective of ego development to viewing the co-construction in discourse of a mutual understanding between parent and adolescent as the vehicle for growth. What unifies these researchers is their exploration of the interactive patterns that are related to adolescent development. Influenced by systems theory, they reject the notion that adolescent development occurs in a vacuum and look at the interactions in the family as the context for development.

Researchers have looked recently at ego development, identity development and mutuality in the context of family interaction and its relation to adolescent development (Powers et al., 1983; Bell & Bell, 1983; Cooper, Grotevant & Condon, 1983). Each of the studies offer a new ways of thinking about development and highlights certain interactions as central. This work builds on these studies and adds to them by utilizing a more ecologically valid task and defining a distinct process of interaction believed to facilitate the development of autonomy. Of particular note is the research that explores the link between discourse and adolescent ego development.

Based on the idea that ego development is promoted by cognitive conflict and support, the tasks used to generate interaction are often moral dilemmas. These are believed to create a situation with multiple perspectives where the adolescent must consider each and, consequently, challenge and shift his/her perspective. However, even though these tasks generate an interaction, they may not be applicable in a meaningful way to actual parent and adolescent experience. The kind of conflict created around a hypothetical task is not as charged or meaningful as an actual conflict where the adolescent is arguing for something she wants for herself. This has led to the development of coding schemes which focus on the development of a problem-solving position without considering the interpersonal affective exchanges between family members. They are less focused on adolescent self development and more focused on cognitive change believed to enhance ego development.

The best known family interaction work in the area of adolescent development has been carried out by Hauser et al. (1983, 1987). This research has attempted to identify parental and adolescent speech related to adolescent and parental ego development level. The underlying premise is that adolescent development is facilitated when there is cognitive conflict with support provided to the adolescent. It is presumed that presenting different perspectives will challenge the adolescent and increase differentiation, provided that the parent does not directly interfere with the adolescent's perceptions. The underlying assumption is that in a task where individuals have different perspectives, if one explains his/her position, then the other person will consider it and this consideration will foster growth. In fact, the

studies showed no relation between parental ego development and adolescent ego development. The most significant parental speech related to adolescent growth was support of the adolescent. This was supported by Bell & Bell (1983) in their study of adolescent girls' development. These findings suggest that support is an important part of parent-adolescent interaction as the adolescent develops in the relationship with the parent.

However, the question remains as to the other processes that facilitate growth. The perspective-taking position relies too heavily on cognitive conflict as the means by which self growth occurs. While there is a cognitive component to the construction of an identity, it is also an emotional process with very specific issues. Youniss (1985) challenges the perspective-taking position arguing that the majority of parents employing explanations are asserting their unilateral authority and eliciting compliance from the adolescent. He argues that when this occurs with regard to the adolescent's life decisions, s/he is forced into a world justified by the parental perspective. The adolescent does not have the opportunity to construct his/her own social understanding. While Youniss proposes a shift in the parent-adolescent relationship towards mutuality through discourse, he does not discuss how this can be achieved. This study revises the perspective-taking approach by looking specifically at actual mother-daughter conflicts and highlighting argumentation as the way a consensus is built in a relationship. The construction of a consensus both transforms the relationship and, as it transforms the relationship it changes the individuals.

Discourse Analysis: Legitimizing and Consensus Building

If, as described earlier, the work of individuation is to revise the internal introjects in the context of mother-daughter interaction, then discourse should parallel this process. In the mother-daughter relationship conflicts emerge where mother and daughter have competing needs and a consensus must be achieved. These are situations where the adolescent wants something for herself and the mother does not agree or vice versa. The conflict has to be resolved. Yet how is it that this conflict does not result in a simple assertion of parental authority where the

adolescent complies? This is the question of consensus building.

Consensus Building . A consensus is an agreement between two people based on a deeper understanding of each other's position. Consensus building is the "co-construction" of a shared social reality which is comfortable for both people (Youniss, 1983). This co-construction is a discourse process where two individuals discuss their competing needs or demands and attempt to come to a mutually agreed upon resolution. This is in direct contrast to parental assertion of authority and adolescent compliance. It also departs from the cognitive conflict model of growth. To come to a new consensus each speaker has to be able to understand the other's needs and simultaneously recognize that one's own needs may need to be transformed in order to come to a mutually agreed upon consensus. To engage in consensus building the parent has to be flexible enough to hear the adolescent's needs and be willing to modify her own position. She must also articulate her position in a manner that the adolescent can hear. The same is also true for the adolescent. She must be able to articulate her needs in a way that can be justified to her mother. This is an important process in adolescence because the adolescent is beginning to define her identity, and in doing so, assert aspects of her self. Discursive self-reflection which occurs in building a legitimated argument aids the adolescent in developing ego autonomy and builds a shared context with the parent (Habermas, 1973).

Much of the previous work in adolescent-parent discourse has not focussed on the legitimacy and validity of the arguments presented. While every claim or counterclaim asserted in an argument can be understood as 'legitimate', there is no clear evidence of the validity of the claim or that the speaker understands the validity or grounds of the claim. The process of 'legitimation' or legitimating argumentation is articulating the grounds for the claim of an argument by appealing to a generalizable principle. It is the process of reflecting upon the claim and providing the justification for the claim in general or principled terms. This places the claim in a broader context. It becomes especially important in discussions where each speaker has a competing claim and presumably neither speaker's claim is

inherently more justified. According to Habermas, legitimating is the only way a conflict can move beyond norms that cannot withstand a validity challenge.

Arguments that are not legitimated merely assert a claim that may be justified with a norm or preference. Mothers and daughters engaged in non-legitimated arguments find themselves in a struggle of wills where one person complies. In parent-child discourse, it is usually the child who complies. The result is not a consensus. When a speaker can establish the validity and legitimacy of an argument, it induces the hearer to rationally incorporate the position in a shared resolution. There is increased understanding and mutuality. For the adolescent, this process of legitimating helps her establish linguistic competency as she articulates her self needs but also she gains communicative access to her inner experience. Legitimating an argument requires self reflection, but it is a logical and cognitive process that is being brought to bear on emotional issues.

How this legitimating is evidenced in discourse has been defined by Toulmin (1958) who outlines the structure of an argument. He proposes that a legitimated argument that answers a validity challenge has a claim, supporting data, a warrant (or norm) and finally a backing, that is, an appeal to a universal premise or a generalizable premise. To illustrate his ideas, consider a typical mother-daughter discussion. The mother wishes her daughter would clean up her room. The daughter's counterclaim is that she likes her room messy. As the two claims stand neither is intrinsically more right or justified. Instead, each has to justify her claim by offering additional information. The first level of appeal is often supporting data. For the mother, this could be that the daughter has not hung up the clothes she has worn all week and they have been left on the floor. This is evidence for the mother's statement that the room is messy. The daughter could provide data that challenges the mother's statement suggesting that her locker at school is messy too and she likes it.

The second order of appeal in an argument is to a norm that supports the specific behavior. For the mother this could be that each person should clean her room. For the daughter, her room is comfortable this way and she ought to keep it as she likes it. This is where the legitimating becomes essential. If left at this point mother and

daughter are faced with each other's norms. There is no reason to choose one norm over another. Instead it is only when an appeal is made to a general or higher principle that legitimating occurs. For the mother this can be the fact that the daughter's messy room means that her laundry does not get done with the rest of the family's laundry, creating more work for the mother. The mother argues that it is not fair for her to have to do two sets of laundry for the daughter. The principle is one of fairness and mutual coordination of interactions in the family. For the daughter she may appeal to keeping her room in a way that makes her feel at ease with everything available to her when she needs it. She argues that each person has the right to feel safe and define her environment. In this case, the daughter is articulating something she wishes for herself that helps her maintain her self.

It is at this point that a mutual consensus is more likely to occur. Each has come to a better understanding of the other's position and the position has been extended to a broader principle that the hearer can empathize with more easily. The mother may be able to find solutions that accommodate her daughter's needs and vice versa. Having articulated their positions and the underlying principles, it becomes clear that their positions need not be mutually exclusive. Perhaps the daughter can leave her room messy, shut her door and bring her laundry down at the same time as everyone else. This is a consensus that validates both the mother's position of fairness and mutual coordination and the daughter's desire to define her environment and make choices about significant aspects of her life. Each does not have to get into a stuck oppositional or compliant position in order to maintain the relationship.

Legitimizing argumentation. In this study mothers presented two legitimating justifications: principled justifications and developmental justifications. Principled justifications referred to a social or moral principle which supported the claim. Developmental justifications outlined developmental goals or considerations for the daughter's future that were the basis for the claim. The mother also presented pragmatic arguments that outlined the practical considerations or constraints on which the claim was based. This argument did not have a legitimating justification.

For adolescent girls two forms of legitimating were identified: principled and personal. The principled legitimation is similar to the mother's principled,

legitimated argument. It refers to a social or moral principle which serves as the justification for the claim. The personal legitimation is the reference to a personal need or a right to choose which fosters the girl's development. It is the adolescent girl's justification of her own developmental goals or needs. An argument was located by identifying the claim, counterclaim and the supporting justifications, if any, and supporting data. These were combined for each argument type.

Other-centered Speech . The second important component of consensus building is recognizing the other's argument. For the daughter it is very important that the mother be able to support her articulations even if she disagrees. In this coding scheme this is other-centered speech. For the mothers this included acknowledging the daughter's claims, helping provide supporting evidence or encouraging the daughter's attempts to state her position. Daughters rarely provided support for their mothers' argument. This probably reflects the asymmetrical nature of the relationship and the specific need for recognition and approval in identity development. It is the interaction effect of other-centered speech and legitimating argumentation that is the basis for the model of consensus-building in mothers.

In previous work using these speech analyses, significant relationships were found between mothers using other-centered speech and daughters who constructed more legitimations of all kinds. When the consensus building situation was created where mothers used both legitimated arguments concurrent with other-centered speech, their daughters constructed more personal legitimations (Zahaykevich, Sirey & Sprik, 1987). The relationship between mothers' legitimating arguments, and their support of their daughters' arguments through their use of other-centered speech, suggests that mothers can facilitate their daughters' rational articulation of their needs. These mothers were able to use legitimated arguments to present their claims and at the same time recognize their daughters' arguments. These mothers provide their daughters with both the form for self assertion and also the support necessary to make their claims in the hopes of coming to a new consensus. The new consensus allows for the transformation of the mother-daughter relationship.

The Assertion of Parental Authority and Daughters' Resistance

When engaged in conflict discussions not all of the interaction consists of argumentation. When arguments depart from rational persuasion, other forms of control and resistance are used. In an earlier analysis of mother-daughter discourse the primary focus was on the relation between the mothers' expression of non-legitimated arguments, i.e., reliance on parental authority, and daughters' resistance to this authority. When not relying on legitimated argumentation mothers were seen to be exerting their control. Two forms of maternal control were identified in the speech: overt control and covert control.

The overt control composite -- dogmatic speech -- consisted of the mother's use of a dogmatic argument where she asserts the absolute authority of a behavioral norm, accuses her daughter, negates her daughter's statements, or flatly rejects her daughter's request to resolve a conflict. This is speech where the mother asserts her authority in a clear and unquestionable manner. The covert control composite -- projecting speech -- consisted of arguments based on personal preference, 'guilt-tripping' where the mother's hard work or suffering is used to coerce the daughter, projection of a trait of the mother onto the daughter for narcissistic gratification, or flattery in an attempt to gain submission. This is a less direct form of exerting control. Dogmatic speech leaves no room for recognition of the other and projecting speech denies the needs of the other and maintains an undifferentiated closeness. Projecting speech often relies on the relationship as the justification for a claim.

In response to maternal control daughters, when unable to put together a legitimating argument, used two forms of resistance: active opposition and passive negativism. Active opposition consisted of the daughter's attacks on the mother by deriding her, blaming her, using sarcasm, mimicry and criticism. Passive negativism was comprised of statements which neither attacked the mother nor built an independent argument. Instead, these statements were rejections of the mother's speech, negations, and indifference to the mother's argument. Finally, in the face of mothers' control some daughters became compliant. They went along with mothers'

resolutions without asserting an argument or merely agreed to whatever the mother said. This was viewed as compliance.

The results of the previous analysis demonstrated developmental patterns in discourse which reflected the stages of adolescent development. Pre-menarcheal girls used active opposition more than post-menarcheal 7th or 9th graders. This is consistent with the notion of a practicing-like phase where the adolescent begins asserting her autonomy by actively saying no and rejecting the mother. Post-menarcheal 7th grade girls used passive negativism more often, which may reflect the move into the adolescent stage akin to the beginning of rapprochement. This stage faces the adolescent with both a desire for autonomy and a continued need for maternal support. This increased need for support may be reflected in the reduction of overt maternal attacks. The adolescent girl must resolve her ambivalence towards the mother during her transition through adolescence.

Mothers appear to respond to the ambivalence of the rapprochement-like struggle of the adolescent by increasing their control, as seen among post-menarcheal 7th graders (Zahaykevich & Sirey, 1987). This first separation may provoke uncertainty in the mother, and the daughter's claims may not be articulated fully in a rational or coherent manner. The use of dogmatic control is related to passive negativism and negatively related to other-centered speech across all age groups. Correlations between mothers' speech and daughters' speech found that mothers' covert control, or projecting speech, appeared most clearly related to compliance in 9th grade girls. While mothers increase their control after the onset of menarche, it is striking to find the continued use of projecting speech correlated to compliance. The denial of separateness in projecting speech seems ultimately to force the girl to give in, and abandon her assertions. Significantly more often, mothers who used projecting speech raised not having enough time with their daughters as their issue of conflict. These mothers seemed to be unable to let go of their daughters and attempted to maintain the closeness through distortions in speech. Mothers who used projecting speech also had daughters who were more likely to criticize and attack them. This may suggest that the only way these daughters could assert their own needs was by berating their mothers. This pattern

suggests that mothers and daughters may be unable to work through the ambivalent feelings in each of them during this time. Later, this unresolved transition may create clinical difficulties manifested in family problems or be expressed in other areas.

While both earlier analyses and the speech forms they focus on look at different aspects of the same process of negotiating the relationship through discourse, they suggest interesting developmental patterns in the relationship of speech forms in mothers and daughters. Developmentally, daughters appear to learn to articulate their claims and support them with legitimated arguments as they get older. They also use differing forms of resistance to maternal control. Concurrently, mothers use differing forms of control and support as their daughters mature. When mothers' speech was related to daughters' speech it was found that daughters' passive negativism was related to mothers' dogmatism. As mentioned above, mothers' projections were related to compliance and daughters' production of legitimated arguments was related to mothers' support.

Despite the developmental patterns and increasing understanding of the relationship of mothers' and daughters' speech, what is left unexplained are the individual differences between mother-daughter pairs. Not all mothers rely primarily on projecting speech or dogmatic speech with their daughters, and daughters differ in their expression of both passive and active opposition as well as compliance. In fact, many mothers use combinations of speech types. Yet, some mothers are able to produce legitimated arguments and provide models for daughters' legitimated arguments. If being able to articulate a claim and produce a legitimated argument increases ego autonomy in adolescent girls and this is facilitated through mothers' legitimating argumentation co-occurring with support, then what accounts for the variation in mothers remains a question. The work in the area of family interaction has relied on parental ego development but this has not proved fruitful. Instead, a representational system closer to actual interaction provides a better predictor of discourse. The attachment representation offers a more useful way of understanding individual differences in mother-daughter discourse.

Statement of Purpose

The goal of the research was to examine the relationship between individual differences in mothers' attachment representations and mother-daughter discourse patterns during adolescence. The way mothers and daughters transform their relationship and work through their conflicts is through their discursive interaction. They define themselves and their needs and attempt to legitimate them to form a new consensus, thus creating transformations in the relationship. This study uses differences in mothers' attachment representation to explain the individual differences in discourse. How a mother represents the relationship and thinks about her daughter will guide her speech as they negotiate conflict. Consequently, it was predicted that mothers' attachment representation would be related to mothers' speech. It was also proposed that mothers' attachment representation would be related to daughter's speech. The way a mother understands the mother-daughter relationship will influence her argumentation to her daughter and through the interaction her representation will influence how her daughter argues with her.

If, as psychoanalytic theorists suggest, the adolescent girl must separate from and identify with the mother to achieve a fully developed identity, then the mother's attachment representation of the relationship must influence the daughter's negotiation of this process. The mother needs to be able to tolerate her own ambivalence, manage her daughter's expressions of anger and frustration, and encourage and support her daughter's burgeoning autonomy. In discourse terms, she has to be able to step back, reflect on her claim and formulate it in legitimated terms to aid her daughter's capacity to hear her. At the same time the mother should hear daughter's claims and attempts to formulate a legitimated argument. This may occur, and often did, in a dialogue besieged by periods of control and resistance interactions.

The premise of this study is that a mother's attachment representation of her relationship with her daughter plays a powerful part in determining the mother's ability to more consistently produce legitimated arguments. It is by no means the only factor influencing either the way the mother interacts with her daughter or how

her daughter negotiates the process, but it is the filter through which the day-to-day interactions are sifted. The nature of a mother's representation provides information about how integrated her affective experience is, what can be said in the relationship and the expectations she has for her daughter. The attachment representation provides the expectable patterns for interaction.

Attachment representations are schemas about the attachment experiences with a significant person. In this case it is the representation of mother and daughter as it is seen during adolescence. Attachment representations are divided into three types and grouped based on the mother's security of attachment. A secure attachment representation is one where a mother is believed to be able "to integrate and modulate a range of affects relevant to attachment" (Slade, 1988). It is proposed that this capacity to integrate and have insight into attachment feelings and experiences enables a mother to help her daughter integrate her own ambivalent feelings and feel secure enough to assert her autonomy. A mother whose representation is secure is neither overly preoccupied with her own needs nor defensively cut off from attachment feelings as a way of avoiding pain. Instead she is able to be open enough to take into her own experience her daughter's needs and be able to hear them, without needing to censor them or distort them to protect her own sense of safety. As a result, a mother with a secure representation is able to be sensitive and responsive to her daughter's attachment and autonomy needs. At the same time, she is able to be objective and reflective enough to distinguish her daughter's needs from her own needs and fantasies. These mothers are seen as better able to produce legitimated arguments and at the same time support their daughters. Mothers who are insecure are less equipped to carry out the type of self reflection and concurrent support. These mothers rely more on other forms of speech and exercise their parental authority to support their claims.

