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ADULT ATTACHMENT AND EARLY MEMORIES: A STUDY OF OBJECT RELATIONS

by

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

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Abstract

Adult Attachment And Early Memories:
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By

Juanita Patricia Guerra

Adviser: Professor Steven B. Tuber

This investigation aimed to better understand the concept of object relations by assessing its quality in subjects' attachment style and in their early memories. This study analyzed the relationship between how these two measures assess object relations. The subjects were 30 college educated Caucasian women in their first pregnancy. Subjects were first administered the Early Memories Test (Mayman, 1971) and then the Adult Attachment Interview (George et al., 1985). It was predicted that subjects with a secure attachment status would have a more positive and differentiated quality of object representations in their early memories than insecurely attached subjects. The results indicate that when looking at all memories, there is no significant relationship between the quality of subjects' object relations, as inferred from their early memories and their adult attachment status. However, looking at the modal scores revealed that, contrary to the prediction, insecure subjects have a more differentiated quality of object representations than secure subjects ($t = -2.24$, $p < .05$). The conflicting results indicate that both object relations measures assess similar, but not necessarily the same phenomena and that the concept of object relations remains complex and in need of further investigation.

Acknowledgments

This project took me several years to complete and was one of the most difficult, yet rewarding, learning experiences of my graduate training. Over the years, I came to realize that my struggle with the completion of this paper was intertwined with my understanding of my own internal working models of attachment. I realized that at a personal level there were things that I needed to understand about attachment and the internalization of my attachment experiences before I could move forward in my work. This work led to internal explorations that often interfered with the objective writing of this paper. Thus, my committee members read many versions before the final paper was submitted. First I want to thank my chair and mentor Steve Tuber for all the support and guidance he has given me in the last few years. There were times when I felt completely lost and Steve always found a way of reorienting and motivating me to continue moving forward. I will always be grateful to him for believing in my abilities when even I questioned them. I also want to thank Arietta Slade and Anderson J. Franklin for their commitment to my learning and my project. Both of these individuals helped me to understand, organize, and present my work in the clearest and most effective manner. They also provided extensive moral support and guidance throughout my training. I will always be appreciative of their efforts. Last, I would like to thank Laurence Gould, Chris Tavella, and Jessica Aranella for their help and contributions to this project.

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Chapter One

Introduction

The bond between mother and child has prompted extensive exploration as researchers try to understand this intense and powerful relationship. This dynamic relationship has been seen as setting the template for all future interactions (Mayman, 1968). That is, this initial relationship is where the child begins to learn how to relate to others. Thus, the mother (or mothering person) is the primary object through which interpersonal skills begin to develop. Initially, this primary caretaker has the most influence over the child and models or "passes on" her own particular way of interacting with others. Given that the mother is usually the primary caretaker, the development of interpersonal relatedness must be viewed as a function of the mother's capacity for relatedness. Attachment theorists Slade and Aber (1992) suggest that mothers are guided in their interactions with the child by their own repertoire of internalized experiences of relating to others. Thus mothers respond to experiences with their infants in ways that are profoundly influenced by their own internal representations. The mother's manner of connecting to her child is thus dependent upon her own early experiences and the ways in which they were internalized. The aim of this study is to further understand this complex process, and particularly how attachment experiences are internalized. This phenomenon has been the focus of study by attachment and object relations theorists for quite some time; their aim is to comprehend the impact this initial dyadic relationship has upon self-experience and the ability to relate to others.

Through clinical and empirical constructs John Bowlby (1969) helped pioneer attachment research. Initially, attachment research was primarily geared towards discovering what elements contribute to the development of early parent-child relationships and how the success or failure of these early relationships can have a significant impact on the social and emotional development of the child (Slade & Aber, 1992). Later research examined the primary caretaker's internal experience. Researchers began to study the antecedents of child attachment and focused specifically on the link between caregivers' internal representations of attachment and the quality of their child's attachment. Thus some of the focus has shifted from children to mothers and their level of representation as researchers continue their attempts to understand the core underpinnings of attachment.

In discussing internal representations of attachment, Main, Kaplan, and Cassidy (1985) state that the representations be considered "internal working models" of attachment and defined this as "a set of conscious and/or unconscious rules for the 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 (pp. 66-67)." These authors defined an internal working model as a "mental representation of an aspect of the world, others, self, or relationships that is of special relevance to the individual (p. 68)." Main and her colleagues have shown that the quality of a child's attachment is greatly influenced by the mother's "internal working model" of her own early parental relationships and that maternal representations of early attachment

experiences affect the types of experiences a mother is able to recognize in her child (Main et al., 1985). It appears that in caretaking mothers primarily recognizer experiences that are resonant with their own, such that, if a mother's internal working model of attachment can be classified as insecure, the child's quality of attachment will also be insecure. Conversely, if the mother is securely attached, the child will most likely be securely attached. Maternal mental representations of attachment are now understood to affect present state of mind with respect to adult attachment states, and thus help to pinpoint patterns of dysfunctional attachment between mother and child. The study of internal working models of attachment may be critical to finding ways of halting the recurrence of dysfunctional attachment patterns between mothers and their children.

However, this ultimate goal can only be achieved if there is a better understanding of mothers' attachment experiences, along with more clarity about what goes into the development of particular attachment styles. Attachment researchers, specifically Mary Main, began this process with their attention to the quality and organization of attachment narratives (Main, Kaplan, and Cassidy, 1985). Interestingly, their method focuses largely upon the quality of recollections. The Adult Attachment Interview (AAI) (George et al., 1985) is a semi-structured interview that assesses an adult's present quality of attachment by analyzing the adult's discourse on attachment related experiences. It is believed that the way in which these experiences are recalled is reflective of how these events are internally organized and speaks to the type(s) of experiences the individual had as a child. The AAI

has shown that maternal internal representations can be assessed via the analysis of a mother's early memories in reference to attachment themes (Main et al., 1985).

The use of early memories as a diagnostic tool is neither new nor recent. Early recollections have been shown to be a productive means of assessing not only one's early experiences, but how the individual has internalized these experiences and how they have affected or continue to affect one's internal and external worlds (Mayman, 1968). They have been used to reveal unconscious conflicts (Freud, 1950), character structure (Mayman, 1968), and are believed to be indicative of an individual's attitude towards life (Adler, 1937, Bruhn, 1985). Early memories are believed to reveal issues that are central to the individual's personality structure.

Like attachment researchers, object relations theorists emphasize the primacy of the social bond between mother and child. They too emphasize interpersonal relatedness and stress how this initial relationship affects the development of a sense of self and the infant's ability to relate to others. Unlike attachment theorists, however, object relations theorists do not centralize their attention on the dyadic relationship. They emphasize its importance while putting it into the context of the individual's entire life. They believe behavior is influenced by interactions between one's internal and external worlds and thus do not "limit" their study to the parent-child dyad; in their view, doing so could conceivably result in missing other variables that may be contributing to the development of interpersonal relatedness. Thus, while attachment theorists are studying the dyad to

assess the quality of internal representations, and by default external relatedness, object relations theorists primarily utilize clinical skill and projective tools to assess the same phenomena. One of the tools often used to assess the quality of object representations has been early memories.

Mayman (1968) believed early memories are selected unconsciously to confirm images of oneself and others. He viewed them as an individual's means of expressing their life story. Mayman stated that early recollections are organized around object-relational themes that intrude projectively into the structure and content of one's early memories and can thus reveal central conflicts in one's life. He contended that early relationships have a significant impact on one's ego development and serve as a template for future social encounters and that the quality of these initial exchanges becomes ingrained into one's identity and character structure. This central hypothesis led Mayman to utilize early memories diagnostically. In 1974, Krohn and Mayman developed the "Object Representation Scale for Dreams (KORS)." This measure assesses an individual's quality of object representations by analyzing their early memories, Rorschach responses, or dream recollections.

The AAI and the KORS evolved from different theoretical traditions, the AAI from attachment theory and the KORS from object relations theory. And yet, both of these scales assess the quality of representations of self and other and both rely upon early memories to make such assessments. Despite the differences in the ways these measures

define the quality of object representations- the AAI yields a global attachment classification, and the KORS a quantitative measure of levels of object relations- both would appear to be assessing a single underlying construct, namely the quality of internalized object relations.

This study assessed the level and quality of subjects' object representations using both the AAI and the KORS. The relation between both types of object relations measures was assessed in a sample of pregnant women. The overall aim was to demonstrate how specific patterns of early memories are related to current maternal attachment status. Through combining several theoretical frameworks, specifically object relations and attachment theories, and early memories research, this study attempted to demonstrate the impact of early relationships on later ones by assessing the relationship between subjects' adult attachment status and the object relational quality of their early memories. One of the central aims of this paper was to validate the use of early memories as a diagnostic tool in the assessment of object representations. More importantly however, this paper aimed to simultaneously assess subjects' object relational world and subjects' internal working models of attachment. This study attempted to understand how attachment develops and is internalized. This research also tried to bridge the attachment and object relations research domains, by examining the links between theoretically and methodologically different modes of assessing object representations.

Chapter Two

Review of the Literature

Attachment Theory Literature

The bond between mother and child begins to develop during pregnancy, but the aspect of this relationship that is based on mutual exchange has its roots in early infancy. It is the product of mother and infant interaction. The quality of attachment depends in large part upon how a mother responds to her infant's needs from the very beginning of their relationship (Sroufe, 1979). Bowlby (1968/1988) introduced an ethological approach to the study of early human attachment. He believed that an infant's attachment to his mother originates in a number of species characteristics behavioral systems that have evolved because they contribute to species survival. He viewed attachment and parental care behaviors as environmentally stable behavioral systems designed to protect the infant from danger and to bring him into closer proximity to the mother. Bowlby viewed such behavioral systems in terms of control systems theory, where purposive behavior is simulated through the setting and achieving of goals. In his theory, the structure of behavior is governed by the set goal; a goal-corrected feedback system is aimed at achieving the set goal. In terms of infant-mother attachment, the child has proximity to the mother as a "set goal." The proximity seeking behaviors are, in turn, organized around a "goal-corrected" system. For example, a one year old infant's behavior becomes goal corrected as he learns to make simple plans to get what he wants from the primary caretaker.