For the adolescent girl, her burgeoning autonomy in relation to her mother will be expressed through being able to make claims for her needs while legitimating them in the discourse. Ultimately, a daughter will be able to create her own legitimated argument to support her position. If there is no room in the mother-

daughter relationship for the daughter to develop a separate and autonomous sense of self, then she will be less likely to assert herself in the discourse and will merely react to her mother's authority. A daughter who is unable to assert her needs and wants may remain emotionally enmeshed in the mother-daughter relationship. She has opted to live under the parental meanings provided for her by her mother rather than jeopardize the relationship or may not have developed yet the ability to articulate her claims.

While it is believed that the influence of the mother-daughter relationship is bi-directional, the goal of this research is to look specifically at the mother's contribution to this relationship at adolescence. In summary, the aims of the proposed research are as follows:

1) The first aim of the study is to assess the mother's attachment representation of her relationship with her daughter. While attachment research has focused on the mother's representation of her own attachment history and its influence on the mother-child relationship, the first goal of this study is to extend the Adult Attachment Interview (AAI) classification system for use on another interview protocol. Instead of investigating mothers' representations of their past experiences, the aim of this study is to classify mothers' attachment representations of their current relationships with their daughters. This will be done by extending the AAI coding scheme to the Mother-Daughter Interview.

2) The second aim of the study is to test hypotheses predicting specific relationships between the mother's attachment representation and the types of speech she produces with her daughter, making a link between differing representational systems and different types of speech. As a mental structure, the attachment representation influences verbal interaction, yet no one has established relationships between mothers' representations and discourse between mother and adolescent. It is hypothesized that the three different attachment representations will be related to differing reliance on legitimated argumentation and assertions of parental control.

3) The third aim of the study is to look at the relationship between the mother's attachment representation and her daughter's speech. Mediated through her behavior

and affective communications, the mother's attachment representation is predicted to impact upon her daughter's development. In their discourse this will be translated into the daughter's capacity to assert claims that articulate her needs, and then to substantiate them with legitimated argumentation or reliance on resistant speech. It is predicted that mothers' representations will facilitate or constrain daughters' development. The proposed research will test hypotheses predicting differing daughter speech patterns related to the security of their mothers' attachment representation.

Hypotheses

1. Mothers' attachment representation classification is hypothesized to be related to mean proportions of specific types of mother speech. The predicted relationships between representation classification and speech type are based on their characteristics and the way it was expected they would relate to an adolescent.

1a) Mothers who are Autonomous with respect to attachment will engage in more legitimating argumentation concurrent with other-centered speech. A greater proportion of their speech will be accounted for by this interaction effect.

1b) Mothers who are Dismissing with respect to attachment will use more dogmatic speech. They will present a dogmatic argument with little affective expression that is consistent with their rational focus and minimization of attachment.

1c) Mothers who are Preoccupied with respect to attachment will use more projecting speech. They will rely on projecting speech to coerce their daughters because they are unable to extract themselves personally from the conflict and organize their positions in a coherent and legitimate manner.

2. Mothers' attachment representations will be related to their daughters' speech patterns. Since it is not obvious how any particular mother's attachment representation is related to her daughter's speech, hypotheses for daughter's speech are based on mothers being either secure or insecure. No predictions are made regarding the differences between the two insecure groups.

2a) Mothers with a secure attachment representation, i.e., Autonomous, will have daughters who construct more legitimated arguments.

2b) Mothers with insecure attachment representations, i.e., Preoccupied and Dismissing, will have daughters who use more resistance in the form of active oppositional or passive negativistic speech or use more compliant speech.

CHAPTER TWO

Method

Subjects

The subjects for this study were recruited from city public schools in upstate New York. A brief description of the study was presented to seventh and ninth grade classes and an interest sheet was passed out asking for information on SES, family size, and phone number. The girls were asked to indicate their degree of interest. 70% of the girls who replied were interested. A sample of subjects was randomly selected and their mothers were contacted by phone and told about the study. Of those contacted, 50% agreed to participate. 54 seventh graders and 36 ninth graders constituted the original sample for a larger collaborative study. The pairs were stratified across Hollingshead's two upper-middle class levels using the two factor index of socio-economic status. The sample was predominantly white with 2-4 children in the family. Most families were intact; only 14% of the mothers were divorced or widowed. Subjects were paid \$10 to participate in the study. For this study only the data for 30 ninth graders and their mothers were used in the analysis.

Procedure

Subjects were seen after school in space made available by the school. The study was described to each mother-daughter pair in detail and a consent form was signed by each. There were four 10-minute discussions and each was videotaped with the mother and daughter alone in a room. In the first discussion each mother-daughter pair was asked to talk about an activity they enjoyed doing together. This discussion helped them get used to the camera. For the second discussion mother and daughter were each asked to choose an ongoing conflict they were having with each other. Once both mother and daughter had chosen a conflict, they were then asked to discuss each conflict separately in two 10-minute discussions. The conflict discussions were structured by instructions given to each mother-daughter pair before they began.

They were asked to each present their positions, try to understand each other's position, and if possible to come to a resolution of the conflict. The conflict discussion procedure was developed by Zahaykevich and Brooks-Gunn (1984) and piloted at Educational Testing Service for another collaborative study. After they discussed their individual conflicts, they were asked to discuss a hypothetical conflict situation provided for them. For the analyses in this study only the two conflict discussions of the mother-daughter ongoing conflict were used.

After the videotaped discussions, both mother and daughter were asked to fill out a questionnaire about their videotaped discussions rating them for naturalness and ecological validity. The mother and daughter were then interviewed separately in a semi-structured interview, the Mother-Daughter Interview (see Appendix 1), designed to elicit information about their relationship. The interviews took approximately one hour and were audiotaped.

Mothers and daughters were given pencil and paper measures to be filled out at home and mailed back.

Measures

Mother-Daughter Interview - This measure is an interview developed by Zahaykevich and Brooks-Gunn at Educational Testing Service (see Appendix 1). The interview is a structured interview with room for probes. Similar interviews were given to both mother and daughter. The mother interview asked about the mother's view of her daughter in relation to herself, their relationship and any changes which had taken place, the daughter's relationship with father and friends, and for a description of their ongoing conflicts. The interview took approximately one hour to administer and was videotaped. The MDI was coded using the Mother-Daughter Attachment Representation coding manual, a modified version of the Adult Attachment Interview (AAI) coding scheme (see Appendix 2).

Parent-Adolescent Argumentation Coding Scheme - This coding scheme was developed by Zahaykevich, Sirey & Sprik (1987) for analysis of videotaped discussions of conflict between parent and adolescent. The coding scheme was used for analysis of

discourse in two previous studies generated from the larger data pool.

Demographic Questionnaire - This questionnaire was designed by Zahaykevich and Sirey to gather information about family constellation, income, employment, ethnic and religious background and daughter's pubertal status based on Tanner's stages of pubertal development. The questionnaire was developed for the larger mother-daughter study.

Mother-Daughter Interview Coding

Audiotaped interviews were transcribed verbatim by an outside transcriber who was unfamiliar with the study. The transcriber was blind to the purpose and hypotheses of the study. When transcribing he replaced identifying data with a generic form (e.g., Sally became D for "daughter", Kodak Industries became "company"). He made a note of any unusual shifts in the interview and any clear affective expressions such as tears, laughter or long silences.

The interviews were coded using a modification of the AAI coding scheme developed by Main & Goldwyn (1985), and adapted for the purpose of this study to be used on the Mother-Daughter Interview. The interviews were coded by two coders who were trained for reliability both on the AAI coding scheme and on the Mother-Daughter Attachment Representation coding manual. One coder was a clinical doctoral student who had previously become reliable on the AAI coding scheme. She was blind to the discourse patterns of the mothers and coded all of the interviews. Reliability coding was then calculated with the author of the study. Reliability was calculated on 43% of the interviews which both coders scored. When a disagreement arose it was scored as a "miss" and a final code was decided upon by the two coders together. Cohen's Kappa was used to calculate reliability. The Kappa proportions for the three classifications were: Dismissing, $K = 0.64$, $p \leq .02$; Preoccupied, $K = 0.80$, $p \leq .01$; Autonomous, $K = 0.85$, $p \leq .001$.

The interview was coded along the guidelines established by Main & Goldwyn (1985). Each transcript was read through carefully noting important comments and coherent and incoherent passages. On a second reading, the coder rated the interviewees' probable experience of the attachment relationship and current state

of mind with relation to attachment on nine scales. The first three scales, loving vs. unloving, rejecting and role reversal, were rated based on the coder's evaluation of the interviewee's probable experience of her relationship with her daughter. Does she experience her daughter as loving? Does she express her loving feelings about her daughter? Does she reject her daughter or experience her daughter as rejecting? Does the mother indicate that she asks to be parented by her daughter? Was she asked to parent her own mother?

The following six scales reflect the mother's current state of mind in relation to attachment. The six scales are: coherency, idealization, degree of anger, persistence of inability to recall, lack of resolution of mourning and coherency of mind. Scores on these six scales indicate the mother's ability to present a coherent and believable picture of her daughter which includes the integration of her affective experience in this relationship. Some of the questions asked by a coder are: does the mother present an idealized image of her daughter? Is she able to discuss her negative affective experiences with her daughter? Can she provide clear and factually consistent descriptions of their relationship or does she contradict herself? Is she able to demonstrate insight into the effects of her experiences with her own mother on her relationship with her daughter? These questions enable the coder to give each interview a rating on a scale from 1 to 9. Following the ratings the coder then classifies the representational system predominating in the interview. This classification is based on both the scales and the "general patterns of experience and state of mind with respect to attachment" (Main & Goldwyn, 1988, p. 13). A secure representation is not based solely on the actual relationship between the mother and daughter but also on the way in which the mother organizes her description of the relationship. A secure representation is demonstrated in the interview by clear access to feelings and experiences regarding her relationship with her daughter. A mother who is secure in her relationship with her daughter will be able to articulate the difficulties she is experiencing as well as the pleasures. Her discussion of their relationship will include insight and a capacity for reflection and openness.

In contrast, mothers whose representations are insecure are less organized, reflective or expressive. Mothers whose insecure representations can be classified

as Preoccupied with respect to attachment are characterized by their inability to extract themselves from their own experiences in order to reflect on their relationship with their daughters. This is evidenced in the transcript through repeated oscillations of viewpoint, incoherency, and an inability to present a clear picture. The lack of coherency and clarity is believed to be a consequence of the mother's lack of organization and integration of her own contradictory feelings and experiences. Mothers whose insecure representations are classified as dismissing of attachment are characterized by their minimization of relationships and their impact. They express very little genuine positive feeling in their discussions, and often exclude any negative experiences or affects. They rely on abstract idealized pictures as a defense against the pain and anger associated with relationships. More detailed descriptions of the mothers can be found in Appendix 2.

Discourse Analysis

The videotaped conflict discussions were transcribed verbatim. Special notations were made of intonation, interruptions, and gestures. The transcripts were coded based on a coding scheme developed by Zahaykevich, Sirey & Sprik (1987). Two coders blind to the hypotheses of the study coded the data and reliability was established on 25% of the transcripts. Reliability was calculated on a speech-by-speech basis. Reliabilities were calculated based on the percentage agreement which ranged from 80% to 99%. Cohen's Kappa statistic for nominal data was used for reliability since it takes into account chance agreement. Calculations established speech code reliabilities ranging from .82 to .96 for individual codes (see Appendix 4).

Discourse Coding Scheme. The coding scheme was developed on 10 pairs of transcripts randomly selected from the sample. The coding scheme was developed with two primary objectives: 1) to evaluate the legitimacy and the form of argument developed by mothers and daughters, and 2) to code control and resistance speech in mother-daughter dialogue. The coding scheme attempted to capture not only the content of the speech but also the intent. Keeping in mind that speech is

action and the content of the discussion is conflict, the discourse analysis had to reflect intended impact on the other as well as the role of the speech in an argument.

Mothers' speech composites were total legitimation, other-centered speech, dogmatic speech, projections and pragmatic speech. The first major classification was according to argument. Mothers' and daughters' arguments were evaluated differently. Each line of argument included a claim, a legitimation and often supporting evidence. The individual elements of an argument were summed to form a composite argument code for a particular type of argument. Each part of the argument was combined to form an overall tabulation for each argument for each mother. The total legitimated argument composite created for the final analysis combined principled and developmental -- the two types of legitimated arguments -- into one category. Secondly, all speech that was seen as acknowledging or supporting the daughter's argument was combined. This included: presenting supporting evidence for the daughter's position, acknowledging her, complying with her requests and supporting her as a person. These individual speech acts were summed together to form the other-centered mother composite. These two composites, other-centered speech and legitimated argumentation were predicted to co-occur.

The mothers' control composites were: dogmatic speech, projecting speech and pragmatic argument. These three composites had the impact of controlling the daughter's behavior. Each focussed on a different form of control. The dogmatic speech composite included speech where the mother asserted absolute authority. The control is overt and the mothers' speech included invoking conventions, making accusations, negating the daughter and rejecting her requests. In projecting speech the control is more covert. The mother attempts to persuade her daughter based on personal preference alone. She tells her daughter that her needs take precedence over her daughter's needs or goals. One's personal preference is not legitimated when it conflicts with the other's needs. To base a claim on personal preference asserts that one person's needs are more important than the other's. In addition, projecting speech included inducing guilt to obtain submission, projecting a trait or ability which the mother has or desires onto her daughter, and coercive attribution which is flattery to create submission. These forms are less overt and form the

projecting composite. Finally, pragmatic speech, which was not included in the initial hypotheses, is an argument which relies on external constraints to justify submission. It uses personal and often concrete circumstances to justify a position. While these statements may include accurate descriptions of family life, they are seen as non-legitimated because they do not utilize an appeal to a higher principle.

Daughter composites used in this analysis were daughters' legitimated arguments and three forms of resistance to mothers' assertions of authority. Daughters' legitimated arguments were unraveled in the same way. For each argument the claim, legitimated justification and supporting evidence were identified. Daughters' arguments were classified into two types: personal and principled. Principled arguments are similar to mothers' principled arguments where a social or moral principle is used to justify a claim. The personal legitimated argument refers to a personal need or the right to make a choice as the basis for the claim. These two legitimated arguments were the central tools for daughters' expression of their needs in a legitimated and rational manner.

In response to maternal control, daughters used two forms of resistance or compliance. The two forms of resistance were active opposition and passive negativism. Active opposition consisted of the daughter's attacks on the mother in the form of deriding her, blaming her, using sarcasm, mimicry and criticism. Passive negativism comprised statements which neither attacked the mother nor built an independent argument. Instead these statements were rejections of the mother's speech, negations, and indifference to the mother's argument. The alternative to resistance of the mother's control was to comply. This meant renouncing one's claims and giving in to the mother's demands.

The speech types outlined formed the bulk of the speech between mothers and daughters. These speech types were used to generate the hypotheses for this study.

CHAPTER THREE

Results

The results of the study will be discussed in three parts. First, the validation and reliability for the Mother Daughter Attachment Representation Classification will be presented. Also, the distribution of Adult Attachment Interview (AAI) classifications which was generated from the coding scheme will be reviewed. Secondly, the computation and a cursory review of the discourse variables will follow. Finally, the findings for the hypotheses will be presented. The relations between mothers' attachment representation and mothers' and daughters' speech will be discussed separately.

Reliability of Mother-Daughter Attachment Representation Classification

As outlined in the Method section, the Mother-Daughter Interview (MDI) was coded using the Mother-Daughter Attachment Representation Coding Manual. The manual extended the Adult Attachment Interview coding scheme for use on a different interview protocol. It preserved the essential scales and generated the same final codes. (See Appendix 2). The primary coder was a clinical doctoral student who had already undergone the necessary extensive training to reliably code the AAI. She was blind to the hypotheses of the study and was unfamiliar with the discourse transcripts of the conflict discussions. The primary coder was trained by the author to use the modified coding scheme on the MD. She was trained with mother-daughter interviews that were not part of this sample. Once reliability was established during the training period, the primary coder proceeded to code all 30 interviews. The author served as the reliability coder for the study. Reliability was established during training and checked at regular intervals. Overall reliability was calculated based on whether the two coders agreed or disagreed. When a disagreement arose

between the coders it was counted in the reliability calculation. On these occasions the two coders met and decided upon a final code which would be used in the statistical analysis.

The reliability for each of the three attachment representation classifications was established based on a total of 13 transcripts. The Kappa statistic for nominal data was used to compute the reliability (Cohen, 1960). The Kappa proportions for the three classifications were: Dismissing, $K = 0.64$, $p \leq .02$; Preoccupied, $K = 0.80$, $p \leq .01$; Autonomous, $K = 0.85$, $p \leq .001$. It was expected that the Kappas would be better than chance and significant, but these results demonstrate that the reliability was highly significant.

Distribution of Attachment Representation Classifications

When the coding was completed it was found that the mothers in this sample were not distributed across the three attachment groups in the expected manner. The predicted breakdown was: 60% Autonomous, 30% Dismissing and 10% Preoccupied. This sample yielded: 4 Autonomous mothers (47%), 6 Dismissing mothers (20%) and 10 Preoccupied mothers (33%). Thus, the distribution was quite different from what was outlined by Main and Goldwyn as the norm (1988). First, there were a greater proportion of Preoccupied mothers than has been usually found in attachment studies. The percentage of Preoccupied mothers has been reported to be roughly 10%, with a range from 9% to as high as 36% (Haft & Slade, 1989; Kobak & Sceery, 1987; Main & Goldwyn, 1988). In this sample three times the expected percentage of mothers were judged to be Preoccupied. Secondly, while the number of Autonomous mothers was greater than either of the insecure groups, fewer mothers were judged to be secure than was expected. Secure mothers constituted 47% of the sample, in contrast to the 60% anticipated. When the two insecure groups were combined, Preoccupied and Dismissing mothers made up slightly more than half of the sample (53%). Finally, there were fewer Dismissing mothers in this sample

than reported in other studies. The percentages reported in the studies cited above ranged from 32% to 43%.

Discourse Variables

The analysis of the mother-daughter discussions was based on a coding scheme developed in a previous study in which composites of speech were created and interrater reliability was established (Zahaykevich, Sirey & Sprik, 1987). The coding scheme was designed with two purposes: to analyze the structure of a legitimated argument and to identify the way speech was used to control and resist in mother-daughter conflict discussions. As noted in the Procedure section, the discussions were videotaped and then transcribed. The speech analysis was conducted on the basis of these transcripts.

Analysis of the speech produced a number of individual speech types which were combined into meaningful clusters. The clusters were created to reflect the intent of the two coding strategies: legitimated argumentation and assertion of parental authority. Five mother composite speech variables and four daughter composite speech variables were used in the speech analysis. For mothers and daughters the speech categories generated accounted for 80% of their total speech. (See Appendix 3). The remaining speech was comprised of individual speech acts that could not be combined to form meaningful composites, rare idiosyncratic speech or fragments. These individual speech codes were not included in the analysis.

As discussed in the Method section, the speech analysis was designed to capture two linguistic interactions: consensus building through the use of legitimated arguments and negotiation of parental authority, resistance and control. Legitimated arguments were identified by locating the claim, the legitimating grounds, if any, and the supporting evidence for each argument. Each argument composite was formed by summing the frequencies of each speech type (claim, grounds and supporting evidence) which combine to make up the argument. Mothers' arguments were based

on either developmental or principled legitimations. They referred either to developmental goals of their daughters or presented a social or moral principle. For purposes of the final analysis, the two types of legitimated arguments were combined. The hypotheses for this study did not distinguish between the type of legitimation. Daughters also produced two comparable types of legitimated arguments: personal and principled. The legitimation for a personal argument identified a need which the daughter felt was important for her development or for her right to choose. A principled legitimation made an appeal on the basis of a social or moral principle such as fairness and mutual obligation.

The remaining composites captured the negotiation of parental authority. When mother and daughter are not engaged in legitimating arguments and recognizing each other's positions, they are attempting to persuade each other without providing justification in the form of a generalizable principle or developmental goal. For the mother this involves her role as parent and using her authority to control her daughter. The mother speech composites evidence the methods mothers use to support their claims: by asserting absolute authority, covertly coercing the daughter or appealing to external constraints. Dogmatic speech is comprised of invoking conventions to be followed, making accusations, negations and rejections of the daughter's requests. Each of these types of speech reflects the overt assertion of control with no consideration of the individual nature of the other. The alpha coefficient for the dogmatic speech cluster is .60. (See Appendix 4 for composites and reliabilities).

Projecting speech reflects the mother's attempts to argue her position by appealing to the daughter's sympathy through inducing guilt, projecting her own needs onto her daughter or flattering her daughter to obtain compliance. In each case, the emotional relationship is used to convince the daughter to comply with the mother's wishes. The alpha coefficient for this cluster is .65.

Finally, pragmatic speech offers external constraints to justify an argument.

External limitations such as economic constraints, work schedule or physical inability are used as the rationale for justifying a claim. All families have constraints within which they must function. To use external justification means relying on the limitation as the sole support for the conflict. Again, it makes conflict discussions moot. There is no possibility of transforming the relationship. When pragmatic constraints are brought to bear, often there is no longer room for a conflict.

When not constructing a legitimated argument, daughters' speech is reactive to their mothers' assertions. They are merely responding to their mothers' claims, attempting to resist or complying with parental authority. Daughters' speech composites are passive negativism, active opposition and compliance. Each of these three types of speech adds no additional consideration but is a way of either resisting or complying with the mother. The passive negativism composite includes rejection of the mother's requests, negation of and indifference to her argument. These are indirect rejections of the mother's position. The alpha coefficient for this cluster is .50.

Active opposition is a more active rejection of the mother. It includes accusations, criticism, mimicry and sarcasm. The alpha coefficient for this cluster is .60. Finally, the last type of speech is compliance. Compliance is measured by daughters' willingness to comply with mothers' requests or claims. In total there are four daughter variables and five mother variables.

A proportion was calculated for each subject and each composite. A subject's proportion for a particular speech composite was the sum of the speech in the composite divided by the individual's total speech production. This represented the proportion of speech accounted for by a particular composite. The proportions were averaged across the two conflict discussions. Almost all of the correlations across the two conflict discussions were significant at the .05 level or better. (See Appendix 5). By using proportions for each speech type, subjects were compared

while holding overall speech production constant. The means for each attachment representation group reflect group mean proportions.

Once the proportions were calculated one interaction variable was formed. An interaction variable signifies the co-occurrence of two variables together. Legitimation and other-centered speech occurring together were hypothesized to have a different impact than when used alone. The interaction variable consists of the product of the legitimations and other-centered speech mean proportions.

Attachment Representation Classification and Mothers' Discourse: 3 Group Comparison

It was predicted that Autonomous mothers would produce more legitimated arguments co-occurring with other-centered speech; Dismissing mothers would use more dogmatic speech; and Preoccupied mothers would rely on projecting speech. To test these three hypotheses a One-Way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was done for each type of speech comparing the three attachment representation groups. (See Table 1 for ANOVAs and Table 2 for t test comparisons between groups).

Table 1

Means for Mothers' Speech Variables for the Three Attachment RepresentationGroups: ANOVA

	Mothers' Attachment Representation Group						
	Autonomous		Dismissing		Preoccupied		F value
	n=14		n=6		n=10		
\bar{X}_F^a	SD	\bar{X}_D	SD	\bar{X}_E	SD		
Mothers' Speech:							
Legitimation X							
Other-Centered ^b	.047	.04	.021	.01	.016	.01	3.93, p=.03
Dogmatic	.219	.15	.320	.11	.386	.15	4.08, p=.03
Projection	.118	.12	.166	.13	.134	.11	0.32, p=.70
Pragmatic	.008	.01	.000	.00	.040	.05	3.27, p=.05

^a Speech means represent an average of speech proportions from the two conflict discussions unless otherwise indicated.

^b This is an interaction effect. The means represent the product of the two variable means.

Table 2

Comparisons between Means of Mothers' Speech Variables for the Three Mothers' Attachment Representation Groups: t tests

	Mothers' Attachment Representation Group		
	Autonomous vs. Dismissing	Autonomous vs. Preoccupied	Dismissing vs. Preoccupied
	t value ^a	t value	t value
Mothers' Speech:			
Legitimation X			
Other-Centered	1.60 [*]	2.72 ^{***}	- -
Dogmatic	1.44 [*]	2.82 ^{***}	- -
Projection	- -	- -	- -
Pragmatic	- -	2.17 ⁺	2.20 ⁺

^a Only significant t values are reported.

^{*} $p \leq .10$, one-tailed.

^{***} $p \leq .01$, one-tailed.

⁺ $p \leq .05$, two tailed. No *a priori* hypotheses were proposed for this variable.

The first hypothesis predicted that the mean of legitimation co-occurring with other-centered speech would be greatest for Autonomous mothers. As hypothesized, there was a significant main effect for attachment representation group ($F(2,27) = 3.93, p = .03$). The three groups differed in their formation of legitimated arguments and support of their daughters' argumentation. Between group comparisons evidenced that the mean proportion of legitimating and other-centered speech for Autonomous mothers was significantly higher than the mean for Preoccupied mothers, $t(27) = 2.72, p < .01$. Autonomous mothers also used more legitimated arguments concurrent with other-centered speech than Dismissing mothers. However the difference between the Autonomous and Dismissing groups was not significant beyond the $p < .10$ level on a one-tailed t test. These findings strongly support the first hypothesis that Autonomous mothers use more legitimated argumentation and provide support for their daughters' arguments. These mothers differed significantly from Preoccupied mothers, but there were less pronounced differences between Autonomous and Dismissing mothers. There is a trend in the means towards significance and the two results combined provide strong support for the first hypothesis.

The second ANOVA compared the three attachment groups in their use of dogmatic speech. A main effect for group was found ($F(2,27) = 4.08, p = .03$) indicating that there was a significant group difference in the use of this speech variable. Interestingly, between group comparisons yielded no significant support for the second hypothesis, which predicted Dismissing mothers would use the largest proportion of dogmatic speech. A comparison between Dismissing and Autonomous mothers found no significant difference at the .05 level, one-tailed. Instead, the difference between Dismissing and Autonomous mothers was only notable at the $p \leq .10$ level, one-tailed. This suggests that Dismissing mothers do not use significantly more dogmatic speech than Autonomous mothers. However, it was found

that Preoccupied mothers used dogmatic speech significantly more than Autonomous mothers. Dismissing mothers had the second highest group mean and Autonomous mothers had the lowest mean of dogmatic speech. This provides partial support for the second hypothesis, suggesting that dogmatic speech is the domain of insecure mothers. Yet it is used more by Preoccupied mothers than either of the other groups.

Finally, there was no main effect for attachment group when mothers were compared on their use of projecting speech. The mean proportions varied slightly but the differences were not meaningful.

No *a priori* hypothesis was formulated to predict which attachment group would use pragmatic speech the most. A separate ANOVA was calculated to see if there were group differences in the use of this speech. Interestingly, a main effect was found for attachment group in the use of pragmatic arguments ($F(2,27) = 3.27, p \leq .05$). To compare the three groups two-tailed *t* tests were performed, since no hypotheses were established predicting group differences. Between group comparisons evidenced Preoccupied mothers relying on pragmatic speech significantly more than Dismissing mothers, $t(27) = 2.20, p \leq .03$, two-tailed. In addition, Preoccupied mothers used a significantly larger proportion of pragmatic speech than did Autonomous mothers, $t(27) = 2.17, p \leq .04$, two-tailed. Thus, pragmatic speech is the speech that distinguishes Preoccupied mothers from the two other groups.

Mothers' Attachment Representation and Mothers' Speech: Secure vs. Insecure

Mothers

Once the three group analyses were completed, the two insecure groups, Preoccupied and Dismissing, were combined and compared with the Autonomous or secure group. The same speech variables discussed above were compared using *t* tests. When secure and insecure mothers were compared on their use of legitimating with other-centered speech significant differences between groups were found,

$t(28) = 2.49, p \leq .01$, two-tailed. Secure mothers relied significantly more on legitimated arguments concurrent with other-centered speech when in discussion with their daughters.

When the two groups of mothers were compared on their use of dogmatic speech significant differences emerged. Insecure mothers used significantly more dogmatic speech than secure mothers, $t(28) = 2.72, p \leq .01$, two-tailed. When combined, the difference between the secure mothers and the insecure mothers becomes magnified.

When the two groups of mothers were compared on their use of projecting speech no significant differences were found. This variable did not distinguish between any of the combinations of groups.

Finally, when the insecure groups were combined and compared with the secure group on their use of pragmatic speech an interesting finding emerged. The significant differences found when the three groups were compared were not evident. When Preoccupied and Dismissing mothers were combined, no differences between secure and insecure groups were noted. This is an interesting finding given the significant differences noted in the three-group contrast. It appears that pragmatic speech is the domain of the Preoccupied mother alone, and it cannot be generalized to be the argument for the insecure mother.

Mothers' Attachment Representation and Daughters' Discourse: 3 Group Comparison

The type of representation a mother has of her relationship with her daughter was predicted to be related to the type of speech her daughter used in their conflict discussions. In the first analysis, a three group comparison was done comparing daughters based on their mothers' classification as Dismissing, Preoccupied or Autonomous. The hypotheses for daughters' speech were based on mothers being either secure or insecure, where Preoccupied and Dismissing mothers were combined as insecure. This reflects the uncertainty of the links between a mother's

representation and particular types of daughter speech. The daughter speech variable of most interest was the formation of a legitimated argument. It was hypothesized that secure mothers would be able to facilitate this achievement but the individual differences between insecure mothers and daughters' resisting speech were difficult to predict. However, a comparison of only secure and insecure groups ruled out the possibility of significant differences between the daughters of the insecure mothers. Before contrasting secure and insecure groups and testing the predicted hypotheses, ANOVAs were computed for each speech variable comparing the three attachment groups.

ANOVAs for each type of daughter speech showed no significant differences between mothers' attachment group on any of the variables (Table 3). Looking at the means, only passive negativism evidenced the beginning of a difference between the insecure groups. This difference was not significant but suggests the possibility of differentiating the linguistic patterns of daughters of the three attachment representation groups. The remaining variables that approached significance were all in the expected direction with no differences between insecure groups.

Table 3

Daughters' Mean Speech Proportions by the Three Mothers' Attachment Representation Groups

	Mothers' Attachment Representation Group						
	Autonomous		Dismissing		Preoccupied		F value
	\bar{x}^a	SD	\bar{X}	SD	\bar{X}	SD	
Daughters' Speech:							
Total Legitimation	.31	.11	.22	.08	.24	.13	1.67, p = .21
Principled Legitimation	.08	.08	.10	.12	.13	.11	0.65, p = .54
Personal Legitimation	.24	.14	.13	.13	.12	.16	2.19, p = .13
Passive Negativism	.18	.08	.19	.06	.26	.13	2.11, p = .14
Active Opposition	.06	.04	.09	.07	.07	.05	0.86, p = .44
Compliance	.02	.03	.05	.04	.06	.06	1.69, p = .20

^a Speech means represent an average of speech proportions across two discussions.

Daughters' Speech by Mothers' Attachment Representation: Two Groups

Hypotheses predicting daughters' speech were based on their mothers having either a secure attachment representation (classified as Autonomous) or an insecure attachment representation (Dismissing or Preoccupied). The two groups were combined because it was proposed that the salient variable effect on the daughter's speech was the security of her mother's attachment representation of their relationship. It was assumed that it would be less important how the insecurity was manifested. The differences between Preoccupied and Dismissing mothers are important in differentiating two types of representational structures and interactive styles, but the effect on the daughter's ability to articulate her own needs and assert herself is presumed to be the same. Daughters' abilities were predicted to be constricted, evidenced in their difficulty formulating a legitimated argument and relying on resistance or compliance. Daughters of insecure mothers were predicted to use reactive speech: passive negativism, active opposition or compliant speech. Daughters whose mothers were classified as secure were hypothesized to use more legitimating speech. They were expected to be better able to construct a legitimated argument and to persuade their mothers that their demands were justified (see Table 4).

Table 4

Comparisons of Daughters' Mean Speech Proportions by Mothers' Secure and Insecure Attachment Representation

	Mothers' Attachment Representation Group				
	Secure		Insecure		t value
	n=14		n=16		
\bar{x}_a	SD	\bar{X}	SD		
Daughters' Speech ^a :					
Legitimation	.312	.11	.237	.11	1.80**
Principled Legitimation	.085	.11	.122	.08	0.96
Personal Legitimation	.240	.15	.123	.15	2.13***
Passive Negativism	.186	.09	.237	.11	1.34*
Active Opposition	.064	.05	.083	.06	0.89
Compliance	.023	.03	.060	.06	1.79**

* p < .10, one-tailed.

** p < .05, one-tailed.

*** p < .025, one-tailed.

^a Speech means represent an average of speech proportions from the two conflict discussions.

One-tailed *t* tests compared the means of the two groups of daughters on the four speech variables. A comparison of the means for the two groups on their use of legitimation showed significant differences, $t(27) = 1.80, p \leq .05$, one-tailed. The mean for daughters of secure mothers was significantly higher than the mean for daughters of insecure mothers. This provided strong support for the first hypothesis. Daughters of secure mothers on the average formulated more of their own legitimated arguments than did daughters of insecure mothers.

The initial hypothesis predicted a difference when both types of legitimations were combined. Given the significant results, the two types of legitimations were analyzed separately to see if there were statistical differences in the type of argument each group of daughters formulated. The total legitimation category was then divided into personal and principled arguments. Interesting differences between the two daughter groups emerged in the types of legitimations they used.

Daughters whose mothers were secure produced significantly more legitimated arguments that were based on a personal development justification. These daughters were more likely to appeal to their mothers on the basis of personal needs for self development. By contrast, there were no significant differences between the groups in their use of principled arguments. This fine tuned the first hypothesis. Not only was the total production of legitimations greater for daughters of secure mothers, but the production of arguments based on personal legitimations differed. Whether or not a daughter produces a legitimated argument based on a principled justification does not seem to be related to whether her mother has a secure or insecure attachment representation of their relationship.

The second hypothesis predicted that daughters of mothers judged to have insecure attachment representations would be more compliant and would express themselves with passive negativism and active opposition instead of presenting a legitimated argument. This was a hypothesis that made a prediction about three speech variables. Even though the hypothesis was the same for each speech variable,

separate comparisons were calculated for each speech type since each one is a discrete speech composite.

A comparison of the two groups on their use of compliant speech yielded significant differences between means, $t(28) = 1.79$, $p \leq .05$. There were differences between the two groups and daughters whose mothers were classified as insecure were more compliant in conflict discussions than were daughters of secure mothers. This partially supports the second hypothesis. When the two groups were contrasted on their use of passive negativism the resulting t value was not significant at the .05 level, but was significant at the .10 level, $t(28) = 1.34$, $p < .10$. This suggests some support for the prediction that daughters whose mothers are classified as insecure will use more passive negative speech, but it is not a strong finding.

Finally, no difference was evident between daughter groups in the proportion of active oppositional speech used. Taken together these three results suggest that there are meaningful differences between the two groups of daughters, but they are not as pervasive as predicted. While daughters of insecure mothers do appear to be more compliant, and possibly use more passive negativistic speech, there is no evidence that they actively oppose their mothers more than daughters of secure mothers.