Through the ethological study of attachment Bowlby was able to postulate the notion of *internal working models*. Specifically, they are dynamic representations of one's environment and the significant people in it. Bowlby was the first to put forth the idea that, with respect to attachment, an internal working model is a set of "rules" for the organization of information relevant to attachment related experiences, feelings, and ideas. He further suggested that they develop from daily experiences and guide behavior overall. These experiences result in the child developing an internal working model of "self" that is determined by the real life experience of day-to-day interactions with his parents. A child's internal representation of self reflects the image his parents have of him and is constructed partly on the basis of the way they treat and talk to him. In general, an internal working model is an aspect of the world, others, self, or relationships to others that is of specific relevance to the individual and is resistant to change. Bowlby emphasized that internal representations mediate how individuals relate to the world because they have preconceived ideas of "self" and experiences with others that serve as reference points and help guide behavior.

Attachment Research

Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, and Wall (1978) followed White middle-class families from Baltimore (N= 23 dyads) for a year, beginning shortly after the infant's birth. After observing infants and mothers for a year, they brought dyads to the laboratory and observed them in a separation procedure. This procedure came to be known as the Strange Situation, and allows researchers to assess the quality of attachment between mother and

child. The procedure consists of eight three minute episodes that are presented in a standard order with the least stressful episode presented first. Over the course of the 8 episodes, the child is twice separated from his mother. The study focused on how the child behaves in an unfamiliar environment (the play room) when either alone, with their mother, or with a stranger and on how the infant reacts when reunited with her mother after a brief separation period. On the basis of observing and assessing reunion behavior, Ainsworth et al. were able to discern three main categories of attachment between mother and child: avoidant (A), secure (B), and ambivalent/resistant (C). These researchers found a significant relationship between the quality of maternal care and the child's behavior in the Strange Situation. Ainsworth and her colleagues (1978) asserted that prolonged observations of mothers and their infants in their home revealed that maternal sensitivity to the infant's signals during feeding, face to face play, or periods of distress during the first three months was predictive of the quality of the relationship and of attachment in the last quarter of the first year as ultimately manifested in the Strange Situation.

The Strange Situation classifications reflect different patterns of maintaining care from the mother. The secure (B) infants were able to use their mothers as a secure base from which to explore the environment and actively sought contact with their mothers upon reunion. The first insecure pattern was the avoidant (A) babies. They avoided contact with mother in the reunion episodes, exhibited no distress upon separation, and if picked up, did not cling to their mothers or resist being released. The resistant (C) babies

displayed more ambivalent behavior that alternated between contact seeking and avoidant behaviors. These infants appeared to concurrently want to be soothed physically and to minimize contact with mother. Later research (Main & Solomon, 1986) discovered a fourth attachment category with primarily disorganized and disoriented features (D). These infants appeared to have no strategy for managing separations and reunions with their mothers in the Strange Situation. As opposed to the other insecure categories, "D" infants have periods of disorganization where their behaviors are either contradictory or disorienting. This is a category that emerges in children whose primary caretakers have not yet resolved some early trauma and thus respond to their children in unpredictable or frightening ways. This behavior is understood as being a disruption of organized behavior and the infant is thus assigned a best fitting A, B, or C second classification. The results of this study were later partially replicated by Grossman et al. (1985) in Bielefeld Germany. They too found that mothers rated as sensitive responded more promptly and ignored their babies' cries less often than mothers rated as insensitive and that infants classified as secure during the first year were more likely to have sensitive mothers than were infants classified as insecurely attached.

In the years following Ainsworth's et al. (1978) development of the Strange Situation, numerous studies were undertaken to discover differences in the way mothers of secure and insecure children behave towards their children, as well as the long term effects of attachment status on later development. Egeland and Farber (1984) discovered that good caretaking skills are the most important ingredient necessary for a secure attachment

to emerge. Specifically, they found that babies can change from secure to insecure, or the reverse, as a function of change in the mother's parenting skills. The differences in the manner in which mothers treat their babies can also contribute significantly to the ways in which these infants can in turn treat others. In using the Strange Situation procedure, Main and Weston (1984) discovered that secure infants show greater relatedness to the stranger than insecure infants. This implies that secure infants have a more positive internal working model of self, other, and relationships. Thus, when encountering new relationships the infant's mental representation facilitates a more "secure" response than that of an insecurely attached infant. Studies such as these give strength to the premise that a mother's behavior towards her child has great bearing on how that child will behave towards others. A mother's affective response to her child will influence how her child views others and the world. The work of Mary Ainsworth and her colleagues (1978) precipitated a wave of research that focused on how mother's behavior affects her child's attachment. This work led to multiple studies that have replicated and expanded Ainsworth's et al. original research (e.g. Belsky and Cassidy, 1994).

The reality that maternal responsiveness and sensitivity leads to demonstrable differences in infants' patterns of seeking comfort resulted in research that focused on how mothers' own experiences and dynamic issues may affect her availability to the infant. Mary Main set out to study the roots of a mother's capacity to respond to the attachment needs of her infant. She did so by assessing the mother's representation of attachment to her own parents. Along with her colleagues, Main developed the Adult Attachment

Interview (AAI) to assess parental internal working models of attachment (George, Kaplan & Main 1985). The AAI probes for descriptions and current assessments of relationships in childhood and assesses an adult's overall state of mind with respect to attachment. It asks parents to remember experiences of separation, loss, and rejection, and to describe their early relationships with their parents. The adult classifications are not determined by the actual events in the adult's childhood, but by the way memories and feeling about these experiences are organized. Using this scale, Main, Kaplan, and Cassidy (1985) discovered three patterns of adult attachment. They found that adults classified as secure/autonomous ("F"-free) tend to objectively value attachment relationships and regard experiences related to attachment as influential on their personality. Their AAI transcripts are consistent, coherent, and substantiate the adult's description of childhood relationships with specific episodic memories. These adults were capable of integrating positive and negative aspects of their experiences and feelings. These individuals tended to be the parents of secure children.

Insecure adults were divided into two major groups: dismissing/detached (D), and preoccupied/enmeshed (E). The first group dismisses attachment relationships as of little concern, value, or influence. Dismissing/detached parents tend to devalue attachment relationships and their impact on one's personality. Their AAI transcripts are relatively lacking in personal history. They described their childhood relationships in an idealized manner, but were unable to provide early memories to support their descriptions and/or reported contradictory memories of rejection by their parents. These individuals tended to

be the parents of insecure-avoidant infants. The second insecure group was preoccupied/enmeshed (E) with dependency on their own parents and were still actively trying to please them. Their AAIs were confusing, incoherent, and flooded with episodic memories, but had few semantic descriptions and fluid perspectives on attachment relationships. These tended to be the parents of insecure-ambivalent children. In later research, Main and Solomon (1986) discovered a third insecure pattern, unresolved/disorganized with respect to mourning or trauma (U). These adults had experienced early mourning or trauma, and had not yet completed the healing or mourning process. These interviews became disorganized and irrational when the subject discussed the unresolved trauma or loss. The inability to speak about the trauma in an organized manner reflected a lack of resolution and of underlying dissociation. These were usually parents of insecure-disorganized/disoriented children. As with the Strange Situation, subjects classified as "U" are also assigned a second best fitting F, E, or D.

This research (Main, Kaplan and Cassidy 1985) provided the first documentation of a link between the child's internal working model of attachment and his/her mother's internal representation of attachment. This suggested that a mother uses the repertoire of her own experiences to relate to her child and that her own attachment status may powerfully predict her own child's attachment classification. Thus, these findings provide strong evidence of the intergenerational transmission of attachment patterns from mother to child. They also reflect the importance of mother's internal working models of early

experiences of attachment and how these mental representations manifest themselves and affect the types of experiences a mother can or will be able to recognize in her own child.

In trying to understand these results further, Main and Goldwyn (1988) took an in-depth look at parental attachment organization, as assessed by the Adult Attachment Interview, and the organization of the infant's attachment toward that pattern, as assessed by the Strange Situation, with the same subject pool from the Main, Kaplan, & Cassidy (1985) study. These authors attempted to understand the relationship between subscales of the AAI scoring system and child attachment classifications. Main and Goldwyn interviewed 32 mothers regarding the history of their childhood attachment relationships and experiences and their evaluations of the effects of these experiences on their development. They also used 45 infants in the Strange Situation with either one or both parents. The results for mothers showed that the coherence of the interview transcripts was related to the degree to which infants appeared to have been secure with their mothers in the Strange Situation. An infant's avoidance of their mother was positively related to the mother's insistence of lack of memories of her childhood and to her idealization of both of her parents. An infant's security with his mother was positively related to the mother's parents having been loving towards her in childhood. Last, an infant's angry resistance was strongly related to the mother's apparent anger towards her own mother. Overall, Main and Goldwyn found a 75% correspondence in the match between adult and infant attachment classifications; that is, they found that 75% of the time parents' (especially mothers') internal representations of attachment paralleled their children's overt behavior

in the Strange Situation. These results all confirm that attachment patterns are generationally consistent; that is, that maternal mental representations of early attachment experiences can be predictive of future attachment between mother and child. The findings in this study have since been replicated by numerous investigators (Fonagy, Steele, & Steele, 1991; Grossman, Fremer-Bombik, Rudolph, & Grossman, 1988; Benoit, Barton, Regan, Hirshberg, & Lipsitt, 1993).

In an effort to consolidate our understanding of the AAI's value Van Ijzendoorn (1995) conducted a meta-analysis on the predictive validity of the AAI. He concluded that there is a significant association between an infants' attachment status (as assessed by the Strange Situation) and mothers' internal representations of attachment (as assessed by the AAI). This meta-analysis confirmed the intergenerational transmission of attachment representations and the predictive validity of the AAI. However, Van Ijzendoorn was clear in his contention that only partial understanding and knowledge of how attachment representations are transmitted is presently available. He noted the importance of maternal sensitivity on an infant's sense of felt security, but concluded that this may not be the only factor or the most important one in how parents influence their children's attachment status. Van Ijzendoorn emphasized that factors such as a child's temperament and affective misattunement between mother and child may also contribute to the transmission of attachment. He also stated that there may be genetic and other unspecified influences that may account for the transmission gap and that it would be of interest to further study parent child interactions in natural settings in the first year of life. Van Ijzendoorn was

clear in his findings that the AAI has strong predictive validity, but that there is insufficient evidence to account for all the variation in the transmission of attachment.