CHAPTER FOUR

Discussion

The individual differences in the ways mothers and daughters engage in a dialogue about conflictual issues in their relationship is related to the mothers' inner representations of their relationships with their daughters. A mother's attachment representation serves as the frame for the transformation of the relationship during adolescence and as the context for the daughter's developing identity. When mothers' and daughters' worlds collide in verbal conflict, how they work through these collisions is a reflection of how their relationship shifts during this period of transition. The attachment representation, which is the blueprint for this attachment relationship, serves as a model for mothers when they engage in argumentation with their daughters. It influences the type of arguments mothers construct and, through the speech interaction, it influences how daughters argue for their needs during this important developmental transition. The findings from this study build a link between mothers' representations of their relationship with their daughters and mothers' speech and daughters' speech.

Before exploring the implications of the findings from this study, the three profiles generated of the mother attachment representation groups will be presented. Each group appeared distinctly in their discussions about their daughters. Once this is completed a brief review of the findings linking daughters' speech to mothers' representation will be discussed. The bulk of the discussion will center around three issues. The first issue is whether it is most meaningful to conceptualize and investigate mothers' attachment representations as two or three distinct groups and the contribution made by these findings to attachment theory and research. Secondly, the possible influence of gender and developmental period to the

construction of an attachment representation will be explored. Finally, the importance of discourse as a method of observing the Individuation process and the daughter's development of a voice will be highlighted. This discussion will close with a review of the clinical implications and the directions for future research in this area.

The Findings

Profiles of the Mothers in Each of the Three Attachment Representation Groups

Autonomous Mothers. Autonomous mothers seemed to have found a way to balance their experience in their relationship with their daughters. They were able to speak about their own feelings, understand their daughters' feelings and appraise the interactions. They displayed clear affective investment in the relationship, articulating their experiences during the Mother Daughter Interview with colorful descriptions. One mother was clear in her love for her daughter and described it with relish. "She's a really very, very well put together young woman. I genuinely like her, ADORE her as a kid. Enjoy her thoroughly." Later, this mother articulated her frustrating experiences with her daughter. "The only thing is sometimes she gets flaky and forgetful because she does so many things. You'll tell her you'll pick her up and she'll forget it and be at somebody's house three miles away. But it always works out. We find each other." This is a nice metaphor for their relationship. They have an attachment relationship within which there are frustrating and conflictual moments, but they find ways of working out their conflicts and the mother is able to relish her daughter as a person.

Autonomous mothers are able to put into words the range of feelings they experience without being overwhelmed or becoming lost in the experience. These mothers show the ability to empathize with their daughters and can place the relationship in a context that makes their interactions meaningful. They see the

relationship as constantly shifting with both mother and daughter actively orchestrating its growth and transformation. They were able both to describe their relationship and at the same time to maintain the ability to step outside and reflect back upon themselves in this context. They were able to talk about being mothers in a way that accounted for both perspectives, theirs and their daughters. This self reflection comes with the freedom from being too preoccupied or defensively cut off, losing the forest for the trees or the trees for the forest.

The structure of their interview responses evidenced this balance. Autonomous mothers were coherent and organized in their responses but retained a reflective and open quality. They offered insight into themselves and often displayed a sense of humor regarding themselves or their relationships. The anecdotes they offered were supported by semantic generalizations that accurately summarized them. This aided in the overall consistency of the narrative. In the interpersonal experience of the interview these mothers maintained the appropriate stance with the interviewer and they neither needed excessive reassurance nor were they overly distant.

Most recently researchers have highlighted the affective flexibility of these mothers as a way of understanding this balance (Kobak & Shaver, 1987; Slade & Aber, 1986). This was evident in these mothers' interviews by the range and balance of affective expression. The flexibility of an Autonomous representation allows for both access to a broad range of affective experiences and for a clarity about the nature of the relationship and each of the individuals involved. The openness and flexibility allows her to better empathize with her daughter's struggles through having access to her own emotional responses. Attachment experiences do not need to be excluded nor do they swamp her thinking so she cannot be genuinely present in the dialogue with her daughter.

In the discourse, an Autonomous mother demonstrates this balance in her capacity for self reflection and mutuality through articulating her own claims, legitimating them in a logical manner so her daughter can both understand and learn

to articulate her own demands similarly. The clarity and systematic justifications articulated by Autonomous mothers are heard and mirrored by their daughters. But these mothers also provide validation for their daughters' counter-claims and competing legitimated arguments. The relationship can contain competing needs and mother and daughter are able to work with them to try to build a consensus. While not all arguments can be resolved through a consensus, and many were not, the discourse between Autonomous mothers and their daughters emphasized increasing mutuality and recognition of both arguments, thereby promoting the possibility of a resolution.

Preoccupied Mothers. Preoccupied mothers accounted for a large proportion of the mothers in this sample. In the interview, these mothers were strikingly self-absorbed. Their experience of their daughters was filtered through their own neediness or relationship preoccupations. Often they would describe their dependency on their daughters and sometimes described how they used the relationship to live vicariously through experiences they had not had as adolescents. At times, these vicarious needs took precedence in the mother's argument over her daughter's interests. Preoccupied mothers often expressed their difficulties with their daughters' needs for privacy and time alone. They either did not understand it or worried about the implications of their daughters' desires to be alone. They feared that time alone meant their daughters were in trouble or they interpreted this as a rejection of the mother-daughter relationship. In the interview, they interpreted their daughters' claims in the ongoing conflicts as reflective of demandingness. They often were unable to see any rationale for their daughters' ideas.

These mothers demonstrated sensitivity to relationships and the nuances of interpersonal interactions, but often were unable to use this information to inform their actions. While a Preoccupied mother could recount in detail her daughter's feelings about a situation she could not utilize her understanding to obtain insight into her daughter's motivations or their conflicts. The exquisite sensitivity to

discrete experiences without being able to integrate them into a full system of self-other interactions parallels the linguistic characteristics of their interviews.

Preoccupied mothers' interviews lacked clarity and organization. They could slip into an elaborate description of an experience but these descriptions were hard to relate to the train of thought of the conversation at that moment. The reader, and the interviewer, sometimes got lost, having to piece together what the mother was implying or provide the overall generalization that organized the discrete examples. Mothers were often dysfluent, using strange comments, nonsense words and they switched voices without markers. One mother referring to herself in relation to her daughter said "I think mother is a place but doesn't have to be overwhelming". These made the interviews hard to follow. In the interview itself, these mothers could not maintain the appropriate distance. They seemed to have a hidden agenda to draw the interviewer in to elicit support or acknowledgment of their parenting.

In the discourse the original hypotheses predicted that Preoccupied mothers would use more projecting speech than either Autonomous or Dismissing mothers. This was based on the notion that the preoccupations of these mothers would lead them to substantiate their claims with statements about their own needs in a coercive manner. However, this was not the case. In conflict, Preoccupied mothers seemed to rely on speech which defined the limits for their daughters, either through pragmatic limits or norms. They relied on structure to organize their experience and communicate it.

By asserting dogmatic norms these mothers, as well as Dismissing mothers, used outside guidelines to control their daughters' behavior. They articulated a behavioral norm which they endorsed for justification. This is the position most characteristic of the Authoritarian parent (e.g., "you can't do it because girls your age don't do these things"). When a daughter is confronted with these norms there is no room for a personal argument or a discussion. This type of speech closes the dialogue; it sets the norms and the daughter may not consider herself an exception to these norms. The

argument is justified by conventions that assert mothers' unilateral parental authority and leaves no room for mutual discussion. The interactions and the mother-daughter relationship are rigidly and externally structured.

Interestingly, these mothers also used more pragmatic speech than either of the other groups. A pragmatic argument presents references to a mother's work schedule, family economics or physical inability as justification for why the mother is unable to meet her daughter's wishes. Reflecting on these findings, one can speculate that this may be consistent with the original ideas that lead to the predictions of increased projecting speech. The pragmatic argument, although it does not rely on guilt or psychological coercion, does assert the mother's limitations as the basis for rejecting the daughter's argument. The argument is then built upon concrete evidence as to why the daughter's wishes cannot be met. The claim the mother makes is in fact justified by her own limits and preoccupations. It is interesting that the Preoccupied mother whose own needs and concerns prevent her from being available in a consistent manner relies on external supports and structure for her position. When faced with challenges from their adolescent daughters, these mothers resort to limits that are irrefutable and are not self defined. Norms or an actual physical or economic limitation leave no room for argumentation or ultimately reaching a compromise. These mothers seem to grab hold of external limits to control their daughters' demands.

Dismissing Mothers. Dismissing mothers were characterized in the interview by their lack of interest in the interpersonal or affective experience of their relationships. One mother said "I tell my kids I'm not a very good mother. I'm not that interested in mothering. I just don't find kids that fascinating." These mothers often attempted to 'make sense' of their daughters' experience, but there was little effort to empathize with them. They highlighted responsibility and independence as most important, often minimizing conflict and disagreements in the relationship. One mother described the family orientation as "we're a tremendously work oriented

family. Just very, very busy. Very achievement oriented. I work and my husband works and the kids are in a lot of activities. You're both, all of you are wrapped up in your lives, just so busy." The focus was placed on doing and achieving. When conflicts were discussed in the interview, they were often simplified and mothers sometimes portrayed the conflicts as clear cut violations of rules. Extreme examples were evident in interviews with mothers who simply denied they had any disagreements with their daughters.

These mothers had little difficulty affording their daughters privacy or time to invest in activities outside the relationship. They often encouraged these interests. Dismissing mothers appeared to set clear boundaries between mother and daughter by delineating what was expected and done by each. What was striking about these mothers was the lack of affective involvement in the relationship. They presented their relationships in simplistic terms and as neutrally as possible, with a matter-of-fact quality. With the turmoil associated with adolescence, these relationships were strikingly straight forward. These mothers were clearly not overtly invested. This lack of affective expression and minimizing of the relationship is consistent with previous descriptions of Dismissing mothers. Their interviews evidenced the use of impersonal speech and attempts at distancing themselves and minimizing their attachment experiences.

These mothers were predicted to rely on dogmatic speech. Based on the portrait of the Dismissing mother being devaluing of attachment, it was hypothesized that she would assert her authority without seeing any need to justify it or consider the impact on the relationship. It would either be "fine", a reflection of the idealization, or "just the way the family is", a statement that reflects a norm and devalues individuality. As mentioned above, the findings suggest that this kind of control is the domain of the Preoccupied mother more than the Dismissing mother.

Interestingly, Dismissing mothers did not have a single speech variable that best characterized them, whereas each of the other groups used primarily one speech type.

Mothers' Attachment Representation and Daughters' Speech

Hypotheses about daughters' speech patterns were based on mothers' being secure or insecure. The security of the mother's representation was the focus for predicting a relationship to daughter's speech. The hypothesized impact on daughters was hypothesized to be their mothers' availability and flexibility in the relationship. In the initial design of the study, it was not clear from previous work or descriptions of the two groups of insecure mothers how they would be related to specific types of daughters' speech. Hence, there were no *a priori* hypotheses made about how the different insecure mothers would relate to their daughters' speech. The secure mothers were predicted to be able to be emotionally available and responsive in a consistent way, since they did not have representations limiting their interactive repertoire. They were believed to be better able to bridge their own subjective experiences and reflect back upon their own positions as well as support their daughters' positions. There would be no experiences or affects that had to be excluded nor were they too caught up in their own feelings to be able to empathize.

It was predicted that insecure mothers, as a group, would not facilitate their daughters' growth and encourage their formation of an individualized identity. As the interviews were scored it became apparent that the initial hypotheses, that did not distinguish between the two insecure groups, were warranted. The impact on the daughter would be the mother's own level of security. In other words, each of the insecure groups appeared unavailable to the daughter, although for different reasons. Preoccupied mothers were too caught up in their own subjective experience. Dismissing mothers relied too heavily on defensive exclusion of feelings and devaluing of attachment. The impact on the daughter was ultimately the same. So

whether a mother was preoccupied with her own concerns or cut-off from her affective experience might not matter as much as the mere fact that she could not be consistently responsive to the challenges and demands her daughter was placing on her or the relationship.

Daughters whose mothers were secure produced a greater proportion of legitimating arguments. When the category of legitimations was partitioned, it was found that daughters whose mothers were secure were more likely to produce legitimations that were justified on the basis of developmental needs, either personal development or the right to choose. These daughters defined something that was meaningful to them and built arguments to support them based on long term developmental goals, including the desire to make their own choices. They were arguing to construct their own lives and build what was meaningful to them. They appeared to be asking to make their own mistakes. Arguments justified by some principle or social rationale were not used. Although the means were not significantly different, daughters of insecure mothers seemed to use more socio-moral legitimations. This was an interesting and unexpected finding. It suggests that there is something very personal being created by a legitimated argument justified by a reference to the daughter's desire to set her own developmental goals or make her own choices.

Daughters whose mothers were insecure (either Preoccupied or Dismissing) were hypothesized to use more passive negativism, active opposition and compliance than daughters whose mothers were secure. The findings suggested that this was partially accurate. These daughters were significantly more compliant. They were more likely to give in and go along with their mothers, rather than construct their own arguments. They were also somewhat more likely to express their dissatisfaction in a passively negativistic manner. The final prediction that these daughters would be more actively oppositional was not confirmed. So, while not all

of the specific hypotheses were confirmed, there were differences which have important meaning for understanding these two groups.

Implications

These findings are consistent with both attachment theory and research as well as the psychoanalytic theory of individuation. Yet the findings of the study expand each theory a bit further. A new relationship is being established between a mother's attachment representation and the process of individuation as it is reflected in speech interaction. The intuitive notion that the internal representation a mother has of her daughter will influence their relationship and her daughter's actions in that relationship is a simple premise with far reaching implications. This study offers specific links from representation to the mother's speech and to the daughter's speech. This expands attachment theory by extending it to a new domain and developmental period. It offers a way of observing the interactions during this developmental period and their relation to the attachment construct. At the same time, the findings force us to reexamine how attachment representations should be conceptualized and used in research, i.e., as two models based on security of attachment or three models that include distinctions between insecure groups.

Attachment Theory and Research

In attachment theory, internal representations of self and other are built out of repeated experiences of interacting with and relying on a significant attachment figure. Main et al. (1985) argue that relationships are internalized schematically and are based on actions as opposed to categorically defined images. These internalized portraits built out of interactive sequences come to characterize the relationship and serve as the prototype for other relationships. Specifically, they serve as an adaptive guide for the individual in that particular relationship and

include images of the self and the other, guidelines for expected interactions and the regulation of affective expression (Kobak & Shaver, 1987). Since the representation is built out of interaction it includes all the pieces of an interaction: what the self does and feels, what the other does and possibly feels, and the outcome of the interaction. The attachment representation is a dynamic representation which governs cognitive-affective experience in a relationship. The inner schemata are constantly processing incoming information and influencing how the individual responds to this information. Although the representation becomes stabilized, it remains available for transformation. What is unique to the attachment representation is that it is a dynamic, internalized portrait of a relationship, one's interactions with the other in attachment-relevant experiences. This makes it an especially useful tool for understanding parent-child interactions.

Attachment theory proposes that by observing the nature of the attachment relationship you can follow the child's growth throughout development. The attachment relationship is the bond that first allows the infant to feel safe and protected. Later, once security is established, the toddler can use the relationship as a "secure base" from which autonomy can develop. At each stage of development, the underlying attachment relationship is presumed to be reflected in the achievement of age appropriate developmental tasks. This perspective views development in a relational context with continuity provided by a relationship (that becomes internalized) and discontinuity evident in observable behaviors. The discontinuity is evident in the different behaviors reflective of the child's developmental stage and the individual differences between children. What is a meaningful interactive style for a toddler is different from the school age child's or the adolescent's. However, the images of self/other, affective regulation processes and expectable interactions are presumed to be continuous. For the parent being "sensitive" and "flexible" remains the goal throughout, but the age-appropriate manifestations of this parenting style

shifts. The representation impacts on the mother's capacity to be responsive in a consistent way throughout development.

A mother's capacity to be responsive and flexible is most apparent if she can meet the challenges of adolescence with her daughter. In adolescence, the task for the adolescent according to individuation theory is the creation of an identity. Over the course of this period the adolescent creates a stable, consistent and reliable sense of who she is and what she stands for in the world (Josselson, 1987). This identity integrates one's meaning to oneself and to significant others, hopefully providing a match between internal and external perceptions. While identity modification is a life-span process, during adolescence identity formation is spurred on by dramatic physical, cognitive and social transformations. The central aspect of identity formation emphasized by Josselson's revision of individuation theory is the ongoing parental relationship in which the identity is formed. This process is not just the sharpening of boundaries and release from infantile imagos described by classical theorists. It is a relational construction of an identity. This places an emphasis on the relationship which is impacted by the mother's ideas and expectations about this attachment relationship. This position is espoused by the psychoanalytic feminist theorists who challenge the traditional notions of separateness and individuation and offer the "self-in-relation" as the way of to conceptualize the developing female self (Jordan, 1984; Miller, 1984; Kaplan & Klein, 1985). This perspective strikes a balance between relationships and individual identity and has come to influence parent-adolescent interaction research and ways of thinking about female developmental progression. It places identity formation in the context of an attachment relationship that is ongoing.

Theoretically, identity formation is the stage-specific task and the attachment relationship during adolescence provides the frame within which the adolescent identity is built. It sets the parameters of mother-daughter experience and by understanding mother's attachment representation, we gather information about

what types of experiences will be highlighted or excluded from the identity formation process. One of the most important questions that has emerged in this study and has come up in many other studies of attachment is whether there are two or three attachment representations. In this study there are findings that support a two group division as well as evidence that there are distinct differences between insecure mothers. This is an important issue since it defines how we think about mothers' impact on the interaction with their daughters.