Overall, these studies all emphasize the importance of the relationship between parent and child. They direct attention to how qualitative differences in maternal organization and integration of self and of her own experiences affect the infant's ability to organize and integrate his/her own experiences. Attachment theorists believe that maternal attachment status, as measured by the Adult Attachment Interview, has a significant impact on the quality of the relationship between mother and child and on how the infant will be able to become attached to his/her mother. The infant's attachment status is in part reflective of maternal (in)ability to differentiate between her own experiences and those of her child. The more organized and integrated a mother's representations of attachment, the greater her availability to her child. These results point strongly to the importance of examining the organization and quality of mothers' early recollections. Attachment research now emphasizes the importance of early memories. Indeed early memories have long been of interests to object relations theorists.

Attachment and Object Relations

Object relations theorists stress relationships throughout the life span and how they are affected by drives, culture, and relationships in general. Attachment theorists focus on the parent-child dyadic relationship and how it affects all interpersonal relationships in an individual's life. Slade and Aber (1992) state that "attachment theory is an object relations

theory; it emphasizes the primacy of a social bond, the direct impact of the quality of mother-child relationship on internalized object relations, as well as the link between the quality of a parent's internal representations and the nature of their relationships to others." Both schools of thought agree that the development of a cohesive and autonomous sense of self is dependent upon sensitive and attuned maternal care and the internalization of these experiences. Both agree that sensitive and adequate early care and the internalization of these experiences is a necessary element in the development of an independent person. Both stress the impact of one's early experiences on the development of object representations and assert that a mother's ability to respond to her child's needs is related to her own childhood history and to the quality of her internal representations. Attachment theorists (e.g. Main & Goldwyn, Aber & Slade, and others) contend that in order for a mother to attune to and contain her infant's affective experience, she must be capable of accepting and modulating her own experiences. Stated otherwise, mothers primarily process experiences in their infants that they have been able to acknowledge and regulate in themselves. Though these schools of thought agree on the importance of an attuned relationship between mother and child for the development of "positive" internal representations of self and self-with-other, they differ on other points. For example, in object relations research the notion of mental representations includes internalized images of a wide range of interpersonal exchanges with others. In attachment research, the emphasis is primarily on interactions between mother and child and how these exchanges are internalized. The schools also differ in that object relations theory stresses the complexity of internal representations and looks to see what impact, if any,

such as culture or language, have on these mental representations. Attachment by contrast, is more centralized in that it focuses on the dyad and on how internal working models evolve out of the child's efforts to maintain close proximity to the caregiver and tend to remain stable over time, although there is evidence that intervening experiences can modify internal working models (Main & Goldwyn, 1984).

In looking at both disciplines, Bowlby (1973) suggested that what object relations theorists were calling "internal objects" (i.e. an internalized experience of self with other) be considered internal working models of self and other that develop out of an individual's experiences; and he further suggested that they are open to modification if experience should change. The notion of an internal working models retains object relations theory's view of how the internalization of experience occurs, but it adds the possibility of these "models" being altered if experience changes. Within this conceptualization, internal working models are dynamic and potentially changing representations of one's environment and the significant people in it.

Research Linking Attachment and Object Relations

The concept of internal working models provides a meaningful way of conceptualizing representational models of self and other. Thus, the quality of one's object relations can be assessed via the analysis of one's internal working models of attachment. Levine, Tuber, Slade and Ward (1991) validated this premise by examining the relationship between measures of mental representations from attachment and object

relations theories and their association to mother-infant attachments. They used 42 African American and Hispanic adolescent mothers and their 15 month old infants to determine the relationship between a mother's attachment status, as defined by the AAI, and her level of object representations, as measured by the Krohn Object Representation Scale for Dreams (KORS). They discovered that the mother's level of object relations and her attachment status were highly related and that both of these were in turn significantly related to infant attachment status. These researchers were also able to successfully connect a mother's level of object representation to her adult attachment status. The more differentiated the mother was, the more likely that she would have a secure attachment status. These authors used maternal representations to predict mother-infant attachment. Their results validate the premise that there is "an association between a mother's internal working model of attachment and the security of her child's attachment to her (p.465)."

Based on the results of this study, Levine and Tuber (1993) later assessed attachment's (AAI) and object relations (KORS) measures of mental representations and concluded that there is some "overlap between these two measures of object representation and that mother's representations while pregnant have predictive validity in that they correspond to their infant's later attachment to them (p. 70)." They contend that the AAI, unlike the KORS, cannot appropriately differentiate between individuals who will be dysfunctional and those that can adapt more successfully. They note, however, the AAI's strength in predicting parent-child attachment styles and attribute this to the AAIs focus on tangible information. With respect to the KORS, these authors assert that because it is

designed to capture a large range of internalized experiences, the KORS is more capable of differentiating individuals who will make successful adaptations from those who will not.

Studies such as these are at the forefront in trying to link attachment and object relations theories and research. They have been successful in tapping similar internalized phenomena and therefore address similar concepts from different vantage points. The interest of research presently resides in trying to link these two schools of thought further.

Object Relations Literature

The concept of object relations is defined by a range of differing perspectives. It cannot be understood as one specific theory, as it has been put forth by theoreticians with divergent orientations. Nevertheless, it can be conceptualized as referring to the representations of an individual's interactions with people and to the relationship between an individual's internal and external worlds (Greenberg & Mitchell, 1983). Specifically, object relations refers to the manner in which external relationships impact on an individual's internal world and how they can affect one's psychological state with respect to interacting with others.

The theory of object relations has evolved slowly over the last 100 years. Freud (1915a) first conceived of it within drive theory. He believed infants are born in an objectless state in which they are only aware of themselves. This isolated state of inner reality slowly expands to include an awareness of an outsider (i.e. the primary caretaker) as

the infant makes the connection that his drives are being satisfied by an "other." Within a few weeks, an objectless state is superseded by one in which the self becomes aware of the existence of an outer world. Freud believed object formation was the consequence of the infant's capacity to make associations between the satisfaction of his drives and the object that is providing satisfaction. Klein (1930) later proposed that an infant is born with a priori images of the external world and that his/her drives are inherently directed at an object, as opposed to becoming connected through associations. Klein emphasized that a child's life is ruled by phantasy and that internal and external reality are initially equal. Eventually, the infant realizes that there is an asynchrony between his internal experiences and external reality. This sense of disequilibrium motivates the infant to internalize external real experiences and this helps to modify the supposed a priori images they are born with and equilibrium is reestablished.

Drive theory did not sufficiently emphasize the importance of early interpersonal relationship(s) with the primary caretaker(s) and the effect this relationship has on the development of a child's (in)ability to relate to others, to relate to an external world. This resulted in the emergence of an interpersonal school of object relations where social and cultural aspects were emphasized in understanding personality development. Theorists like Sullivan, Horney, and Fromm stressed the observable, what could be seen. For example, Sullivan (1930/1950a) provided a pragmatic approach that focused on understanding object relations as a function of social reality. He believed an infant's experience of reality was his/her primary caretaker's personal experience. An infant's

experience is filtered through their parents, as this is the primary relationship in the child's life and serves as a paradigm for future relationships in social encounters. The interpersonal school focused heavily on social and cultural elements in the development of object relations.

Theorists like Fairbairn and Winnicott emphasized interpersonal relatedness, but focused primarily on the child's initial relationship with the primary caretaker and the effects it has on the development of a sense of self and the infant's ability to relate to others. Fairbairn (1954) stressed that libido is object seeking, as opposed to pleasure seeking as drive theorists proposed. Like Klein, he believed infants were born with a priori images of the primary object. However, Fairbairn stressed that the infant becomes related to the object as a function of his basic instinct to survive, rather than using the object purely as a means to satisfy physiological drives. He suggested that human behavior is not directed by the need to satisfy bodily pleasures, but by the need to seek and maintain contact with others. He believed that if this initial relationship developed in a nonproblematic manner, there would be no need for internalizing objects. However, nature dictates that a mother will not always be able to satisfy the infant's needs and the object is consequently a bad object or a depriving one. Fairbairn theorized that in order to negate this less than optimal aspect of the relationship the infant splits off intolerable aspects of his experience and develops compensatory internal objects that act as substitutes for dissatisfying relationships with external people; the greater the experience of deprivation, the greater the need to establish relationships with internal objects. In normal

development, the child is able to differentiate between good and bad experiences with mother and a more integrated and mutual relationship develops.

Like Fairbairn, Winnicott (1965) believed the child has an innate need to relate to the mother. Winnicott emphasized the role mother plays in the child's development of a sense of self. He stated that an infant's experience of self is a reflection of how mother sees him. For Winnicott, the mother's role was to actualize the infant's internal experience by providing a nurturing environment that is attuned to and satisfies the infant's needs. By doing this, the mother provides the infant with a sense of omnipotence and a sense of self begins to emerge as the infant believes he is making things happen. As this develops, the mother eventually becomes less focused on satisfying the child's needs and the child must realize what it can and cannot do independently. In this way, a true sense of self and experience of reality begins to develop. In this way, the infant develops an internal representation of self, other, and self with other. These theorists emphasized the importance of the infant-parent dyad and how it "sets the stage" for all future relationships and exchanges. Although their perspectives differ, they all agree on the importance of the dyadic relationship and on how the child's sense of reality is profoundly shaped by that of his/her parents. Object relations theorists believe that human behavior is influenced by interactions between one's internal and external worlds. The combination of these experiences of self and interpersonal exchanges influences how one perceives the world and accordingly interacts in it.

Assessment of Object Relations

The assessment of object relations has been primarily studied through the analysis of an individual's object representations as reflected in their responses to projective tests. Studies have shown that projective tests such as the Rorschach, TAT, and the Early Memories Test tap into an individual's object relational world because of the projective nature of these measures (Stricker & Healey, 1990). These researchers reviewed the literature on using projective tests to assess object relatedness and concluded that these tools can all be used to assess object relatedness and object representation because there is no one clear definition of object relations phenomena. They believe that the lack of construct validity in this phenomena makes it possible to assume that each projective tool is measuring some aspect of one's object relatedness.