Adult Attachment Representation Groups

The three group classification system defines three distinct types of representations with related interactive styles. Autonomous mothers have been described as being more sensitive to their infants' signals, more supportive and more flexible in their affective experience (Ainsworth et al., 1978; Matas, Arend & Sroufe, 1978; Slade & Aber, 1985). Main et al. (1985) suggest that this sensitivity is possible because the secure mother can hear her child's signals and does not need to tune them out to preserve her own state of mind. A recent study of mothers and infants by Haft & Slade (1989) found that secure mothers were able to be attuned to a range of affects in their infants and appeared to be able to be objective in determining their infant's states. They were seen as more open and flexible in their affective interactions. This suggests that these mothers are not selectively attending to certain communications, affective expressions in this case, and were able to assess the emotional state of their infants without constant intrusion of their own preoccupations. If a mother's own sense of safety is being threatened by becoming anxious or angry, she will focus on her own stability and may miss or misinterpret her child's communications. While even the best mothers are never perfectly attuned, the results reported by Haft & Slade (1989) suggest that insecure mothers consistently misjudge certain feelings or communications, perhaps as a way of defending against their own difficulties. These mothers seem to have a more

restricted repertoire that is communicated through interaction and then ultimately passed on to their children. This is the intergenerational transmission of attachment patterns.

This study finds Autonomous mothers being supportive and responsive to their daughters and being able to facilitate their daughters' expressions of their needs in a legitimated form. In addition, these mothers maintain their own point of view and communicate it. This is done through an argument which is both logical, rational and sensitive to the daughter's needs and her right to articulate, and perhaps fulfill, her own needs. The openness, affective flexibility and objectivity are the formal qualities of these mothers' representations which then are translated into speech patterns that reflect these characteristics. This balance is the hallmark of this group and their speech patterns are the linguistic and developmentally appropriate expressions of this underlying representation. These mothers appear less encumbered by emotional baggage that prevents them from taking part in a mutual dialogue. Their affective flexibility allows them to engage in a cognitive activity that is dependent upon stepping back and placing one's views in a broader perspective. This was either not thought to be necessary or not within the capacity of the Insecure mothers.

Secondly, in support of the three group classification system a clear profile emerged in this study of the Preoccupied mother and her specific style of interaction. According to Main & Goldwyn (1988a) the Preoccupied mother's own attachment experience has been inconsistent. In response to this inconsistency she has not formed overarching generalizations which represent and organize her experience. These generalizations are an outgrowth of being able to step back and assess one's overall experience. This activity is one way to make sense of the self and develop an identity. The Preoccupied mother appears to lack a sense of personal identity in her relationship with her daughter. These mothers were able to focus on specific events or fears but their identities and their objective senses of self got lost. These mothers

presented their positions using external justifications and did not articulate what was meaningful to them as individuals and why. They used norms or constraints to organize and substantiate their part of the conflict. Bowlby (1988) notes that these mothers may rely on external structures to protect their own preoccupations. This appears to be the case; when we translate "external structures" into speech, structures are provided by the pragmatic and dogmatic argument.

The pragmatic or dogmatic justifications are particular ways of asserting parental authority. A dogmatic argument asserts authority in an absolute and unquestionable way. It defines a norm outside of the relationship. Consequently, the mother's role is to enforce these norms. Both insecure groups used this type of reasoning more than secure mothers. Mother is both the enforcer of rules but she does not create the rules. Meaningful ways of living one's life are not constructed. Instead, the goal is to fit within prescribed guidelines.

A pragmatic argument asserts that whatever the daughter wants is not possible due to circumstances which are out of the mother's control. It is impinging on the resources available. Mother defines the constraints and what is accessible to her daughter. Her daughter can only accept it. It is as if the mother is saying "I can't help it, it's too much for me". The mother is powerless in the face of these constraints. One could consider this as a diluted form of requesting role reversal from the daughter. While it is subtle, the mother is still helpless in the face of things out of her control. Most importantly, this is the response she provides to her daughter's challenge of her authority. It is an odd assertion and in an odd way she relinquishes her authority as a parent while at the same time maintaining it.

The findings for Dismissing mothers challenge the three group classification system. There was no speech form identified in this study that was distinctly theirs. Dismissing mothers could be seen as not Autonomous since they did not use legitimating argumentation concurrent with other-centered speech, but even this distinction was not statistically significant. They were clearly distinguished from

Preoccupied mothers by the absence of pragmatic speech but not in their use of dogmatic speech. While the picture that emerged from the interviews of these mothers was consistent with previous descriptions of Dismissing mothers, some alternative explanations as to why no specific form of speech was identified may be considered. If in fact there are three distinct groups of mothers, then the specific design for this study may have contributed to the lack of or diffuse style of the Dismissing mother.

The first possible explanation is that the Mother Daughter Interview did not capture the idealization that characterizes many Dismissing mothers as sharply as the Adult Attachment Interview. The deactivation of the attachment system that is characteristic of Dismissing mothers is accomplished in two ways. One process is self-deception, where idealization replaces actually disturbing experiences. The second process is the devaluing of attachment figures or experiences. In the latter case, idealization is less necessary since negative experiences are viewed as having little impact on the self. The notion that attachment relationships are important and influential is rejected in its entirety.

The one notable difference between the two interview protocols was the limited opportunity in the MDI to contrast a mother's semantic generalization about her relationship with her daughter and the episodic memories offered to substantiate them. The AAI provides an opportunity for direct contrast by asking the mother to provide actual memories to support her general descriptors. This offers an opportunity to observe idealization where there is a schism between the general idea carried in the conscious and the actual memories. The MDI is structured to gather a full picture of the mother's current and more conscious perception of her relationship with her daughter. It places more reliance on the coherence of the mother's narrative and her organization of her experience. The MDI does not "surprise" the preconscious by asking the mother to support what she says with actual memories. However, this makes capturing idealization more difficult.

Whereas the process of devaluing attachment is more obvious and often expressed as a set of beliefs, it is easier to capture without the semantic/episodic contrast. Mothers who relied on devaluing may have been classified as Dismissing more easily.

Mothers who were Dismissing and relied on idealization may not have been identified as consistently because of the different structure of the interview. Interestingly, it may be that Dismissing mothers who relied on idealization may have been scored as Preoccupied. Their narratives may have been less organized and the idealization may have been overlooked.

While these two representational categories are very different in their profiles on the AAI, Main & Goldwyn (1988a) note that each has characteristics of the other. Dismissing mothers are "ultimately, at some level, preoccupied with their parents and experiences whom they are currently attempting to dismiss" (p. 98). The Dismissing mothers have excluded affects and experiences from consciousness, but like Preoccupied mothers they remain caught up in a state of mind which is a compromise formed to protect themselves from painful feelings and experiences. The essential similarity lies in their underlying preoccupations with experiences of loss, rejection and lack of perceived security. When coding the AAI it is often the case that a Dismissing mother will use Preoccupied speech and vice versa. What is being captured in the overall classification is the predominant model. The distinction between the two insecure groups may be more reliant on the episodic/semantic contrast than on the coherency of the narrative or other dimensions of the MDI.

It is possible that the most important distinction between mothers is whether the model they hold is secure or not. Taking this perspective, one could propose a "deep" structure that is similar in the insecure mothers. If this is the case, what we see as distinguishing these two insecure groups are their coping strategies or defensive styles, the consequence of the specific attachment relationship, the family context, the cultural or historical context and gender. This challenge is not to a theory of security of attachment and the concomitant characteristics and interactive styles,

but to a differentiation between the two insecure groups.

This alternative explanation appears to be supported by the findings for differences in daughters' speech. There are no significant differences evident until daughters are compared based on their mothers being secure or insecure. While we cannot know how these daughters will grow up, the salient mother variable related to their self expression in discourse was the security of their mothers' representation. While it may be that descriptively the three categories are coherent and differ from one another, when the link is made to parent-child interaction the basic security of attachment may be the most meaningful predictor at this time in the theory of development.

Finally, an interesting observation which was not empirically investigated was how each of the three groups of mothers treated the interviewer. They seemed to re-enact their own interpersonal experiences with the interviewer. She was treated differently by each group of mothers and it appeared each group had a different initial "transference" toward the interviewer. This experiential difference was consistent with the phenomenological differences captured in the interview. The difference was most apparent with the insecure groups who treated the interviewer in a way that was consistent with their characteristic styles, either drawing the interviewer in or pushing her out. Preoccupied mothers often wanted advice and structure from the interviewer. Sometimes they required the interviewer to provide structure either by constantly limiting the mother's responses in order to finish the interview or by reminding the interviewee of the role of the interviewer. With the Dismissing mothers there was an interpersonal coolness. The interviewer was made to feel like an intruder, sometimes put down or belittled. These mothers seemed to devalue the entire process much in the same way they devalued their attachment experiences. These differing experiences were not systematically observed or recorded, but they support the distinctions in the experience of the three different types of mothers.

In summary, the characteristics of the three attachment groups of mothers were highly consistent with the descriptions and previous research classifying the three groups. Distinctive profiles were generated for each of the groups. However, links to speech were only established for Preoccupied and Autonomous mothers. The group of mothers classified as Dismissing, although emerging phenomenologically as a clear subgroup in the interview, were less distinctive in their speech. There were dramatic links established between mothers' security of attachment and daughters speech. Daughters whose mothers were insecure were compliant. They may opt not to or be unable to challenge the relationship at this time. The daughters whose mothers are secure build arguments that are legitimated to have their voices heard in conflicts with their mothers.

The findings raise the question as to whether there are three or two 'natural' attachment representation groups. Two possible explanations have been explored: the design of the study and the dimension of security as primary. A final consideration of the impact of gender and the developmental context offers an alternative explanation for these findings. The mother-daughter dyad and the challenges of this specific developmental period may influence the attachment representation a mother holds of her relationship with her daughter.

Adolescence and Gender Related to Attachment Representation

Research and theory suggest that this developmental period is as difficult for parents as it is for the adolescent. Given the particularly intense mother-daughter relationship, a mother's representation may fluctuate in this process. This study does not establish continuity of attachment representation over the course of the relationship between mother and daughter. Instead, it joins the specific attachment representation with the discourse between mother and daughter in a particular developmental period. The developmental period and this particular parent-child pair may have contributed to the striking number of Preoccupied mothers in this

sample. It may be that adolescence forces mothers of girls to appear more Preoccupied, rather than Dismissing, if they have insecure attachment representations.

The tremendous demands on the mother-daughter relationship, as well as on the mother herself during this turbulent transition, may make her more prone to appearing Preoccupied. The transformations of the parent-child relationship may force the mother to re-examine her own identity. The first transformation she faces is to shift her role in relation to her adolescent and allow her daughter more autonomy. This necessarily means reframing her view of herself as a mother and moving towards a more equal relationship. The second transformation may come as she watches her daughter forge her own identity. This may resurrect her own experiences of adolescent change and how she negotiated her relationship with her own mother. The ambivalence of separation and individuation may be sparked anew. A mother may find herself immersed in a struggle she thought was long gone. This struggle may change her characteristic ways of coping with the relationship.

If there is really only one meaningful distinction between mothers based on security of attachment, then insecure mothers may shift to a Preoccupied stance during adolescence. In the face of the struggles a Dismissing style may be impossible to maintain. The constant demand to meet the adolescent where she is and the churning up of the mother's own ambivalence may unearth the underlying preoccupation believed to be characteristic of both insecure groups. It may be impossible to be emotionally cut off or dismiss the influence of relationships during adolescence, more so than at other developmental periods. This developmental period has a "reputation" for being difficult for parents. Mothers who might have regulated their own sense of security by being Dismissing may find themselves unable to hold on to those defenses and may fall sway to the tide of open preoccupations. Attachment representations may fluctuate in response to the developmental tasks mothers face in their relationships with their children.

Much of the work in attachment has been focussed on establishing a base of attachment research noting group differences and attempting to establish the continuity of the relationship. Very little mention has been made of gender differences and of the influence of gender. In fact, gender differences are apparent in both attachment representation classification and in parent-child interactions. Aber, Slade, Cohen & Meyer (1989) found that mothers' recognition of affective experiences was associated with sensitive mothering and secure attachment for toddler girls, but not for boys. Being able to recognize anger in oneself was related to secure communication and mothers' ability to flexibly deploy attention to their daughters, but not to sons. Access to one's own anger appeared not to make a significant difference in attending to a son. It would follow that a girl's mother who could not recognize her own anger might be more preoccupied and self-centered. Thus, having a particular attachment representation may have a different effect on one's children depending on their gender. Bowlby (1988) suggests that there are two attachment representation models that are transmitted intergenerationally, one with the mother and one with the father. The experience with each parent is internalized separately along gender lines. What becomes meaningful for the mother will vary as she struggles with the different issues stirred up by the gender of her child. The mother-toddler findings reported above also place an emphasis on affective experience and reinforce the importance of the handling of anger and autonomy in the mother-daughter relationship.

If we return a moment to theory, Balint, Levenson and Bergmann all suggested that if a mother's own ambivalence, anger or inability to provide support intrude upon the mother-daughter relationship there will be negative consequences in the daughter's ability shift the relationship and create an individualized identity. Instead, she will maintain the internalized relationship unchanged, perhaps compliantly withdraw, and have less energy to develop her own interests. The mothers who are unable to articulate their needs in a legitimated argument and

support their daughters are also the mothers whose daughters react against them, rather than linguistically define themselves. We can speculate that both Preoccupied and Dismissing mothers may have had difficult developmental experiences with their own mothers. They may not have been able to negotiate the ambivalence and constructed their own identity in their relationships. Their mothers may have been unavailable, inconsistent or rejecting. Consequently they remain angry, dependent or shut off emotionally but still focussed on that relationship. They recreate the entrenched relationship with their daughters, and are unable to acknowledge their autonomy strivings, to support them and to provide a model for articulating the self.

It is apparent that in the social context it is more appropriate for women to be preoccupied with their children than it is to be dismissing of attachment and emotionally restrained. This broader context reinforces the gendered transmission of an attachment representation of the self and other. So while the attachment system is a reflection of a dyadic interchange, the particular defensive posture in this adolescent-mother dyad may be both influenced by the developmental period and the gender expectations for women. The psychological construction of a gendered self and the mother's own history play important roles in her facilitation of her daughter's growth. Due to the complexity of the task of individuation and the social context, mothers may be more likely to appear Preoccupied and actively maintaining the relationship bond rather than able to support their daughters' autonomy.

The emphasis placed on the mother's contribution to the relationship is only one aspect of the individuation process, but it is an important part of the developmental transition during adolescence. While we can only speculate about the impact on daughters' development, the process of individuation as recast in discourse offers a way of exploring the interaction during this transition. The structural analysis of the discourse highlights the process of verbal conflict negotiation. It is through logical argumentation that mothers and daughters can come to a consensus and mothers can provide validation for this process. It is proposed that this activity

helps daughters become linguistically competent and develop a voice that allows them to say what they need and what they believe as they build their own identities.

Discourse: The Co-Construction of a Voice

The thread that weaves all of these pieces together is the development of a female voice, a voice that can clearly and logically communicate to others who the self is, what is meaningful and still maintain a relationship. This voice is a voice that is linguistically competent and is acknowledged in a relationship in addition to being a voice in the larger social context. It can articulate what is meaningful and important to the self, a female voice.

The discourse analysis defines how the voice is created in a verbal interactive context. The scheme defines a structural analysis of the discourse where speech is linked together by a logically structured argument or expressing control/resistance struggles. The conflict discussion between mother and daughter where competing needs and challenges characterize the discourse provides fertile ground to learn to articulate one's ideas and substantiate them. The voice for the daughter is born from the discourse in the relationship. Mothers facilitate this by using legitimating speech and providing validation. Legitimizing argumentation allows mothers and daughters to engage in a dialogue, increase their understanding and open the door to a new consensus. It is only through building towards more general principled justifications that negotiating conflict can move beyond a pure struggle of wills where the mother asserts her parental authority and her daughter complies.

While this study does not look at the direct correlations of mother and daughter speech, previous analyses established significant relationships between mothers' legitimating argumentation and daughters' personal argumentation as well as lower proportions of compliant speech (Zahaykevich, Sirey & Sprik, 1987).

Alternatively, in the same analyses mothers' dogmatic speech was negatively related

to daughters' legitimation. This completes the model of proposed development reflected in the speech analysis. Mothers' attachment representation governs her speech which influences daughters' speech and, presumably, will influence her self development and her own attachment representation. In the earlier analyses, daughters' personal legitimation was related to post-conventional levels of ego development suggesting that this may be a voice that is related to a more highly developed self. Through repeated discussions like the ones used for these analyses, daughters have the opportunity to engage in argumentation. Their mothers have the opportunity to demonstrate the process of articulating their needs through their own legitimating and help daughters shift the relationship. Daughters learn to become competent speakers and define what is important to them in the home.

It is also a female voice that has been long absent in psychology that is being captured in this coding scheme. The voice speaks about the female experience, the self and female development in a relational context, the relationship with the mother. Following on the landmark work of Gilligan (1982) who argued that women reason differently by focusing on responsibility and care with an emphasis on the context of a moral issue, others have begun to explore how women create meaning in their lives and the processes through which they develop. These works emphasize the relational context in which the self, identity as well as understanding, knowing and thinking are born (Lyons, 1983; Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger & Tarule, 1986; Levenson, 1988). There is a balance that appears particularly important to female development. It is the balance between autonomy and attachment. While male development also seeks to bridge these two experiences, it is women who often lose their voices as they struggle to remain in relationships. This is particularly important during adolescence when girls appear to become confused, inarticulate and passive (Gilligan, 1990). The clarity they seem to experience and articulate in pre-adolescent years seems to get washed away in the process of adolescence. This becomes a point of concern if this developmental transition is the period during

which the adult identity is being formed. This study attempts to identify one way a female voice is born during adolescence in the mother-daughter relationship. The discourse highlights relationship conflict as the territory in which this battle between autonomy and attachment is fought. Being able to both articulate one's ideas and at the same time maintain an attachment is the goal. In the discourse this is attempted by engaging in logical argumentation to reach a mutual consensus and transforming the relationship.