The largest proportion of studies have used the Rorschach inkblot test to assess the quality of object representation in relation to factors such as degree of pathology, differentiation, and level of ego functioning. For example, Blatt et al. (1983/1990) used the Rorschach to differentiate type and severity of pathology from the assessment of the human responses. Goddard and Tuber (1989) used the Rorschach to show that separation anxious children have more severe pathological object relations when compared to a control group. Projectives have also been used to show an improvement in object relations using a test-retest method, after undergoing clinical treatment (Blatt et al., 1991, Lerner, 1983). For the purpose of this paper however, we will focus on the assessment of early memories.

In assessing the quality of object representations in early memories and dreams Mayman (1968) studied how subjects described people. He assessed whether they were presented in a detailed manner that reflects an integrated sense of self and other, or if the description was diffuse and vague and representative of a more constricted sense of self, other, and/or the world. Mayman focused on the thematic elements of object representation and assessed it in relation to types of character structure and object relations. He used early memories to assess character structure because he believed they express psychological truths about an individuals' life and are organized around object relational themes that intrude projectively into one's early recollections.

Krohn and Mayman (1974) later developed the "Krohn Object Representation Scale for Dreams." The KORS is an 8 point ordinal scale that encompasses 8 levels of internalization and assesses variables such as degree of mutuality, differentiation, affect tone, integration, and level of narcissistic need gratification. Krohn and Mayman particularly distinguished between individuals who score 5 or below on the scale and those who score 6 or higher. On this scale, the lower end is reflective of more primitive, less differentiated object relations where things seem alien, stereotyped, and "dark" in nature. On the higher end, people are viewed in a more defined and clear manner and individual distinctiveness is better captured. In using this instrument, Krohn and Mayman found significant relationships between the quality of subjects' object representations and their level of psychopathology, ability to benefit from psychotherapy, and independent ratings

of object relations by skilled clinicians. They obtained an interrater reliability ranging from .58 to .80 for exact agreement and from .74 to .89 for agreement within one scale point. Krohn and Mayman found high intercorrelations on the KORS when applied to early memories, dreams, Rorschachs and between the scores and clinical judgements.

The KORS scale has been used extensively to assess object relations. Hatcher and Krohn (1980) assessed a sample of 25 patients with the KORS scale. They hypothesized that patients with "high modal dream scores would possess various ego psychological strengths" (p. 308) that would make them better candidates for the "effective use of intensive uncovering...psychotherapy" (p. 308). They found that for neurotic patients, the modal score on the KORS was significantly associated with ego psychological aspects such as, the capacity for introspection, the ability to tolerate the ambiguous and irrational in themselves, and the capacity to reflect on conflicts rather than acting out. Hatcher and Krohn found a strong correlation between neurotic subjects' modal scores, the presence of reliable ego functions, and the ability to benefit from psychotherapy.

Spear and Lapidus (1981) used the KORS and Rorschach scales to assess differences in manifest object representations in three clinical inpatient groups: obsessive/paranoid borderline, hysterical/impulsive borderline, and nonparanoid undifferentiated schizophrenic disorder. These authors found significant correlations when using the KORS scale in conjunction with the Blatt et al. (1976) scoring system for human

responses on the Rorschach. These two scales together measured some portion of the same object representational construct when applied to Rorschach data and successfully differentiated between diagnostic categories. However, independently, the KORS was unable to differentiate among the groups. These authors went on to say that independently, the KORS appears to be more useful when applied to dreams.

Gluckman and Tuber (1996) used the KORS on written dream reports. They sought to differentiate between healthy and psychologically disturbed latency age girls. These authors found that "the nonclinical participants averaged significantly more adaptive ORSD (KORS) scores than their clinical counterparts" (p.111). The KORS scale was able to distinguish the pathological girls from the nonclinical ones. The literature shows that the KORS scale has been successfully utilized to assess object representations and to differentiate clinical from nonclinical individuals. In this study, it was used to assess the quality of object representation in pregnant womens' early memories.

Last and Bruhn (1983) used early memories to assess object representations and developed the Comprehensive Early Memories Scoring System (CEMSS). It scores early memories on nine categories, one of which is an object relations scale that is more concrete and direct than the KORS scale. The CEMSS scale aims to understand how an individual's perceptual stance was formulated. It uses early memories to pinpoint issues

that may have stymied the individual's developmental process. The CEMSS has been used to distinguish between varying levels of psychopathology and between diagnostic types (Last & Bruhn, 1983, 1985). Like the KORS scale, the CEMSS assesses the perception of humans and the subjects' capacity to objectively describe the relationship between the self and others.

The assessment of object relations through projective tests is primarily based on studying human responses, specifically the degree of interpersonal contact, the impact others have on the self, and the presentation of self and other. In this study, the quality of object representations will be used to determine if there is any relationship between the quality of subjects' object representation and their adult attachment status.

Early Memories Literature

Research on early memories has been both extensive and diverse. Opinions greatly vary with respect to what types of information an early memories protocol can provide. What is agreed upon is that early memories provide an important means of assessing present character structure (Mayman, 1968), and that all early memories have some degree of distortion and/or omission, with their accurate depiction of events being relatively unimportant. Their value lies in their symbolic account of an individual's history and in their expression of the variables that motivate one's personality (Mosak, 1985, Saul et al., 1956).

Specific theories regarding the usefulness of early memories range as far back as Freud and Adler. Freud viewed an early memory as a screen memory and it is "...one which owes its value as a memory not to its own content but to the relation existing between the content and some other that has been suppressed" (Freud, 1950, p. 320). In other words, memories are distorted recollections that protect an individual from confronting the actual occurrence of the past event. Freud believed the distortion was created by two opposing forces: one force sees the importance of an experience and seeks to remember it and the other force is a resistance that prevents any preference (in terms of which memory is recalled) from being shown. According to Freud, neither of these forces can cancel each other out. Instead, they compromise the memory. Rather than the relevant experience being recalled, what emerges is a scene that is closely associated with the objectionable one (Freud termed this associative displacement). "Since the elements of the experience which aroused objection are precisely the important ones, the substituted memory will...lack those important elements and will...probably strike as trivial" (Freud, 1950, p. 307). Because of these beliefs, Freud's goal was to explain the repression of early experiences. It was him aim to bring into awareness the conflicts of his patients through the analysis of the latent content of their early memories.

Contrary to Freud, Adler focused on the manifest content of early memories and thought they revealed an individual's fundamental attitude towards life. He believed an

individual selects events from the past that validate his/her particular view of the world. Adler claimed that in order to estimate the meaning of an early memory, one must understand how it relates to the individual's total style of life. A proper estimate can be obtained by relating early patterns of perception to all that can be discovered of the individual's present attitudes. For Adler, if early memories are "...rightly understood in relation to the rest of the individual's life,... [they] are always found to have a bearing on the central interests of that persons life" (Adler, 1937, p. 287). Rather than explain the repression of early experiences, Adler sought to explain an individual's selective retention of specific early memories.

These two theories were later synthesized by Mayman (1968) into the ego psychological view of early memories. He explained them as attempts to resolve conflicts through the reactivation of childhood experiences of similar emotional content. Much like Adler, Mayman emphasized the manifest content of early memories, and like Freud, how manifest content distorts the latent content. Mayman studied the individual's ability to manage the latent content. He was particularly interested in the products of ego functioning and focused on the egos way of maintaining repressions. This approach maintains that early memories are selected unconsciously to confirm images of oneself and others (Mayman & Faris, 1960) and that the memories remembered are arranged in accordance with the individual's character structure (Mayman, 1968). Mayman did not view early memories as autobiographical, factual information. Rather, they were "personal

myths" that may have no relevance to an actual event; instead, they emphasize a personal theme which reflects how the individual experiences events.

Mayman views early memories as"...retrospective inventions developed to express psychological truths rather than objective truths about a person's life" (Mayman. 1968, p. 304). He believed one's character is organized around object relational themes that intrude projectively into the structure and content of one's early memories. For Mayman, they revealed the imprint of central conflicts in a person's life. Because of his focus on ego development, Mayman (1959) sought to identify a person's ego-synthesis through "...object-relationships which in the course of...development have played a central role in shaping [one's] ego" (p. 101). These early relationships determine transference paradigms that an individual will attempt to recreate in their social intercourse. For Mayman, any malfunctions in these early encounters can have an adverse impact on one's ego development and can become ingrained in an individual's identity patterns, creating a potential for problems in future relationships. On this premise, Mayman used early memories to identify the dysfunctions in one's object relationships.

Mayman developed a scale that qualitatively measured early memories. His scale attempts to measure an individual's level of object relations via analysis of his/her early memories. Its foundation rests on the assumption that early memories reveal those elements that compromise one's identity and the presence of psychopathology. Thus, if early memories are viewed as having themes depicting an individual's dilemmas, life

strategies, and how he relates to the world in general, they can be used as a projective measure to reveal one's character structure and/or any present level of psychopathology.

The scoring system (qualitatively speaking) is based on a thematic approach that follows classic psychostructural stages of development. The first subscale of Mayman's (1977) scale is based on self-other relationship paradigms and is organized in parallel to Freud's psychosexual stages. It pinpoints numerous themes that may emerge in memories in accordance with the varying psychosexual stages. The second subscale is a psychopathology scale that attempts to place individuals on a continuum that ranges from normal to psychotic (Mayman, 1970). Studies using this scale showed it to be a reliable measure of both object relations and psychopathology. For example, Mayman and Faris (1960) used it to describe the character structure of a 24 year old male patient, on the basis that "...early memories can reveal for us an individual's early relationships as he may have experienced them at the time his personal identity was most open to the formative influence of others" (p.520). They attempted to infer interlocking identity patterns of the patient and his parents through the perception each had of the patient as a child. They discovered, as hypothesized, that early memories may serve as a source of information about transference patterns brought into new personal encounters.

In 1974, Krohn and Mayman undertook one of the most important studies using Mayman's theoretical framework of early memories. They sought to validate a reliable

and quantifiable concept of object representations which retained the integrity of ego-psychoanalytic dimensions. They attempted to refine previous findings that projective tests tap dimensions of object relations. They developed the "Object Representations Scale for Dreams" which contains a global description of an individual's level of object representations (it is described fully in the methodology section). Each level is designated by a scale point. The higher the scale point, the better the quality of object representation and, in turn, object relations. Although this scale was developed for written dream reports, they showed that it could be reliably applied to the Rorschach and early memories protocols. To test this scale, they used 24 psychiatric patients and obtained 3-5 dreams, early memories protocols, and Rorschach tests from each of them to rate their dream patterns in terms of object representations. They hypothesized that high correlations among the object representations generated by these three projective measures and high correlations between the measures and criterion judgments would validly support the concept of "object representation."

Their hypotheses were strongly supported. Strong intercorrelations emerged between dream, clinical, early memories, and Rorschach ratings. When this scale is applied to dreams and early memories it provides a narrower index of an individual's level of object representations. By contrast, when this scale is applied to Rorschach protocols, it yields an assessment of both object representations and general level of psychopathology. These researchers claimed that their findings suggested that the analysis of written dreams

reports would provide a diagnostic assessment of the level of object representations least contaminated by a subject's level of pathology. They also said that the manifest content of dreams is important because it expresses one's internal repertoire of interpersonal relationship paradigms.

Mayman's ego-psychological perspective and his scale were challenged by another framework and means of measurement. Rather than emphasize the ego and its functions, Bruhn (1985/1990) introduced a cognitive-perceptual model of early memories. This theory is concerned with individual needs, with man's innate need to grow and be competent. It focuses on how this process can become derailed and what can be done to facilitate growth. Much like Mayman, Bruhn treats early memories as fantasies about the past that reveal present concerns. He acknowledges that many early memories are historically correct, but emphasizes that it is not necessary to know if the manifest content is accurate in order to interpret the recollection.

Bruhn's theory assesses an individual's perception of himself, others, and the world. He maintains that autobiographical memory is the tool to understanding how an individual's perceptual stance was formulated. The products of autobiographical memory give clues to the nature and cause of an individual's problems. Thus, cognitive perceptual theory uses early memories to pinpoint issues that may have stymied an individual's developmental process.

Cognitive-perceptual theory emphasizes the organization of memories. It claims that autobioigraphical memory adheres to the principles of adaptation and utility. Important memories are given priority because they may provide and/or preserve a major lesson learned about the self, others, or the world. It is more likely that a memory may focus on a major issue that is unresolved and currently in process. Attitude and mood are also key principles in autobiographical memory. They are major determinants in whether a memory can be accessed at all. If a generalized attitude exists (e.g., others cannot be trusted) memories are then organized to adhere and reflect this mind set. In this same way, mood exerts a major influence on what is recalled and how it is remembered. It is very unlikely that a memory being recalled will be inconsistent with present mood and attitude. The understanding of principles such as these is essential to comprehending Bruhn's cognitive-perceptual theory.

Bruhn's Early Memories Procedure (EMP) is a scale that utilizes directed and spontaneous early memories. It probes for directed memories (e.g., tell me of your first punishment) because they are believed to supply information that would normally not be given. Thus, the protocol produced contains spontaneous recollections and traumatic, affect-laden memories that are normally not reported as spontaneous recollections. Consequently, the EMP generates an ample amount of information that, to a certain extent, is qualitatively different from the average early memories protocol. Research using the EMP has been diverse. Bruhn and Schiffman (1982) used 215 undergraduate students from an introductory psychology course to test whether early memories could predict an

internal versus an external locus of control stance. They were able to use early memories to pinpoint specific character differences between individuals with internal versus external locus of control. Those with an external stance had memories filled with themes of dependence and being victimized and those with an internal stance tended to have more positive early memories. Bruhn and Davidow (1983) then used the EMP to differentiate between delinquents and nondelinquents. The subjects were 33 middle class, 15-17 years old males. Their results showed that the delinquents' early memories contained more traumatic personal injuries, themes of isolation, and often placed their subjects as victims. Contrary to this, nondelinquents' early memories placed "others" in the position of being the victim, viewed themselves in positions of mastery, and were never isolated. Research findings on the EMP have confirmed those of earlier procedures using early memories as a projective technique; specifically, thy have confirmed that early memories tap into an individual's object relational world and can be used to differentiate varying personality characteristics and assess an individual's internal world of interpersonal relations.

As research with early memories progressed, a need for a more concrete and quantifiable scale emerged. This prompted Last and Bruhn (1983) to coordinate their efforts and attempt to create an effective, reliable, and relatively brief scoring system for early memories. Last introduced the "Comprehensive Early Memories Scoring System" (CEMSS) and it has nine major categories to score the early memories produced by the EMP protocol. The CEMSS is a system that assesses early memory features that have

been "identified in prior studies as noteworthy of assessment purposes" (Last & Bruhn, 1983, p. 598). It rates early memory items such as relation to reality, characters (parents, sibling, animals, etc.), affect, object relations (perception of others, self, environment, etc.), and settings (school, home, hospital, etc.). The categories assessed by the CEMSS focus on items that will reflect major issues in an individual's life.

Last and Bruhn (1983) used the EMP, in conjunction with the CEMSS, with 94, 8-11 years old boys from psychiatric hospitals to distinguish between varying levels of psychopathology. Together, these measures successfully distinguished between well, mild, and severely maladjusted subjects. They found that these measures could outperform clinical judgments. Two years later, these authors used the same scales on 64 males between the ages of 8-12 to differentiate between four diagnostic types: delinquents, hyperactives, somatic complaints, and schizoids. They were able to specify significant structural differences in the early memories that led to a clear distinction between the four diagnostic types. Studies such as these revealed the importance of distinguishing structural variables (object relations, self-perception, etc.) from content variables (settings, characters, etc.) in early memories. The importance of early memories for diagnostic purposes is to be found in the nature of recall. In many respects, this scale analyzes early memories much like the AAI does. Last and Bruhn stressed that structural variables may be reflective of the degree of psychopathology present or may be capable of detecting abnormalities in the individual's organization of self and life experiences. This led to the

conclusion that using early memory protocols, in conjunction with other tools, are a favorable means of making predictions about an individual's perception of self and others.

Summary and Statement of Purpose

All of these studies emphasize the diagnostic value and predictive ability of an individual's early recollections. They are all consistent in the belief that early memories have the ability to reveal past conflicts that may still be unresolved in the individual's psyche. They can also be used to discern issues that have had a major impact, positive or negative, in the development of the person's overall character structure. In the present study, the relation between mothers' level of object relations, as deduced from the quality of their object representations in their early memories, and their present quality of attachment, as assessed by the AAI will be studied. It was hypothesized that subjects with a secure attachment status would have a more differentiated quality of object representation, in both the KORS and the CEMSS scales, than subjects with an insecure attachment status. This hypothesis is based on attachment and object relations theorists' belief that early relationships have a significant impact on one's sense of felt security and that these experiences are internalized and remain as active templates that continuously guide individuals in interpersonal exchanges. Early memories are believed to express the dynamic issues, resolved or not, that lead to the development of particular attachment patterns. Thus, it is expected that individuals with secure attachment will provide early memories that reflect a more objective and integrated perspective of self and other. Insecure individuals are expected to provide early memories that are less differentiated in

quality of object representation, but more reflective of the coping mechanism-attachment style-utilized to manage a less than optimal early experience with the primary care taker.

Chapter Three

Method

Subjects

The subjects were 30 middle-class Caucasian women, 25-40 years old; all had completed some college and many had advanced degrees. All of the subjects were married or cohabitating and in their third trimester of their first pregnancy. They were recruited through flyers in maternity clothing stores and advertisements in parenting magazines. There were a total of 15 subjects in the secure attachment group and 15 subjects in the insecure group (inclusive of all insecure categories). The specific number of adults in each attachment classification went as follows: 15 autonomous/free (F), 6 dismissing/detached (D), 4 enmeshed/preoccupied (E) , and 5 who were unresolved/disorganized with respect to loss and trauma (U).

Procedure

This study was carried out within the context of a larger research investigation. The Pregnancy Project was conducted by Dr. Arietta Slade, Ph.D., at the City College of New York and focuses on how first time mothers experience pregnancy and on the subsequent development of the mother-child relationship in the first 28 months of the child's life. Women are seen during pregnancy three times and five times after birth. They are interviewed about the emotional experience of pregnancy, and the Adult Attachment Interview is first administered during the third pregnancy visit by doctoral students. The

AAI was readministered 14 months after the women give birth. As part of the overall Pregnancy Project, subjects are given a number of psychological tests during the second pregnancy visit. However, we're focusing on the Early Memories Test. This study examined the relationship between subjects' adult attachment classifications, and the quality of their object relations as inferred from their early recollections. The aim was to examine the relationship between mothers' attachment status and the quality of differentiation in their object representations.

Measures

Adult Attachment Interview

The AAI was developed by George et al. (1985). It is a semi-structured interview with 15 questions that probe for descriptions and current assessments of early attachment related experiences and the adult's sense of how these early relationships have affected their personality and parenting style. Mothers are asked to provide early memories regarding their attachment experiences and to assess these recollections from a current perspective. Mothers are first questioned about their family of origin. They are then asked to provide five adjectives to describe their relationship to each parent and to explain why they chose those adjectives. Parents are also asked if they ever felt rejected by their parent(s), which parent they felt closest to, how they reacted in childhood to being hurt, ill or upset, and what they remember about early separation experiences. After these questions, mothers are asked how they think their adult personalities have been affected by these experiences, why they believe their parents behaved as they did, and how their

relationship to their parent(s) has changed over time. The last portion of the interview probes for lifetime experiences of abuse and loss of important figures through death.

The interviews are rated primarily for level of coherency and assess the adult's current state of mind with respect to attachment. The adult classifications are not determined by actual events, but by the adult's ability to organize early experiences in a manner that reflects their insight into the effects these experiences have had on their lives and personality development. The AAI assesses the quality of the adults' narrative. It analyzes *how* early attachment experiences are recalled and organized, not *what* is recalled. The transcripts are rated by individuals trained with Main's and Goldwyn's (1988) AAI coding system. The transcripts are assigned a classification of either secure or insecure based on current assessments of past attachment related experiences. They are rated as either autonomous/free (F), dismissing/detached (D), preoccupied/enmeshed (E), or unresolved with respect to attachment (U). The AAI transcripts were scored by raters trained to reliability by Dr. Mary Main and who were blind to the aims of the present study.

Early Memories Test

The Early Memories Test (Mayman, 1971) was the first of a series of projective measures administered during the testing segment of the second visit. It was given in a paper and pencil format and subjects were allowed to write as much or as little as they so

desired. This test generates a series of directed memories. It asks for memories such as earliest memory, earliest memory of mother/father, happiest/unhappiest early memory, and early memories of being cared for, scared, angry, excited, and ashamed. It is possible to obtain a maximum of 22 early memories. The number of early memories provided by subjects in this sample ranged between 10-22. These recollections were then scored for the quality and level of object representations using the KORS and CEMSS scales.