Clinical Implications

One of the most useful aspects of this work lies in the possibility of identifying mother-daughter dyads that are vulnerable to entrenchment, where daughters may have retreated to a compliant and withdrawn position. Alternately, those dyads whose interaction may provide them with the tools to pass through adolescence with greater ease and who have captured the balance between autonomy and the relationship can be used as a model. Attachment theory is not a theory of psychopathology. If a mother is secure this does not mean she is free from neurotic conflict or character pathology. In this sense it is not a clinical tool at all. Instead, a secure attachment representation suggests that a mother's emotional conflicts, experiences or character structure do not intrude upon her availability in a consistent manner (Aber & Slade, 1987). She is able to be a mother who can provide what is necessary for recognition and sensitive parenting. Sroufe (1989) has been most straightforward on the link between attachment theory and psychopathology by asserting that there is no link; "the quality of an attachment alone does not produce psychopathology." Instead, it is a relational and developmental context for understanding the parent-child dyad and the processes of individuation. It may make a dyad susceptible to constrictions in their relationship or better able to weather the conflict that could cause problems, but alone one's attachment status is not related to

pathology. Awareness of a particular representation and the concomitant types of interaction provides more information about a mother-daughter pair.

Bearing in mind what attachment theory can contribute, what this study can offer is a way of thinking about mothers' contribution to the process of adolescent daughters' development and how that can be observed in discourse. If a mother holds a particular representation we may infer the characteristic ways she will cope with her daughter's struggles and ultimately observe it in a consultation. It is easy to imagine a sullen, silent adolescent coming in with her exasperated mother. Knowing a mother's attachment representation or hearing the arguments - or lack of arguments - presented by the mother or daughter in a family session may give the clinician some understanding of the guiding representational model. Particular dyads may be identified who are vulnerable to impasses based on their limitations in their interactive ability. The nature of their interaction may limit their ability to work through particular issues.

The dyad may be seen together or the family as a whole and the characteristic issues and interactions identified. Once identified an interactive intervention may be designed that is targeted at the particular areas of difficulty. Mothers may be able to identify what activates their restrictive speech, in this case a dogmatic or pragmatic argument. The assumptions and underlying ideas that lie beneath a particular type of interaction may be explored in the dyad. This may open the restricted patterns allowing for shifts in both the interaction and possibly in the representational model.

This type of clinical intervention is being carried out by Aber at the Bernard Toddler Center where mothers and toddlers are engaged in Dyadic Interaction Therapy (Aber & Slade, 1987). The therapeutic process starts with an exploration of how a toddler activates a mother's model in certain interactions. In conjunction with individual therapy for the mother, the therapeutic goal is to shake loose the representational model the mother holds from her own experience of being parented from the current interaction with her toddler. Once she becomes aware of her

interactions and their guiding premises, a mother may be freer to work in the present with her toddler.

The adolescent-mother interaction is different. In some ways it is more entrenched but the relationship has two more equal participants who can work together to change. Mother and daughter have had years of interaction and presumably each has a model that represents this relationship. For the mother, this model is informed by her own history and may still benefit from an exploration of how restrictive interactions become activated. For the daughter, the role she plays in not challenging the relationship or her mother may be better understood. With support, a daughter may be able to articulate the attempts she makes to maintain the relationship at all costs. She may be freer to try to stretch her assertions to broaden the interaction with her mother. This may be especially useful for daughters who have moved to a compliant or more passively resistant position. Both mother and daughter may explore the premises of their discourse. This may shift both models through insight or interaction, offering alternative expectable patterns. The result would then be a first step towards transforming the model. Additionally, the broader context for the interaction may need to be explored. The conflictual and difficult position of a particular dyadic relationship also may be related to other family conflicts such as a spousal conflict or other intergenerational difficulties.

Implications for Future Research.

This study extends the mother-daughter attachment relationship into adolescence and offers discourse as a useful way of observing the attachment relationship during this phase. Speech analysis of conflict discussions offers an opportunity to see how relationship issues are or are not transformed. This study asserts that the content is less important than the form of the linguistic interaction. The form of the argument carries with it action that communicates more clearly than content. The form extends the relationship issues to a logical and rational arena. This study suggests

that future studies seeking to expand attachment interaction into adolescence might continue to look at conflict negotiation and be informed by the form of discursive interaction.

Future research in discourse would be helped by increasing opportunities to observe shifts in affective expression in logical argumentation. Studies in this area would profit from not only looking at the construction of a legitimated argument, but also at how feelings are integrated into interaction. This might aid in the identification of the linguistic patterns of Dismissing mothers. If, as theory suggests, these mothers are affectively cut off, adding an affective dimension to the coding scheme which could capture affective exchanges as they relate to argumentation would be very useful.

The findings from this study can be interpreted to suggest that the Adult Attachment Interview coding scheme can be reliably extended to other protocols with slight modifications. This work is the first study attempting to extend the scheme in this manner. While high reliability was established between two coders, the questions raised regarding identifying Dismissing mothers merit further exploration. Validity studies need to be conducted to establish the similarities between AAI classifications and MDI classifications. The premise of this study was that the attachment representation was so powerful that it would be replicated in any semi-structured interview which calls for a subject to reflect upon an intimate relationship. However, it may be that ways of accessing the defenses against affective experience need to be highlighted more than they were in the Mother-Daughter Interview.

Finally, the theme of gendered developmental pathways suggests that a comparison between mothers and sons and mothers and daughters during adolescence might elucidate the proposed differences. This comparison would address both the question of differing attachment representations and corresponding differences in discourse patterns. This question is twofold. Would there be more Preoccupied

mothers in a sample of mothers of boys? Would the same discourse patterns be related to the attachment representations? The design could reflect the gender and developmental questions which could not be empirically addressed in this study. The next step would be to make the link to adolescents' representations. If in this study daughters' representations could be measured using the same method, would they relate to the discourse patterns and mothers' representations? That would seem to suggest an intergenerational link between mother's attachment representation, discourse and daughters' attachment representation.

Limitations of Study

Sample. The sample places two limitations on the study. The first limitation is the homogeneous nature of this population. Although they range from Hollingshead's lower to upper middle class, subjects are all middle class and predominantly white. The homogeneity and size of the sample places constraints on extending results to all ethnic, racial and socio-economic groups. However, it allows for comparison of this sample with other samples drawn from similar populations. Secondly, this sample was drawn from volunteers, either mothers or daughters who were interested in participating in a mother-daughter study. While most research samples are self-selected, these pairs of mothers and daughters may have special characteristics which may skew the findings. For example these pairs may be particularly willing to explore their relationship. This would skew the sample towards mother-daughter pairs who are actively engaged in conflictual issues. They may have self-selected on the basis of having more unresolvable conflicts and failed communication. They may have seen this study as an opportunity to improve their relationships.

Alternatively, they may have perceived their relationships as open and workable and thought of participation in this study as something special they could do together (as many mothers did). Either alternative explanation would rule out the self selection of Dismissing mothers who may not have had an interest in this kind of interaction.

Future research with this population should be designed to try to reduce these possible biases.

Measures. The measure used to assess attachment representation was the MDI coded by a modified version of the AAI coding scheme. The strength of the MDI is its focus on the specific relationship during this developmental period. It generates information regarding the mother-daughter attachment relationship at a particular developmental period. However, the AAI coding scheme has scales which are designed to utilize discrepancies between semantic generalizations and episodic memories. These discrepancies are extremely important for coding idealization and the ability to recall memories. Both scales aid in distinguishing Dismissing mothers from other mothers. It may be that the MDI is not designed to pick up as sensitively the differences between insecure mothers. If the population is normal, then it may be that Dismissing mothers have been misclassified.

The second limitation of the measures is the discourse coding scheme. While it is a complex and sophisticated scheme, it does not include non-verbal communications and a range of affective expressions. Only if a daughter or mother is angry or hostile and it is expressed in the intent is the affect noted. Such speech acts as mimicry and accusation capture these expressions. However, the defensive lack of affective expression is not coded. The scheme does not catch discrepancies between what is said and what is done. It does not catch the affective flatness which is the defensive hallmark of Dismissing mothers. The results suggest that no single speech type characterized Dismissing mothers. This may have resulted from the scheme not being as sensitive to denial of feelings or cut off affect as it was to anger and hostility.

Design. A difficulty with this design was that the author was both the interviewer for many of the MDIs and the reliability coder and could not be completely blind to subjects. Every attempt was made by the transcriber to eliminate any identifying data (number of siblings, location of school, etc.) when

transcribing the MDI. All daughters were given a "D" and mothers an "M" instead of their names. While the interviews were completed four years earlier, the dual role of the author is a limitation. Further research would benefit from two coders who had both been trained to code the MDI but were unfamiliar with the interviews, with the author serving only as the trainer.

Conclusion

The findings of this study support the hypotheses that a mother's attachment representation of her relationship with her daughter is related to both the mother's speech and the daughter's speech. The way mother and daughter verbally negotiate conflicts that come up in their relationship is a way of viewing the transformation of their relationship during adolescence. The mother's capacity to engage in legitimating argumentation co-occurring with support for her daughter's competing counter-claims is related to being Autonomous with respect to attachment. This study suggests that secure mothers are able to articulate their own needs in the relationship and provide support for their daughters' articulation. Their daughters appear better able to formulate legitimated arguments for their needs. They have begun to develop a voice for themselves in the context of the ongoing relationship with their mothers.

Mothers who are insecure, either Preoccupied with respect to attachment or Dismissing of attachment, are more likely to rely on dogmatic control when arguing with their daughters. They are less able to articulate their needs in a legitimate manner and do not support their daughters. Instead, they seem to rely on asserting their parental authority. This makes mutuality and consensus far more difficult to achieve. Daughters of insecure mothers are more reactive to their mothers than self expressive. They generate speech that is focused on either resisting or complying with their mothers instead of staking claims for themselves and being able to

substantiate them. The findings identify the tools by which mother and daughter work together to create a consensus in their relationship and the relation of these tools to the mother's representation. The study utilizes a structural coding scheme to understand the discourse and outlines how daughters develop a voice to speak about what is important to them in adolescence.

Appendix 1

MOTHER-DAUGHTER INTERVIEW

1. What is the earliest memory you have of your daughter? (Build up personality characteristics and affective tone of the relationship through probes of this memory.)
2. What is your relationship with your daughter like now?
3. How much time do you spend together?
How do you spend your time together?
Would you like to spend more or less time with your daughter than you are currently spending?
Would your daughter like to spend more or less time with you than the two of you are currently spending?
4. In what ways are you and your daughter similar?
In what ways are you and your daughter different?
Are you more different from or more similar to your daughter?
5. What are you most proud of in your daughter?
Is there anything you are disappointed about in your daughter?
6. Is there any point in the last several years at which you felt your relationship to your daughter started changing?
Can you tell me about it?
In what ways did it change?
7. How satisfied are you with your relationship?
Would you like to see anything changed?
Were you more or less satisfied with your relationship before your daughter started changing?
8.
 - a. How close are you and your daughter?
More or less so than before she started changing?
 - b. Who controls the relationship more?
More or less so than before she started changing?
 - c. How dependent is your daughter?
Is she able to be alone?
More or less so than before she started changing?

8. d. Are you ever dependent on your daughter?
More or less so than before she started changing?
- e. How open is she with you?
More or less so than before she started changing?
- f. Is she ever closed or keeping things to herself with you?
More or less so than before she started changing?
- g. Is she ever rejecting of you? (Probe for physical and emotional rejection).
More or less so than before she started changing?
9. How do you feel about these changes?
Which were the most difficult changes for you?
Have any of her changes affected your own self-images or your feelings about yourself?
In what ways?
10. a. Is your relationship with your daughter anything like the relationship you had with your mother when you were an adolescent?
How are the relationships similar and different?
- b. What kind of relationship did you have with your father?
Who were you closest to? Your mother or your father?
What was it that made you feel close to this parent?

Relationship between Father and Daughter:

11. Can you describe your daughter's relationship with her father?
In what ways are they similar or different?
Are they more similar or different from each other?
12. Has their relationship changed over the last several years?
At what point and how has it changed?
- 13 a. How close are she and her father?
More or less so than before their relationship started changing?
- b. Who controls the relationship more?
More or less so than before their relationship started changing?
- c. Is she ever rejecting of him? (probe for emotional and physical rejection).
More or less so than before their relationship started changing?
- d. How open is she with him?
More or less so than before their relationship started changing?

- e. How dependent is she with him?
More or less so than before their relationship started changing?

14. What kinds of conflicts or disagreements occur between your daughter and her father?
Is there more conflict/disagreement between you and your daughter or between your daughter and her father?

Daughter's other relationships:

15. Can you describe your daughter's relationships with her girlfriends?
Have there been any changes in her relationships over the last several years?
How do you feel about her friends?
Do you and your daughter have any conflicts/disagreements over any of her friends?
16. Can you describe your daughter's relationship with boys?
Have there been any changes in these relationships over the last several years?
How do you feel about these relationships and about her beginning to date boys in the near future?
Do you and your daughter have any conflicts or disagreements over any of these relationships?
Do you foresee having any such conflicts when she does begin dating in the future?

Description of conflict situations:

17. Let's go back now to the conflicts and disagreements that you have with your daughter?
Can you describe what happens in these disagreements?
Let's look at your most central disagreement.
How does it start or what brings it on?
What are each of your successive responses? (Probe for detail).
How does it typically end?
Is it ever resolved?
Do you try other ways to resolve it?
If your attempts at resolving it fail, why do you think they fail?
18. In your recurring disagreements what do you think are the issues for your daughter?
What are the issues for you?
19. Are you and your daughter having more or less conflicts or disagreements now than last year and the year before she started changing?

Expectations for the future:

20. What kind of life do you envision your daughter in at age 18 or after high school?

What will she be doing?

What kind of person will she be?

What kind of relationship will you two have?

What about at age twenty-one, how do you see here then?

How would you like to see her at age twenty-one?

When your daughter moves out of your home, how difficult do you expect the separation will be for you?

For your daughter?

Appendix 2

Mother-Daughter Attachment Representation Coding Manual

The Mother-Daughter Interview is an interview designed to gather information about mothers' perception of their relationship with their adolescent daughters and their daughters' lives. The Interview requires mothers to reflect upon this relationship in general as well as address specific salient issues. Mothers are asked about their view of the relationship, degree of closeness, openness, dependency, daughter's rejection, etc.. Mothers are asked about their daughters' other relationships, to compare this relationship to their own relationship with their parents, about current conflicts and their view of the future for their daughters and themselves. The interview format is structured with room for probes and elaboration on certain questions. The questions vary in their specificity from global questions asking for impressions to very specific judgement questions. The interview typically takes 45 minutes to an hour to complete and is audio-taped.

For this study the Mother-Daughter Interview is coded using a slightly modified version of the Adult Attachment Interview (AAI) coding scheme developed by Main & Goldwyn (1985). This manual is intended to complement the AAI classification system and highlights the revisions made for the MDI. The two main revisions are: 1) the relationship being coded is different and 2) the focus has shifted from recollections of the past to a discussion of present experiences. Whereas the AAI coding scheme centers around a mother's state of mind in relation to her attachment to her own parents, the MDI is coded for a mother's attachment representation of her relationship with her adolescent daughter. The coding of the MDI stresses the mother's current experience with her daughter and her representation of the relationship. Given the focus on the mother-daughter relationship and the contemporary nature of the MDI questions, the coder must consider somewhat different issues when applying the AAI coding scheme to ascertain the mother's overall attachment representation of this relationship. These modifications are concentrated in the part of the coding scheme

which is content reliant, the scoring of probable experience.

The two central questions the coder of the MDI must ask are: what is the quality of the relationship between mother and daughter and how does the mother represent this relationship. These two questions relate to the two aspects of the AAI coding scheme: "probable experience" and "state of mind." The first set of questions scored addresses the probable experience of mother and daughter in this relationship. This is the area where slight modifications had to be made in order to adapt the AAI scheme for the MDI. The rater is to code how a mother experiences loving, rejection and role reversal. What is being evaluated is a mother's expression of her loving feelings for her daughter, her sense of her daughter's rejection of her and her need for role reversal in this relationship. How loving, rejection and role-reversal is scored in the MDI will be reviewed in this manual with examples.

The formal analysis of the interview which makes up the "state of mind" part of the coding remains basically the same for the MDI as it is for the AAI. What is the mother's ability to access, discuss and reflect upon the attachment representation? This part of the coding relies heavily on the guidelines established in the AAI coding manual. Although the MDI does not rely on memories and the semantic/episodic distinction is not used as often, the coder is addressing the question of whether a mother can reflect on both a general and specific level. Can she step back and reflect providing a general view of her daughter and at the same time give examples which confirm this? Does she present a believable and clear picture of her daughter? The categories used to evaluate these dimensions are described in elegant detail by Main & Goldwyn (1985), therefore they will be reviewed succinctly here. The MDI cannot be scored to obtain an attachment representation classification without familiarity and previous training in use of the AAI scoring system. At the end of this manual there can be found general questions the coder should keep in mind when scoring both probable experience and state of mind in relation to attachment.

For each category the rater is to give a score of high, medium or low. While reliability is not based on the scores for these scales, they are important in aiding the coder's determination of the final classification. Each attachment classification has a "typical" profile.

PROBABLE EXPERIENCE

LOVING

To code this dimension, the coder must ask him/herself to what degree is the mother able to express her loving feelings for her daughter. Does she have a healthy dedication to her daughter's development? Is she able to see her daughter's need for support as well as respect her desire for autonomy? Can she spontaneously speak about her love and affection for her daughter. For the most part mothers will say something positive about their daughters; the coder must rate these positive expressions, their quality and their breadth.

Similar to the AAI coding scheme, the coder should look for direct expressions spontaneously offered, descriptions of physical comfort and affection, as well as loving feelings that exist even though there is a disagreement or conflict (not oscillation). It is important that loving descriptions be distinguished from idealization. The portrait mother paints must be consistent with an adolescent's capabilities. In addition, high loving scores are not given for cool or reserved comments about the daughter or for straight descriptions. What the coder is looking for is a mother's genuine, spontaneous positive feelings towards her daughter.

EXAMPLES OF HIGH LOVING COMMENTS:

"She kisses me good-bye before she leaves every morning."

"She's so easy to be with there isn't anyone that spends an hour with C that isn't in love with her. She's charming."