Object Relations Assessment Scales

Krohn Object Representations Scale for Dreams

The KORS scale was developed by Alan Krohn and Martin Mayman in 1974. It is an eight point scale that gives a global description of an individual's quality of object representation. It is on a continuum that ranges from primary narcissism to empathic object relatedness. This scale was originally developed for written dream reports, but research has found it to be correlated with other projective measures (e.g. Rorschach, Early Memories). In this study, the KORS was applied to early memories in an attempt to assess the subjects' quality of object representations. Two raters, blind to all other data, were trained to rate the early memories for quality of object representation. First, five protocols were rated by each. The initial differences were between 1-3 scale points for each protocol. The raters were then given 10 more protocols in an effort to improve the reliability. With these protocols, the raters obtained an interrater reliability of .98.

Each point on the KORS scale consists of a "global description of the nature of the object world, some typical characteristics to look for in the dream and a sample dream" (Krohn & Mayman, 1974). Subjects' responses ranged from an early memory where an infant is left alone on the grass and the world is perceived as alien and ominous to recollections where the perceptions of self and other are differentiated enough to capture subtle differences between individuals. Most of the subjects provided memories that fell between scale points 4-6. Only a small number of memories possessed the degree of object differentiation necessary to obtain an 8 and even fewer were bizarre enough to receive a scale point of 1. Scale points are described as follows:

(1) The subject's world seems to be completely lifeless, vacant, alien, and strange. Their world is essentially without people and is either stark and static or fluid and formless. The world is viewed as an unpredictable and desolate place that the subject cannot understand.

(2) The subject's inner world includes other people, but they are not really alive, human, or benevolent. People are insubstantial figures prone to seem malevolent, brutal, murderous, or mechanical. The subject's sense of people is like the subject's own primitive impulses incarnate.

(3) People are experienced as insubstantial, fluid, or interchangeable, but not malevolent. The subject cannot articulate what someone means to them because they have a vague concept of what other people want, feel or do. There are flagrant contradictions in the way other people are depicted because the subject has a limited capacity to form a meaningful gestalt of another person.

(4) The subject's experience of people is fashioned around the extent to which people gratify the subject and/or around the needs the subject can satisfy in the other. The importance of other people as gratifiers leads the subject to be only vaguely aware of the qualities of the other that exist apart from its need gratifying function.

(5) The subject's world is populated with people who have no real identity. People seem interchangeable. They are perceived as either shadowy with unclear motives or are experienced in stereotyped ways. People do not make sense to the subject.

(6) The subject has a more differentiated sense of others and is tuned-in to their needs, motives, and individual differences. However, he/she does not readily try to understand the inner experience of others. People are not perceived as being able to interact in an easy and mutual fashion. The subject is dealing with their conflicts by steering clear of others and avoiding the intense involvements that bring his conflicts to the fore.

(7) The subject experiences people with sensitivity and acuity. People are experienced as unique and subtle differences among them are acknowledged. People seem central to the subject's inner life, even if neurotic conflicts lead him/her to experience people in childish transference dominated ways.

(8) The subject's world is fully human and there is a sense of rapport with people and a well developed understanding of their thoughts, feelings, and conflicts. Others' behavior and personal characteristics are considered in perspective and

remain open to interpretation. There is a good deal of self and interpersonal awareness, a psychological mindedness.

Comprehensive Early Memories Scoring System

The CEMSS (Last, 1983) is a multi-dimensional system designed to analyze early memories. It assesses characters, settings, sensory-motor aspects, relation to reality, object relations, themes, and affect. For the purpose of this study, only the object relations scale was utilized. Like the KORS scale, two independent raters blind to the hypotheses of this study were used. The raters were clinical graduate students who were self-trained with sample batteries from the overall subject pool of the Pregnancy Project. These raters utilized the same 15 protocols that were used to establish reliability with the KORS scale. In the initial 5 protocols, the rater's scores were within one level of each other. With the next ten protocols a .99 interrater reliability was attained for this scale. Subjects were classified as belonging to one of four qualitatively different levels of object representation and can receive scores between 5-15. The more differentiated the quality of object relations, the higher the score. The categories are as follows:

(A) Perception of Others: people are either viewed as being on the periphery of the action, or are in a position where they are perceived as need gratifiers.

(B) Perception of Self: the self is viewed as either having no mastery over the environment, as a follower, an observer or victim, or the subject acts upon the environment and efforts are mainly effective.

(C) Perception of Environment: the environment is perceived as unsupportive or unsafe and it acts to limit, attack, or deprive the subject, or the environment is primarily supportive, safe and caring.

(D) Individual Distinctiveness: others are either poorly defined, vague, or unclear, or they are highly distinctive with specific qualities or characteristics.

(E) Degree of Interpersonal Contact: subject and others are alone or isolated with no interaction or there is sustained interaction.

Subjects can obtain a score between 1-3 on each of these five categories. The score each subject gets in each subcategory is then added and each subject is placed on one of four levels:

Level I= 5-7.5 points

Level II= 8-10.5 points

Level III= 11-12.5 points

Level IV= 13-15 points.

Each ascending level represents a more differentiated quality of object relations.

Data analysis and Hypothesis

The early memories were rated for overall quality of object relatedness using both the KORS and CEMSS scales. Both scales were used in order to assess subjects' level of object relations from different approaches. The KORS scale provides a more dynamic representation and interpretation of object relations and the CEMSS scale provides a more direct and concrete means of assessing subjects' object representations. Both scales were

expected to identify the subjects' overall quality of object relations. The obtained levels of object representations were then individually correlated to the subject's AAI classification.

This study had several hypotheses:

HYPOTHESIS I: It was predicted that there would be a significant positive relationship between subjects' attachment status and their mean KORS scale scores. It was expected that subjects with a secure attachment status would have a more positive and differentiated quality of object representations than subjects with an insecure attachment status.

HYPOTHESIS II: It was predicted that there would be a significant positive relationship between subjects' attachment status and their mean CEMSS scale scores. It was expected that subjects with a secure attachment status would have a more positive and differentiated quality of object representations than subjects with an insecure attachment status.

HYPOTHESIS III: It was predicted that there would be a significant positive relationship between subjects' level of object relations on the KORS and CEMSS scales.

Chapter Four

Results

In order to test the hypothesis that there would be a significant relationship between womens' adult attachment status and the quality of object representation in their early memories, an independent t-test was used to compare secure and insecure subjects' mean scores on the KORS scale. As can be seen from examining Table 1, there was no significant difference between subjects' attachment classification and the quality of their object relations when subjects' mean object representation scores on the KORS scale were compared. This analysis was then repeated using the CEMSS scale, and here too there was no significant difference between secure and insecure subjects when mean object representation scores were compared (see Table 1). The data were then examined using a correlational analysis; a point biserial correlation was computed for the KORS and CEMSS scale scores. The obtained correlations were not strong enough to reach conventional levels of significance, although they were clearly in the predicted direction. When raw data were examined it was clear that there was little variance between scores on both scales; thus, a decision was made to examine the raw data at a categorical level. It was speculated that because the sample size was so small, potential differences between all attachment classifications (F, D, E, U) might be obscured by looking at the data with two classifications only (secure vs. insecure). Thus, several post hoc analyses were carried out.

To begin, scores obtained for the first spontaneously mentioned early memory were examined (see Table 2). As can be seen from looking at column C, mean object relations scores on the KORS did not vary across attachment categories. This was also true for the mean object relations scores on the CEMSS scale (column E) in all but one category: the unresolved ("U") subjects scored several points below the other subjects. It appeared that on both the KORS and the CEMSS, the "U" insecure subjects tended to score lower than all other subjects. This suggests that the early memories of individuals classified as unresolved may have been less differentiated than individuals with either a F, D, or E attachment classification.

The mean highest and lowest score for the secure and insecure groups on the KORS and CEMSS scales was also computed (see Table 3). An examination of the KORS scores revealed virtually no difference between the secure and insecure groups in both the high and low scores: thus, a statistical analysis was deemed unnecessary. Looking at the CEMSS scale, there appeared to be a slight difference between the lowest and highest scores for the secure and insecure subjects. Although the secure subjects scored slightly higher than the insecure subjects, a t-test for the difference between means was not significant.

Modal scores were then examined (see Table 4). No differences emerged comparing secure and insecure subjects on the KORS scale. There was, however, some difference in the modal CEMSS scores. A t-test for the difference between secure and

insecure subjects' modal scores was statistically significant. Surprisingly however, results did not occur in the predicted direction. With the use of modal scores, insecure subjects had a better quality of object representation than subjects with a secure attachment status.

Clearly, the CEMSS was more sensitive to differences between secure and insecure subjects. Therefore, it was decided to examine subjects' raw scores on the CEMSS scale categories, in order to see whether any of the subcategories were contributing more or less than the others to the overall data results (see Table 5). There was no difference in how insecure versus secure subjects perceived themselves and very little difference in 3 of the 4 other categories. The greatest difference was in perception of environment. The secure subjects scored higher in this category, suggesting that individuals who are securely attached perceive their environment as more supportive, safe, and caring than do individuals with an insecure attachment status. However, the difference was not large enough to merit statistical analysis.

In an effort to understand the overall findings, a decision was made to look more closely at individual attachment classifications. This analysis revealed that the enmeshed subjects scored higher overall in all five categories (see Table 6). These scores also showed that the "U" (unresolved) subjects scored the lowest in all categories. The dismissing and secure subjects had scores similar to one another. A similar assessment on the first early memory of mother revealed no significant difference between attachment groups. A final analysis was performed to determine if there was a difference in

attachment style between the five best differentiated subjects and the five least differentiated subjects. With both scales, there were secure and insecure subjects in both the most and the least differentiated groups; thus, this analysis was also unproductive.

The overall results did not support the proposed hypotheses. With the use of the KORS scale there was no significant difference in the quality of object representation between secure and insecure subjects. The CEMSS, however, was somewhat more sensitive to subtle differences between attachment classifications. As expected, the CEMSS reflected the enmeshed subjects' preoccupation and hypervigilance; their scores in the 5 categories were the highest. This can be seen as evidence for the unresolved subjects' disorganization; their scores were the lowest in all categories. Two surprising findings with the CEMSS scale were 1) the discovery that secure and dismissing subjects perceived their environment, others, themselves, and interpersonal contact in a comparable manner and 2) that when utilizing modal scores, insecure subjects are significantly more differentiated in their quality of object representation than are secure subjects. The results of this study did not statistically support the proposed hypotheses, but there were trends in the expected direction. What remains of interest and necessitates further research are results that contradict findings that have been replicated multiple times in the literature.

Chapter Five

Discussion

The aim of this study was to gain a better understanding of how attachment is internalized and to assess subjects' object relational world. In accord with prior research (Levine & Tuber, 1992), it was expected that there would be a significant positive relationship between subjects' attachment styles and the quality of their object relations. It was expected that subjects with a secure attachment status would exhibit a more positive and differentiated quality of object representation than subjects with insecure attachment status. It was also expected that both object relations scales would be correlated, since they were assumed to measure the same or similar phenomena. However, the results failed to support these hypotheses. With this sample, there appears to be no significant difference in the degree of differentiation in subjects' object representations (as reflected in their early memories) when comparing women based on their attachment classifications (secure vs. insecure). In comparing the raw scores (see Table 1), it became clear that there was little variability between subjects' scores in the object relations domain: these findings suggest that, irrespective of attachment status, these subjects all had comparable levels of differentiation in the quality of their object representation.

This finding was unexpected considering the implications of a secure versus insecure attachment status. A secure attachment status implies that the subject's internal world is more integrated. It implies that subjects have the ability to objectively assess

attachment relationships while concurrently acknowledging their subjective experience and impact. A secure status implies that conflicts in early relationships have been processed and are understood in context. By definition, an insecure attachment status implies that early conflicts have not been worked through and thus internal representations of relationships remain dynamically conflictual. Given that the internal representations of securely attached people are supposed to be more positive in nature and more differentiated, it is surprising that this study was unable to distinguish subjects based on the quality of their internal object representations.

This study aimed to understand the quality of subjects' object relations by assessing their attachment classifications and early memories. Greenberg and Mitchell (1983) state that both of these constructs assess object relational phenomena. It was therefore expected that there would be a positive significant relationship between subjects' obtained levels of object representations on each scale. However, Spear and Lapidus (1981) state that different projective techniques can potentially assess different aspects of object relational phenomena. Although not clear how, it seems possible that the KORS and the CEMSS might have been assessing different aspects of the same phenomena. With respect to the KORS, Spear and Lapidus claim that it works best when used in conjunction with other scales that assess similar phenomena; independently however, they believe the KORS works best with dreams. Using the KORS as an independent measure in the statistical analysis to assess object representation in early memories may have been an oversight in this study.

The only analysis that provided significant results was contrary to the predicted direction. Using the CEMSS scale, the modal scores showed a significant difference in the quality of object representations when comparing subjects with an insecure versus a secure attachment status. Surprisingly, when modal scores were examined, insecure subjects had a more positive and differentiated quality of object relations than securely attached subjects; insecure subjects tended to score higher more frequently than the secure subjects. It is important to state here that the use of modal scores has been noted as being problematic and thus these significant results may be an artifact of using modal scores and not reflective of a true difference in the quality of object relations between securely and insecurely attached subjects. The complex nature of the overall results is difficult to understand and explain and seems to be a function of this particular sample.

In explaining object representations Fairbairn (1954) wrote that in a perfect world there is no need for internalizing objects. However, the world is not perfect and neither are caretakers. Therefore the infant, in an effort to manage negative experiences, develops compensatory internal objects that make up for deprivation in the real world. Fairbairn viewed object relations, in part, as a defensive maneuver to counteract experiences that contribute to a poor quality of attachment. It seems possible that the results of this study are reflective of Fairbairn's theorizing. It is plausible that the insecure subjects in this study unconsciously provided early memories that reflected more positive relationships and perceptions of people (see Table 6) as a means of defending against more primitive internal objects and thus seemed as differentiated as secure subjects, if not more. With the

AAI, the possibility of this occurring is minimized because of the nature of the classification system. With the EMT, however, this cannot be controlled. Thus, providing more defended memories, as is postulated by Fairbairn, remains a possibility.

In further trying to understand these results, it seems important to consider that when using early memories to assess object relations, what may be tapped is a dynamic phantasy and not reality. Recall that early memories express psychological truths more than objective truths (Mayman, 1968). If an individual develops compensatory internal objects, as Fairbairn (1954) believed, then it is likely that there will exist memories to support and express these psychological truths. The literature (Krohn & Mayman, 1974, Last & Bruhn, 1935, Bruhn, 1985/1990) shows that early memories tap into an individual's object relational world and can be used to assess the internal repertoire of interpersonal relations. These recollections, however, can be distorted and can serve as "screen memories" (Freud, 1950). Freud believed that memories were distorted recollections that protect an individual from confronting the actual occurrence of past events. One could speculate that in the recollections provided by the insecure subjects some of the negative aspects of their relationships were suppressed, or that subjects attempted to present themselves in a better light.

By the same token, one could also speculate that the securely attached subjects in this sample may not be as differentiated as expected and are therefore difficult to tease apart from the insecurely attached subjects. Birbring et al. (1961) noted that a woman's

first pregnancy is a biologically determined maturational crisis that leads to regressed behavior as a result of the profound psychological changes a woman undergoes as she prepares to move from the level of single independent individual to motherhood. These authors stated that women experience "a regressive shift with the emergence of developmentally earlier patterns of behavior, attitudes, and wishes. (p. 19)." It seems plausible to speculate that with this sample, subjects' quality of object representation was affected by this normative regressive shift of pregnancy and can thusly account for the unexpected results in this study. Perhaps the securely attached subjects in this sample provided early memories reflective of chaos or conflicts in childhood and therefore exhibited a more compromised quality of object relations when looking at their early memories in isolation; perhaps the insecurely attached subjects, in particular the unresolved subjects, provided early memories that were more reflective of their wishes than of reality. Recall that with the AAI it is not the content of the recollections that is assessed. Rather, it is how memories are recalled in the present that determines attachment status. It is therefore possible to have a secure attachment status while providing memories that reflect otherwise. In assessing the quality of object representations, the AAI emphasizes one's personal current assessment of early experiences before assigning a classification. When looking at an early memories protocol only, this type of vital information is not accounted for. Given this discrepancy in the assessment procedures for these varying tools, it is reasonable to suggest that the obtained results be accepted with caution.

Due to the complex and contradictory nature of these results, a breakdown by specific attachment category was done in order to assess whether a specific category was contributing more than the others towards the results. Looking at the raw data revealed that the five unresolved/disorganized ("U") insecure subjects' scores were responsible for raising the mean on both scales when looking at the modal scores. Interestingly enough, the same unresolved/disorganized subjects had the lowest scores when looking at the first spontaneous memory (see Table 2), and they looked the least differentiated across all five categories that are used to assess object relations on the CEMSS scale (see Table 6); the latter being more reflective of what is expected with insecurely attached subjects. The "U" category is the only one that gets assigned a second best fitting F, E, or D classification. It is a specific category within the AAI that speaks to unresolved trauma or loss. The transcripts of these individuals tend to be disorganized and irrational when discussing unresolved trauma. The discrepancy between having the highest modal scores and looking the least differentiated with the first early memory and across all five categories on the CEMSS scale speaks to the internal struggles and conflicts these individuals experience. This insecure attachment category seems to be the most precarious and perhaps the least understood (thus the need to assign a forced choice category). This group is clearly the most conflicted when it comes to attachment and the polarized results emphasize this split.

In describing the unresolved/disorganized ("U") subjects, Main and Hesse (1990) state that these individuals experience lapses in the metacognitive monitoring of their reasoning and discourse processes when discussing the unresolved trauma or loss. That is,

these individuals have early chaotic or erroneous beliefs about a particular loss that remains unexamined (i.e. unresolved). When an unresolved individual begins to discuss this belief, it is as if he/she temporarily enters a special state of mind in which orientation to the usual conventional structures are absent (pp. 168-169). For these individuals, discussing the trauma appears to temporarily alter their normal state of consciousness and they are temporarily transported to a compartmentalized mental space where the unresolved trauma or loss is housed. Thus, their discourse becomes disoriented as they lose contact with reality for the moment. Individuals with an unresolved attachment status cannot objectively reflect on the trauma or loss and intense discussion of it becomes an overwhelming and disorganizing process. This disorganization, however, is temporary; these individuals eventually return to current reality. The "U" attachment classification is reflective of these temporary lapses in metacognition and speaks to the unresolved trauma or loss; because it is a momentary lapse in orientation, it is necessary to assign a second best fitting classification to account for their attachment status overall and not simply in relation to the disorganizing event.

Out of the five unresolved/disorganized subjects in this study, three had a secure ("F) second best-fitting attachment classification. This perhaps explains why when looking at modal scores insecure subjects appeared to be more differentiated in their quality of object representation than securely attached subjects. It seems reasonable to speculate that if these three subjects had not had unresolved trauma (and thus assigned a secure attachment status only) the results in this study may have validated the proposed

hypotheses. The polarized manner in which these subjects appeared in this study--the most differentiated in modal scores, the least differentiated in everything else--speaks to the complexity inherent in this attachment classification. The lapses in the metacognition of unresolved/disorganized subjects is an area of study that is currently under inspection; researchers have yet to comprehend the full impact of this process and how it relates to internalized representations (Main, 1995).

An overall look at the results of this study shows trends that are not supported by what is outlined in the literature when it comes to describing the relationship between attachment and object relations. The complex results also shows that despite the recent gains that have been made in understanding attachment and object relations, there remain many things that need to be further explored before a more comprehensive understanding of this intricate phenomena can be obtained.

Limitations of the Study

In this study several difficulties were encountered that may have contributed to the results. First, this study had a very small sample size and very little variance between subjects' scores. Also, this was a Caucasian and well educated sample and thus not representative of potential differences that can emerge across cultures. It is difficult to generalize these results given the structure of the sample. This is especially so since not all the categories were evenly represented. There were 15 subjects with a secure attachment classification and 15 more subjects made up the three insecure groups. It seems reasonable

to speculate that the secure subjects were a more homogenous group and thus more representative of what is outlined in the literature. The insecure categories, however, were not as well represented. Each of these insecure categories captures a different experience with attachment figures. Thus, it seems unfair and a disservice to research overall to believe that each of these categories was fairly represented in this study. Given this, the effects obtained in this study are even more equivocal and encourage further assessment and understanding of the insecure attachment groups.