"Sometimes she'll just crawl into bed with me for like 10 or 15 minutes to talk, just to talk about her day or she wants me to tell her about my day."

"She's really very, very much put together young lady. Um, I genuinely like her, ADORE her as a kid. Enjoy her thoroughly... I enjoy being with her."

EXAMPLES OF LOW LOVING COMMENTS:

"She's a very responsible person. I'm pretty well pleased with her, we're not going to return her (laughs)."

Comment: To be pleased and feel your daughter is responsible is not loving. Also, this mother gives this comment with a sarcastic joke about sending her children away to China if they misbehave.

"In many ways I tell my kids I'm not a very good mother. I'm not that interested in mothering. I just don't find kids that fascinating. I'm just not interested in discussing kid things with kids."

"She's a sweet, kind concerned personality."

Comment: The use of the impersonal term "personality" detracts from this statement. She's describing her daughter more than expressing her feelings.

REJECTING

This dimension addresses the degree to which the mother feels rejected by her daughter. Since rejection of the mother's values, ideas and viewpoint is considered a natural part of the daughter's separation process, you can assume that at some point all daughters will do or say something rejecting out of anger. What is being coded with this scheme is a mother's interpretation of rejection by her daughter i.e., whether she feels that her self is being attacked, or not, and why she thinks her daughter is rejecting her.

Kobak & Shaver (1987) have presented three different ways in which a child's anger may be interpreted depending on the mother's model of the relationship. Each interpretation reflects a differing representation of the child in relation to the mother.

1) Mothers who are Autonomous will see and understand the anger within a relationship context. They will understand anger as an interpersonal experience and embed it in a developmental context. For the purpose of this interview, this includes a mother who sees the anger as a part of a developmental phase, another context. (This must be a believable view. not just jargon.)

2) Mothers who are Dismissing will interpret their child's anger as refusal to comply with rules. Ainsworth et al (1978) reports that Avoidant babies are angrier in the home. The mother may report rejection as the adolescent cutting her off, closing herself off, refusing to do things or ignoring her mother. If the Dismissing mother is very detached from attachment phenomena, she may report no rejecting behavior at all or merely a global rejection. These mothers have difficulty acknowledging any negative affect in their relationships. This lack of acknowledgment is a way of maintaining an idealized representation of people and avoiding the pain of anger and loss.

3) Preoccupied mothers, according to Kobak & Shaver, may view expressions of anger with resentment since they interfere with a mother's preoccupations and place excessive demands. In the case of the MDI, Preoccupied mothers often describe their daughters' rejection with resentment, sarcasm and describe it as demandingness. The daughters' expressions may be described as persistent or exaggerated. Preoccupied mothers may also describe their daughters' turning away of affection or attention as a form of rejection. They feel rejected when the daughter's assert needs for secrets, privacy or time alone. These mothers experience their daughters as not giving them the closeness and intimacy they expect.

To code rejection, focus on the mother's response to the questions directly related to rejection. If M can discuss an incident of rejection, how does she discuss it? What does the mother feel her daughter is rejecting and why? How does she understand her daughter's motives?

EXAMPLES OF REJECTION:

"Ever rejecting me? Oh, only when I get mad at her. Some little thing, then it's "I don't want to talk to you, I don't want to kiss you good night." But usually it's me that has to work on it though. "Are you going to give me a kiss?" "I'm not going to talk to you." "And I'm not going to go to bed until you say good night. Then it's usually 'okay'. We usually resolve it before she goes to sleep. I can't ever remember her, me walking out, but as I said it's usually me that goes to her, but I think that's the mother going to the daughter role, but still, she's still a little girl." (Later in interview comparing

her daughter's rejection of her father and her mother.) Whereas with her mother it's "I'm going to get a little stab at you to hurt you before I say we're friends again."

Comment: Rejection is refusal to talk and physical affection. Mother has to cajole the daughter into giving her what she needs. There is no discussion of rejection as in the context of the daughter's frustration or anger. It is linked to mother getting mad. It is purely reactive. The daughter's rejection is seen as spiteful and hurtful, almost malicious. The mother does not have the ability to stand back and reflect. MDI Score E.

"Only when she's really angry at me. She'll call me a loser of a mother or she'll say, 'well you may be a really good counselor with other kids but you sure don't know how to be a good mother.' She'll say that when she can't find any other way to get back at me, if she's losing the argument or feels helpless. And sometimes she's right, I'm not handling it well and she knows it, and I'm not in the right mood and she's right . (laughs) It's easier to do the right things in school with the other kids."

Comment: The daughter's rejection comes from her anger. The mother sees that the daughter uses rejecting statements both when she feels that she has no other recourse to obtain what she wants and when she feels helpless. The mother also notes that her daughter's rejections are sometimes legitimate, being able to place the rejection in an interpersonal context. She gives her daughter's anger a rational and organized quality. She can recognize and validate her daughter's feelings and understand they lie behind the rejecting behavior. Her capacity to empathize also allows her to see her own limitations and how it may be upsetting her daughter. She does not experience her daughter as rejecting her. MDI Score F₂.

"Oh yeah. When she's not getting her own way. In the shopping interview she thinks we should buy, buy, buy. And of course we can't buy, buy, buy. There has to be shopping, and selection, and limitation. So she will get angry. Or if - and this is something I remember very distinctly in myself, too, at her age - if she's reading a good magazine, or a good book, or is involved in a TV program and I dare to presume to ask her to do something, you know, then I'm a terrible mother and this just... how could I possibly invade her time."

Comment: M's tone is sarcastic and angry. Her daughter's rejection is seen as resulting from her own self indulgence, lack of limitations or unwillingness to help.

The mother sees her daughter's rejection as resulting from anger but it is illegitimate anger, it is selfish. The reference to her own past is not sufficient context to detract from the mother's central explanation that her daughter is demanding and not getting what she wants. MDI score E.

"Probably, but I can't think of anything in specific. Oh, Yeah. Mom probably does a lot of things she doesn't like."

Comment: Mother can't think about rejection. She sees it as stemming from what the daughter does not like. Mother switches into the impersonal tense to refer to herself - an attempt to distance herself. There is a slight note of condescension which indicates that she does not really take her daughter's dislikes seriously. MDI Score D₁.

ROLE REVERSAL

Role reversal is designed to capture whether a mother needs her daughter in order to maintain psychological or physical well-being (Main & Goldwyn, 1988). The coder is scoring whether daughter has shifted into, is asked to play, or is described as a parent, spouse or companion to the mother. When role-reversal is present in a mother-daughter relationship the needs and concerns of the mother take precedence in relationship. A role-reversing mother places herself first because she is unable to take care of herself alone. This may be psychological or actual physical care-taking. In either case the role of the daughter has been reversed.

In the MDI, role reversal is evident in mothers who excessively emphasize their own needs and preoccupations, often in place of discussing the daughter and the relationship. A mother may evidence role reversal by over-focusing on the impact on her life that her daughter's activities, changes or conflicts have had. Mothers may indicate that they are dependent on their daughters to support them, introduce them to new things or achieve what they could not. A mother may be overly concerned with creating a relationship with her daughter that she did not have with her own mother. All of these instances suggest that a mother is relying on her daughter to meet her needs, fulfill some expectations she could not meet, or to take care of her in some way. While it is inevitable that mothers may want or expect these things from their daughters, a high score of role reversal indicates that a mother's wants have overtaken the relationship.

The relationship and the daughter are being neglected due to her own narcissistic preoccupations. In these situations, mothering is being crowded out by more pressing demands in the mother's life.

In the MDI mothers are asked about the future and they may demonstrate over-reliance by being overly preoccupied with their daughters' "moving away" as a part of growing up, and possibly going away to college. Mothers who become distraught when discussing the future are displaying over-dependence on the daughter. The MDI asks the mother to compare this relationship to her own relationship with her parents when she was an adolescent. This question may be used as a point of comparison or to see if mother is conscious of the role reversal. For example, a mother may actively deny parentifying her daughter but reveal her own parentification in childhood and claim the relationships to be similar. In this case she would receive a high role reversal score. If the mother is aware of her preoccupation she may still be scored as high role-reversal. What the coder is coding is how much mother has intruded upon her daughter and their relationship by asking the daughter to "parent" her.

EXAMPLES OF ROLE REVERSAL:

(Q: You dependent on her?) "Yes. Very definitely so. Particularly in my situation now that there's not another adult in the house to discuss things with. I find that I do ... I share things with her that I probably wouldn't if there were another adult in the house. My little triumphs and my disappointments. Much more so than if there were another adult in the house. And much more so her than my son. (Later when talking about her own experience with her mom) I was an only child and so I had to relate with my mother a lot. There was no sibling to interact with. My mother was very supportive of me. She also took the liberty, certainly, to share her feelings and points of view, which I do. There were times when I was resentful, certainly, of her intrusions of... and Jane certainly is of me too. But I had a positive relationship with my mother. I know Jane does with me. I would like to think Jane will be less resentful of me than I was and still am of my mother. My mother is a very, very egocentric

person, and I would like to think I don't impose this as much on Jane as my mother did on me. "

Comment: She is over-dependent on her daughter as her mother was on her. While she sees the similarities, there is a clear need and demand for her child to be a spouse. The boundaries were blurred in her family of origin and they are being blurred again.

"I just feel like I'm losing control of her. Um, you know, every...I feel that every mother hates to see her little girl grow up."

"If anyone tries to pick on her mom or say anything bad against, you know, she'll always be there for me. Like one night her brother, her younger brother and I had a little argument about something and um, you know, she knew he was wrong so she was right there for me."

"I mentioned this, she's on the swim team and ski team and always on track. Of course I always go to these meetings and meet her there. You see, I feel a little lonely and I don't know other mothers and the language is a little different and so if she wouldn't be there, I would feel like a little outcast. So having her that way is really nice. So she kind of introduces ... she makes me feel very comfortable with her around."

Comment: While the mother has some language difficulties, she feels reliant on her daughter to make her feel included and comfortable. It is through her daughter that she can have access to these experiences.

"I think I need Jane more than she needs me. I have my friends, and I, you know, I work, so that's my world besides the children, but it's like I need someone to get close to and, and have someone I can talk to and share with because like all the things that go on in the house I don't go and tell them to my friends, because oh, what would they think? Then with Jane, it's like she listens, and sometimes she'll tell me ' well you should do this and this and that'."

STATE OF MIND IN RELATION TO ATTACHMENT

Here the coder is evaluating the mother's ability to discuss and reflect upon her attachment relationship with her daughter. The coder is looking at form rather than content using the six scales outlined by the AAI coding scheme. The following is a brief

review of these scales; for a more detailed description see Main & Goldwyn (1988). Minor modifications were made in these scales from the original coding scheme.

COHERENCY

The coherency scale rates the degree to which a mother is able to discuss her relationship with clarity and consistency, presenting a free-flowing, reflective narrative. Can the mother see what guides her thinking and can she present the relationship without indications of difficulty with representation such as: contradictions, oscillation of viewpoint, irrelevancies, jargon, intrusions, distancing language or dysfluencies. Can she give examples and elaborate on what she says with ease. How comfortable is she discussing the relationship?

IDEALIZATION

Idealization assesses the degree to which a mother attempts to keep a set "good" image of her daughter. To what degree is the mother attempting to portray her daughter as the perfect adolescent? Can she tolerate and discuss the natural difficulties which arise at this time? Can she give a realistic and vivid portrayal of her daughter? (This is to be distinguished from loving feelings. While a mother may love her daughter a great deal she should be able to portray the real experience she has with her daughter.)

ANGER

How angry is the mother currently at her daughter? All adolescent daughters make mothers angry. This is a given. What is being scored is preoccupying anger which prohibits a mother from describing her daughter in a full light -- the anger permeates her view. Look for annoyance in the mother's description of her daughter. Again, as in the AAI, the coder is rating clear anger in the interview, not inferred anger.

RECALL

A mother's persistent inability or reluctance to discuss some aspect of her daughter is rated as inability to recall. Since the MDI does not rely on memories as much as the

AAI, this code is not only literal recall but willingness to discuss. Can a mother look at differences with her daughter? Is she flexible enough to think in new terms about her daughter? For straight recall, the coder can look at the initial request for a memory. If the mother can't come up with a memory, how does she deal with it. "I don't know", "I can't see any ..." are taken as indications of an inability to access a specific element of the representation. If refusals are explained, look at the explanation, but still coder recall. Some mothers may be able to give an incident that is more recent.

LACK OF RESOLUTION OF MOURNING

Lack of resolution of mourning is coded if the mother is unresolved about a specific death. In this case it may be her parents, a sibling of the adolescent or a death in her past. The coder is looking for impingement of her unresolved feelings in the narrative and on the relationship with her daughter. Code given the guidelines in the AAI, but also make notes of recent divorce and separation.

COHERENCY OF MIND

This new scale may be particularly useful for the MDI interviews. The coherency of mind scale records the coherency and reality of beliefs and values espoused by the interviewee. While a mother may be coherent in her description, this code captures the foundation and organization of the description. Mothers may speak about unfounded beliefs or fears about loss. This scale can be used to describe mothers who appear unduly concerned about the loss of their daughters when they depart for college (remember these are ninth grade adolescents).

FINAL CODE

When assigning the overall attachment representation code, determine the category and subgroup even though reliability and analyses will be based solely on category. If a mother is clearly not Autonomous but you are not sure whether she is Preoccupied or Dismissing, assign a code but note "not F." This will help in the final analysis if the Insecure groups are collapsed.

Questions to keep in mind when coding the MDI

1) How is the daughter seen in initial memory?

-Is M capable of coming up with a memory that is clear and coherent?

-If memory is described who is the daughter in memory? Does she have agency? Who is she in relation to the mother? What is the affective tone of memory?

-If there is a memory, can mother present a semantic generalization and support it with a specific memory. Does it make sense?

2) Does the mother value interpersonal relationships, affection, and intimacy?

-Is there evidence for these values in transcripts?

-How does she feel about the daughter's other relationships? Does she feel left out when her daughter is with her friends? Can she see the role friends play in her daughter's life?

3) How does the mother discuss the expression of negative affect in her daughter?

-Is the mother capable of describing the negative interactions, daughter's anger, rejection, demands for independence?

-If she is capable of discussing the negative affect how does she see her daughter at these times? Is she willful, demanding, frustrated? Is this seen as a normal and tolerable part of adolescent development?

-Is conflict tolerable? How is it handled?

-Can the mother discuss her own difficulties in conflict situations?

4) Does mother see the mutuality of relationships?

-Does she see her daughter as having an effect on her own sense of self?

Is this negative? Positive?

-Can she identify with her daughter? If so, can she use this identification constructively? Or does it have a narcissistic quality to it?

5) How does the mother see dependency? Does she see herself as dependent? Does she recognize her daughter's dependency in a healthy way (not concretely)?

-Does the mother over-emphasize her daughter's independence?

6) How does she envision the future? Does mother focus on success, achievement and independence? Does she see her daughter having interpersonal relationships?

-How is their relationship viewed in the future?

-How is the separation when the daughter goes to college viewed? Who is seen as having the more difficult time? Will it be devastating? Will it be nothing at all?

-Does the mother worry excessively now, while her daughter is a ninth grader, about future separation?

Attachment Representation Classifications

Preoccupied Mothers ("E")

What characterizes a Preoccupied mother is her egocentricity. These mothers are narcissistically preoccupied. This is evidenced by what a mother focuses on in the interview. A Preoccupied mother remains concerned with her own experience, despite the fact that the questions ask primarily either about the relationship or her daughter. This mother is unable to move beyond her own experience and dependency to comment on her relationship with her daughter. All of her comments are filtered through her own neediness or relationship preoccupations. There are a few central characteristics of Preoccupied mothers.

1) A Preoccupied mother often graphically describes her dependency on her daughter. She may be dependent for companionship, describe their relationship as "friends" and praise her daughter's loyalty or considerateness. Dependency on the daughter is woven into the relationship such that it is one of the primary qualities which a mother describes in the interview. In these descriptions the daughter is portrayed and the relationship described through the lens of mother's needs. While it is common for daughters to help in the house and do things with their mothers like friends, a Preoccupied mother's comments emphasize only her point of view. She may describe how gratifying this peer relationship is or how impossible her life would be without her daughter's assistance.

The special quality of dependency which these mothers experience is captured in a particular response which Preoccupied mothers frequently make. In response to a query about their daughter's dependency, these mothers often respond as if the question asked was "can your daughter survive without you?" Their responses suggest that they

have made an equation between dependency and survival which is inappropriate for their daughters at adolescence. While daughters are dependent on their mothers, it is not for basic sustenance.

2) The neediness which is seen in Preoccupied mothers is evident in a certain intrusiveness into their daughters' privacy. These mothers often describe their desire to be "closer" to their daughters. This may mean they would like more intimate details of their daughters' lives. They emphasize "openness" in an unusual way. One mother emphatically described her desire to know her daughter's "deeper feelings." Mothers in this category cannot tolerate the daughter's developmental needs for privacy. They feel shut out or worry. The daughter's burgeoning autonomy is experienced as threatening to the relationship.

3) Preoccupied mothers may speak openly about experiencing their daughters as offering a way for them to experience things they did not have. They can experience the world vicariously. A daughter may be the person who is more outgoing or does what a mother always wanted to do. They see their daughters as offering them a way of redoing their lives. This is to be distinguished from a mother who can share her daughter's joy or success with reasonable distance since healthy pride is important to a mother-child relationship. What distinguishes these mothers is the burden placed on the daughter. She is to provide for the mother in a psychological way.

4) These mothers often describe their daughters' negative affect or conflicts as based on their demandingness. When the daughter desires something which the mother does not want, approve of or believe in, the daughter is described as imposing upon the mother. They do not have the ability to empathize with their daughters in a meaningful way. Sometimes they may make understanding statements, but these comments may be couched in self-depreciation or sarcasm. What must be ruled out is an underlying self-oriented position. Often the conflict which ensues between these mothers and their daughters boils down to a struggle of wills.

5) The formal characteristics of these mothers' interviews is their striking incoherency. The interviews with Preoccupied mothers are more confusing and dysfluent. They use strange comments (e.g. "mother is a place", "maybe an abortion will start"), nonsense words (e.g. "blah, blah blah"), and switch voices without

markers. They are often unable to organize their experience or their descriptions. The coder is left with unanswered questions and unclear as to the daughter's or mother's experience. They are often interviews that are long and difficult to read.

In the interview, these mothers have a tendency to attempt to elicit the interviewer's support or acknowledgement. A mother may do this directly by asking personal questions or requesting professional validation. Indirectly, these mothers often confuse interviewer or pulling the interviewer into a lengthy unrelated story. They may exhibit extreme intimacy with the interviewer, revealing intimate details and speaking as if in a conversation with a dear friend. This kind of eliciting seems to reflect the confusion and dependency which characterizes these mothers. It is their attempt to cope with the dependency. They request scaffolding, directly or indirectly, from the people in their world. This is dramatically displayed with their daughters and then reenacted with the interviewer.

6) Some Preoccupied mothers display unusual sensitivity to the angst their daughters experience. They may make remarks regarding their daughters' struggles or insecurities which are extremely perceptive. A Preoccupied mother may describe in vivid detail a scenario with elaborate emotional detail. These mothers place relationships and feelings first and foremost.

This emotionality and these perceptive comments reflect their "in tune" quality, but this sensitivity is problematic. It may be inconsistent and unreliable. They may not be able to retain sensitivity when in conflict with something they need. Also, this sensitivity must be distinguished from projections of their own fantasies, desires or feelings. A Preoccupied mother may imagine her daughter feels a particular way because she does. We're all familiar with the mother who says "I'm cold, put on a sweater."

Autonomous Mothers (F)

These mothers are characterized by their clarity, organization and openness in the interview. They speak about their daughters and others in a context. They value their relationships and can be objective without losing affective investment. These mothers have struck the balance between being invested in their relationships with their

daughters and maintaining objectivity. They are open and questioning.

1) They place their daughters' actions, feelings, and their interactions in a context which gives their descriptions breadth and believability. They are empathic in their descriptions. They are able to understand both their daughters' feelings and behaviors as well as offering their own contributions to a situation. When an Autonomous mother comments on her input to a situation, it is done in a reflective and self-exploratory manner. It is not self-deprecating. Instead, placing relationships in a context means balancing and considering all of the aspects which impact on this relationship.

2) They express clear and sincere love and enthusiasm for their daughters. This is often conveyed as including mutual respect and enjoying eachother's company. They often spontaneously offer their feelings about their daughters. They are more likely to be clear and genuine when they are expressing positive sentiments and realistic and vivid when describing the negative. The reader has a sense of the mother's affective experience and its range. When speaking about their daughters, there is a striking lack of idealization, oscillations or contradictions. These mothers speak clearly and with ease.

3) Autonomous mothers often speak about their relationships with their daughters in process terms. They may speak about the past, the present and anticipate the future, but see the ever-changing nature of the relationship. The relationship is considered in a temporal context as opposed to Preoccupied or Dismissing mothers who either see no changes or attribute all changes to one event. They see the need to keep the relationship open so as to anticipate future shifting. Autonomous mothers may speak of working towards understanding better, either themselves or their adolescents. In either case, the reader is aware of the mother's ongoing process.

Dismissing Mothers (D)

Dismissing mothers are characterized by lack of interest and, at times, devaluing of attachment phenomena. They do not place relationships and interpersonal interaction in a place of importance. Instead, they seem to be affectively constricted and deal with relationships on an abstract, cognitive level. These mothers may make sense of their

daughters' experience but they do not attempt to empathize with their daughters. They often focus on the external world and value success and achievement.

1) These mothers do not stress their relationship in the interview. Their descriptions are remarkable devoid of feelings, intimate moments or enthusiasm. They speak about their daughters' activities, accomplishments and competence. Conflicts are about values and ideas. A Dismissing mother may reduce a homework conflict to "we value academics, she's not doing her homework, we have words about it." They cannot articulate either the negative affect or the positive affect in the relationship. Since these mothers do not value relationships they often devalue their own importance to their daughters. They minimize to an extreme any concern about separation, dependency or conflict. Most important are rules, regulations and achievements.

2) Dismissing mothers often emphasize their daughters' responsibility and independence. This emphasis seems to come without any recognition of their daughters' continued emotional dependency. A Dismissing mother is more likely to respond to a query about her daughter's dependency by discussing the daughter's transportation or financial needs. They seem to value behavior which is not curtailed by attachment related concerns. Relationships are often characterized by activities that two people do together. Doing and accomplishing are emphasized.

3) Dismissing mothers often have no difficulty with their daughters needs for privacy or autonomy. They do not long for more time with their daughters and take pride in their extra-curricular activities. They see themselves as clearly controlling the relationship with their daughters and have no difficulty defining parent-child boundaries.

4) These mothers are clearly identifiable by their language. They use low-key descriptive terms like "nice" and "pleasant" to describe their daughters and their experience. They lack the vividness of Autonomous mothers and the emotional investment of Preoccupied mothers. In addition to the toned down adjectives, these mothers often speak in distanced impersonal language. When speaking of their own experience they often use "you" or "one" instead of "I". They use the language to distance their experience. This defensiveness may occasionally lead to a strange "slip" which appears to come out of nowhere. These unusual comments seem to be

unmodulated escapees from the brittle defensive structure which holds attachment concerns and affect in abeyance.

Attachment Classification Profile Using Scales

	<u>Autonomous</u>	<u>Dismissing</u>	<u>Preoccupied</u>
Loving	high		moderate/high
Rejection	low	high	
Role Reversal			high
Coherency	high	low	low
Idealization	low	high	
Anger			high
Recall	moderate/high	low	

Resolution of Mourning*

Coherency of Mind

*An Unresolved classification can be given with any of the attachment codes as a prefix indicating unresolved state of mind with regard to a specific loss.

Appendix 3

Mean and Standard Deviations of Speech for All Mothers and Daughters Combined

	Mean	Standard Deviation
<u>Mother speeches:</u>		
Total legitimation	.14	.12
Principled legitimation	.04	.06
Developmental legitimation	.09	.09
Other-Centered speech	.20	.08
Dogmatic speech	.30	.15
Projecting speech	.13	.11
Pragmatic speech	.03	.03
Total Speech	.80	
<u>Daughter Speeches:</u>		
Total Legitimation	.28	.12
Principled legitimation	.11	.10
Personal legitimation	.17	.15
Passive Negativism	.22	.11
Active Opposition	.08	.06
Compliant speech	.04	.05
Other-Centered speech	.18	.10
Total Speech	.80	

Appendix 4

Alpha Coefficients for for All Mother and Daughter Speech

	α	k	<u>%agreement</u>
Mother speech:			
Total legitimation		.92	88%
Other-centered speech	.55		
Present other's data		.89	84%
Acknowledge other		.89	84%
Comply with other's requests		.92	86%
Support other		.97	94%
Dogmatic speech	.60		
Conventional argument		.87	80%
Accusation		.95	99%
Negation		.95	99%
Rejection of other's requests		.94	89%
Projecting speech	.65		
Preferential argument		.87	80%
Guilt-trip		.85	80%
Projection		.82	75%
Coercive attribution		.94	92%
Pragmatic speech		.95	92%
Daughter speech:			
Total legitimation		.90	85%
Personal legitimation		.90	85%
Principled legitimation		.89	86%
Compliant speech		.96	92%
Active opposition	.60		
Accusation		.95	92%
Criticism		.92	89%
Mimicry		.85	80%
Sarcasm		.87	84%
Passive negativism	.50		
Refuting evidence		.89	85%
Rejection of other's requests		.96	92%
Negation		.95	96%
Indifference		.90	86%

Appendix 5

Correlations of All Speech for All Subjects Across Two Conflict Discussions

Mothers' speech:

Total legitimation	.37**
Other-centered	.53**
Dogmatic	.55**
Projection	.27*
Pragmatic	.19

Daughter speech:

Total Legitimation	.38**
Personal	.44**
Principled	.29*
Other-centered	.42**
Passive negativism	.57**
Active opposition	.18
Compliance	.39**

* $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$

References

- Abelin, E.L. (1980) . Triangulation, the role of the father and the origins of core gender identity through the rapprochement subphase. In R.Lax, S. Bach, J.A. Burland (Eds.), Rapprochement . (pp. 197-224) . New York: Jason Aronson.
- Ainsworth, M.D.S., Blehar, M.C., Waters, E., and Wall, S. (1978) . Patterns of attachment: A psychological study of the Strange Situation . New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Anthony, E.J. (1970). Parenthood: Its psychology and psychopathology. In E.J. Anthony & T. Benedek (Eds.), Parenthood. (pp. 307-324). New York: Little Brown & Co.
- Balint, A. (1954) . The early years of life: A psychoanalytic study . New York : Basic Books.
- Belenky, M.F., Clinchy, B.M., Goldberger, N.R. & Tarule, J.M. (1986). Women's ways of knowing. New York: Basic Books.
- Bell, D.C., and Bell, L.G. (1983) Parental validation and support in the development of adolescent daughters. In Grotevant, H. D., and Cooper, C. R. (Eds.), Adolescent development in the family. (pp. 27-42). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Belsy, J. & Nezworski, T. (Eds.) (1988) Clinical implications of attachment. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Benedek, T. (1973). Discussion: Parenthood as a developmental phase . In T. Benedek, Psychoanalytic investigations: Selected papers. (pp. 401-407). Chicago: Quadrangle Press.
- Bergman, A. (1982). Considerations about the development of the girl during the separation-individuation process. In D. Mandell (Ed.) Early female development: Current psychoanalytic views . (pp. 61-80). New York: Spectrum.
- Bernadez-Bonesatti, T. (1978) . Women and anger: Conflicts with aggression in contemporary women. Journal of the American Medical Women's Association, **33**, 5: 215-219.
- Bibring, G. (1961) . A study of the psychological processes in pregnancy and of the earliest mother-child relationship. Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, **16**, 9-24.
- Blos, P. (1962) . On adolescence . New York : The Free Press.

- Blos, P. (1980) . Modifications in the traditional theory of female adolescent development. Adolescent Psychiatry. 8, 8-23.
- Bowlby, J. (1980) . Attachment and loss: Vol. 3. Loss, sadness and depression . New York : Basic Books, Inc.
- Bowlby, J. (1988) . A secure base: Parent-child attachment and healthy human development. New York: Basic Books.
- Bretherton, I. (1985) . Attachment theory: Retrospect and prospect . In I. Bretherton & E. Waters (Eds.), Growing points of attachment theory and research . (pp. 3-40). Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development , 50 (1 & 2, Serial No. 209).
- Chodorow, N. (1978) . The reproduction of mothering : Psychoanalysis and the sociology of gender . Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Cohen, J. (1960) . A coefficient of agreement for nominal scales. Educational and Psychological Measurement, 20(1), 37-46.
- Cooper, C.R., & Grotevant, H.D. (1987) . Gender issues in the interface of family experience and adolescents' friendship and dating identity. Journal of Youth and Adolescence , 16(3), 247- 264.
- Cooper, C.R., Grotevant, H.D. and Condon, S.M. (1983) . Individuality and connectedness in the family as a context for adolescent identity formation and role taking skill. In Grotevant, H. D., and Cooper, C. R. (Eds.), Adolescent development in the family. (pp. 43-60). San Francisco : Jossey-Bass.
- Deutsch, H. (1944) . Psychology of Women . New York: Grune & Stratton.
- Dinnerstein, D. (1976) The mermaid and the minotaur: Sexual arrangements and the human malaise . New York : Harper & Row.
- Freud, A. (1969) . Adolescence as a developmental disturbance. In G. Caplan & S. Lebovici (Eds.) Adolescence: Psychosocial perspectives. (pp. 5-10). New York: Basic Books.
- _____ (1961). Female sexuality. In J . Strachey (Ed. and Trans.), Standard Edition (Vol. 21, pp. 223-243). London: Hogarth Press. (Original work published 1931).
- Freud, S. (1975). Three essays on the theory of sexuality . New York: Basic Books.

(Original work published 1905).

Gilligan, C. (1982). In a different voice. Bambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

_____. (1990, January 7) . Confident at 11, confused at 16. New York Times Magazine, pp 22-25, 37, 40, 45.

Habermas, J. (1973). Legitimation crisis. Boston: Beacon Press.

Haft, W. & Slade, A. (1989). Affect attunement and maternal attachment . Unpublished Manuscript.

Hammer, S. (1975) . Daughters and mothers: Mothers and daughters . New York: Quandrangle Press.

Hauser, S. T., Powers, S., Jacobson, A., Noam, G., Weiss, B., and Follansbee, D. (1984) . Family contexts of adolescent ego development, Child Development, 55, 195-213.

Hauser, S.T., Houllhan, J., Weiss-Perry, B., Follansbee, D., Jacobson, A.M., & Noam, G.G. (1987) . Parents' ego development as a determinant of their family interaction styles and sequences with adolescents. Paper presented at the biennial meetings of the Society for Research in Child Development, Baltimore, Maryland.

Josselson, R. (1980) . Ego development in adolescence. In J. Adelson (Ed.) Handbook of adolescent psychology (pp. 188-210). New York: Wiley.

_____. (1987). Finding herself: Pathways to identity development in women. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Kaplan, A. & Klein, R. (1985) . The relational self in late adolescent women. Work in Progress, The Stone Center, Wellesley College.

Kimmel, D., & Weiner, I.B. (1985) . Adolescence: A developmental transition . New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Kobak, R. (1987) . Attachment, affect regulation and defense. Paper presented at the biennial meetings of the Society for Research in Child Development, Baltimore, Maryland.

Kobak, R., & Sceery, A. (in press) . Attachment in late adolescence: Working models, affect regulation and representations of self and others. Child Development .

Kobak, R., & Shaver, P. (1987) . Strategies for maintaining felt security: A

theoretical analysis of continuity and change in styles of social adaptation. Paper presented at the conference in honor of John Bowlby, Bayswater, London.

Layton, M. (1989) . The mother journey. Family Therapy Networker, Vol. 13, No.5, 22-28.

Levenson, R. (1984) . Intimacy, autonomy and gender. Journal of the American Academy of Psychoanalysis, 12, 529-544.

_____ (1988) . Boundaries, autonomy and aggression: An exploration of women's difficulty with logical, abstract thinking. Unpublished manuscript.

Lerner, H.G. (1988) . Women In Therapy . New Jersey: Jason Aronson.

Loevinger, J. & Wessler, R. (1970) . Measuring ego development, Vol.1. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Mahler, M., Pine, F., and Bergman, A. (1975) . The psychological birth of the human infant . New York : Basic Books.

Main, M., Kaplan, N., & Cassidy, J. (1985) . Security in infancy, childhood and adulthood: A move to the level of representation . In I. Bretherton & E. Waters (Eds.), Growing points of attachment theory and research . Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development , 50 (1 & 2, Serial No. 209).

Main, M & Goldwyn, R. (1985) . An adult attachment classification and rating system. Unpublished manuscript, University of California, Berkeley.

Main, M. & Goldwyn, R. (1988). Interview- based adult attachment classifications: Related to infant-mother and infant-father attachment. Developmental Psychology, 1988.

Montemayor, R. (1982) . The relation between parent-adolescent conflict and the amount of time adolescents spend alone and with parents and peers. Child Development, 53 , 1512-1519.

_____ (1986) . Family variation in parent-adolescent storm and stress. Journal of Adolescent Research, 3, 15-31.

Nelson, K. , & Gruendal, J. (1981) . Generalized event representations: Basic building blocks of cognitive development. In M. Lamb & A. Brown (Eds.) Advances in developmental psychology. (Vol 1, pp131-158). New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

- Nichols, M. (1984) . Family therapy: Concepts and methods . New York: Gardiner Press.
- Powers, S., Hauser, S., Schwartz, J.M., Noam, G. and Jacobson, A. M. (1983) . Adolescent ego development and family interaction: A structural-developmental perspective. In Grotevant, H. D., and Cooper, C.R. (Eds.) Adolescent development in the family. (pp. 5-25). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Ricks, M. H. (1985) . The social transmission of parental behavior: Attachment across generations. In I. Bretherton & E. Waters (Eds.), Growing points of attachment theory and research. (pp. 211-227). Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development , 50 (1 & 2, Serial No. 209).
- Schafer, R. (1968) . Aspects of internalization. New York: International Universities Press.
- Slade, A., & Aber, J.L. (1986) . The internal experience of parenting toddlers: Toward an analysis of individual and developmental differences. Paper presented at the International Conference of Infant Studies, Los Angeles, California.
- Silverberg, S.B. & Steinberg, L. (1987) . Adolescent autonomy, parent-adolescent conflict, and parental well-being. Journal of Youth and Adolescence , 16(3), 293-311.
- Steinberg, L. (1987) . Recent research on the family at adolescence: The extent and nature of sex differences. Journal of Youth and Adolescence , 16(3), 191-7.
- Strage, A., & Main, M. (1984) . Attachment and parent-child discourse patterns. Unpublished manuscript. University of California, Berkeley.
- Toulmin, S. (1958). The uses of argumentation. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Trolnick, E.Z. & Cohn, J.F. (1989) . Infant-mother face-to-face interaction: Age and gender differences in coordination and the occurrence of miscoordination. Child Development, 60, 85-92.
- Youniss, J. (1983). Social construction of adolescence by adolescents and parents. In Grotevant, H. D., and Cooper, C. R. (Eds.), Adolescent development in the family. (pp. 93-110).
- Youniss, J. & Smollar, J. (1985). Adolescent relations with mothers, fathers and friends.
San Francisco : Jossey-Bass.Chicago University Press.

Zahaykevich, M. & Sirey, J. (1987) . An object relations view of individuation in mother-daughter discourse. Unpublished manuscript.

Zahaykevich, M., Sirey, J., & Sprik, M. (1987) . The construction of consensus in mother-daughter discourse. Unpublished manuscript.