Some consideration should be given to the assessment tools used in this study as numerous problems were encountered; some of these pitfalls have also been experienced by other researchers. First, some researchers (e.g. Last & Bruhn, 1983, Spear & Lapidus, 1981) believe that early memories alone may not be sufficient to speak to an individual's perception of self and other and recommend that early memories be used in conjunction with other tools as a means of making predictions about an individual's sense of self and other. Despite early memories being considered a valid projective tool, there are variables that can confound their utility. For example, Freud (1950) referred to screen memories and how they serve the function of keeping actual events from consciousness. Bruhn (1990) spoke about the affect connected to early memories and suggested that the individual generally has more access to memories that are congruent with their affective state at the moment. It seems possible that variables such as these may have been at play in this study. It is impossible to say with accuracy if these or any other variables had any impact on the

current study. However, they should be considered when assessing the overall obtained results.

Another limitation to consider is the KORS scale, which may not provide the best means of assessing object relations via early memories. The minimal variability noted across subjects can in part be attributed to using this scale. Mayman (1974) noted that when applied to early memories, the KORS provides a narrower index of an individual's level of object representation than when applied to Rorschach protocols. This is because the KORS scale was initially intended for dreams. Thus, at the lower end of the continuum it pulls for quite primitive interpersonal relations and perceptions of self or others that are usually seen in dreams only, such as figures that are robot like or monsters or a world devoid of humans. By the same token, at the higher end it pulls for a degree of differentiation and integration that is reflective of sophisticated interpersonal awareness. In applying this scale to early memories, it seemed more difficult to capture the extreme manifestations of object representations. It also seems fair to speculate that perhaps the raters' inexperience with this scale may have contributed to the overall results. The KORS scale is generally used by skilled clinicians. Despite their being a high interrater reliability with the KORS, it is nevertheless a possibility that both raters were not sophisticated enough in the use of this scale. In future studies, the expertise of the clinician should be carefully considered if using the KORS scale.

Overall, the results of this study, though unexpected, were quite revealing and informative. The most powerful outcome was the realization that there is still more to learn about human relations and their impact on our lives overall. In addition, the concept of object relations needs to be further defined operationally. It remains unclear why one scale, the CEMSS, was somewhat capable of differentiating secure from insecure subjects based on the quality of their object representations and the other scale, the KORS, was not. From their review of the literature, Stricker and Healey (1990) contend that the concept of object relations lacks construct validity; they suggest that it is possible to assume that all projective tools assess some aspect of object relational phenomena. The results in this study reflect this clearly. Each tool assessed some facet of the individual's object relational world, but it was clear that the tools were not measuring the same phenomena, as there was no relationship between the scale measures themselves.

The internalization of the parent-child dyadic relationship is a fascinating phenomenon that necessitates further study. There is still so much that is not known about the processes that take place in this complex phenomenological experience. Researchers need to further understand the process of internalizing early attachment experiences so that counteractive methods can be developed to address dysfunctional attachment patterns. At this point in the development of attachment research, it is clear that we are only beginning to understand how attachment is internalized and transmitted over the generations. At this time, it seems necessary to conduct further research with more diverse samples (e.g. economically, culturally), so that we can gain a better understanding of this process and

move to the level where the recurrence of dysfunctional attachment patterns between mother and child can be halted.

TABLE 1

Secure versus Insecure Mean Scores

Attachment Status	Object Relations Scale	Mean Score	Stan Dev.	Level of Significance	Point Biserial Correlation
Secure	KORS	5.43	.42	t=0.1232, NS	rpb=0.02, NS
Insecure	KORS	5.40	.47		
Secure	CEMSS	10.07	.85	t=0.1823, NS	rpb=0.34, NS
Insecure	CEMSS	10.01	.77		

TABLE 2

First Early Memory Mean Scores by Attachment Classification

A	B	C	D	E	F
No. of Subjects	Attach. Status	Mean Obj-Rep Scores-KORS	KORS* Range	Mean Obj-Rep Scores-CEMSS	CEMSS* Range
15	F**	5.0	3-7	9.40	5.5-14.5
6	D	5.5	4-8	10.42	9-13.5
4	E	5.5	4-6	10.13	7-13
5	U	4.6	1-6	7.10	5-9.5

NOTE. Statistical analyses were not done.

*KORS scale= 1-8 points
*CEMSS scale= 5.5-15 points

**F=secure attachment
D=dismissing/detached attachment
E=enmeshed attachment
U=unresolved/disorganized attachment

TABLE 3

High/Low Extreme Scores by Attachment Classification

Obj-Rep Scale	Secure Attach. Status	Insecure Attach. Status	Level of Significance
	Free (F)	D/E/U	
HIGH KORS	6.93	7.00	No statistics done
LOW KORS	3.67	3.67	No statistics done
HIGH CEMSS	13.9	13.57	t=0.878, NS
LOW CEMSS	6.80	6.63	t=0.403, NS

TABLE 4

Secure versus Insecure Modal Scores

Obj-Rep Scale	Secure Attach. Status (F)	SEC S.D.	Insecure Attach. Status (D/E/U)	INS. S.D.	Level of Significance	Point Biserial r
KORS	5.6	.91	5.13	.990	t=1.312, NS	0.241, NS
CEMSS	9.82	2.34	10.04	2.21	t=-2.24, $p<.05$	0.402, $p<.05$

TABLE 5

Secure versus Insecure by CEMSS Subcategories*

	SECURE	INSECURE
PERCEPTION OF SELF	22.8	22.8
PERCEPTION OF OTHERS	19.7	20.3
PERCEPTION IF ENVIRONMENT	27.1	25.9
INDIVIDUAL DISTINCTINCT.	21.4	21.3
INTERPERSONAL CONTACT	21.1	22.0

*NOTE. Limited variability dismissed need for statistical analysis.

TABLE 6

Mean CEMSS scores by Subcategory and Attachment Classification*

	F	U	E	D
PERCEP. OF SELF	22.8	17.0	26.8	24.1
PERCEP. OF OTHERS	19.7	15.8	22.9	20.1
PERCEP. OF ENVIRON.	27.1	18.5	31.9	26.8
INDIVIDUAL DISTICNCT.	21.4	17.3	33.6	22.4
INTERP. CONTACT	21.1	16.3	26.6	22.3

*NOTE. Statistical analysis not done.

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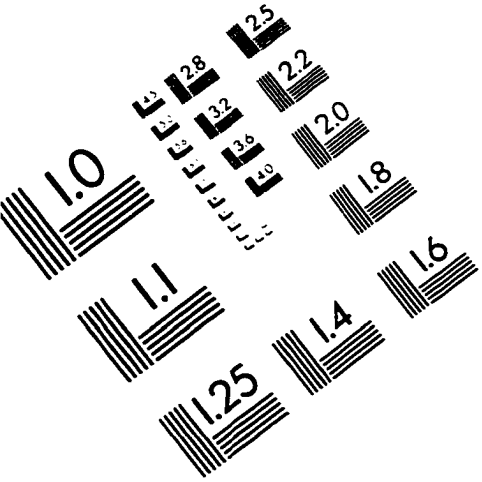
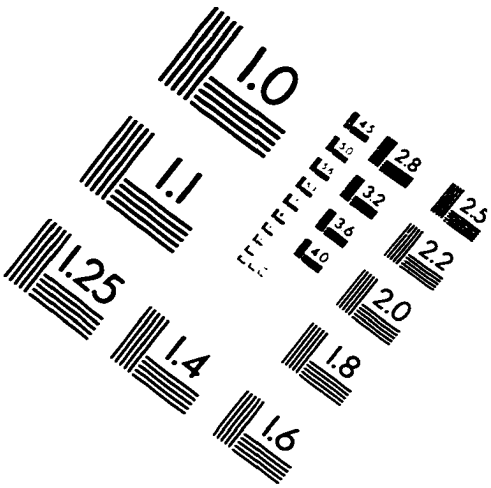
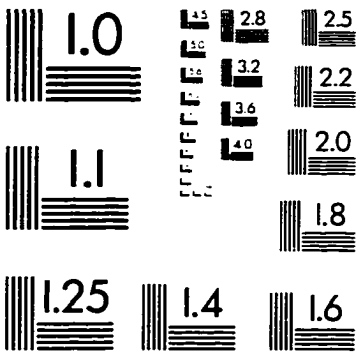
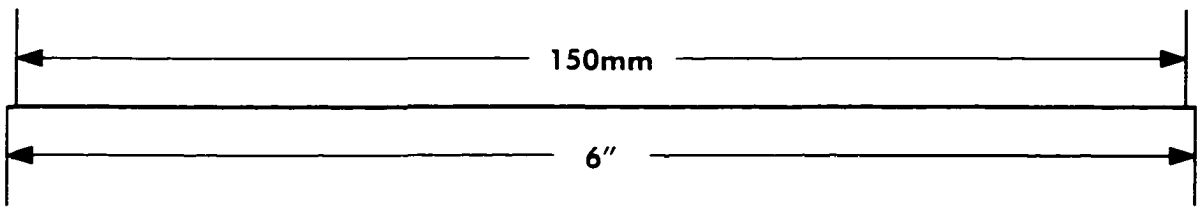
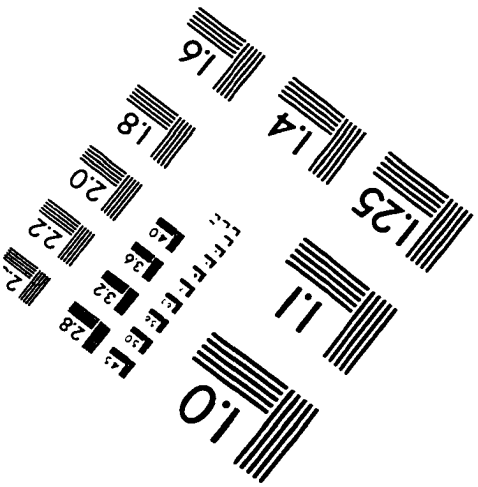
IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (QA-3)

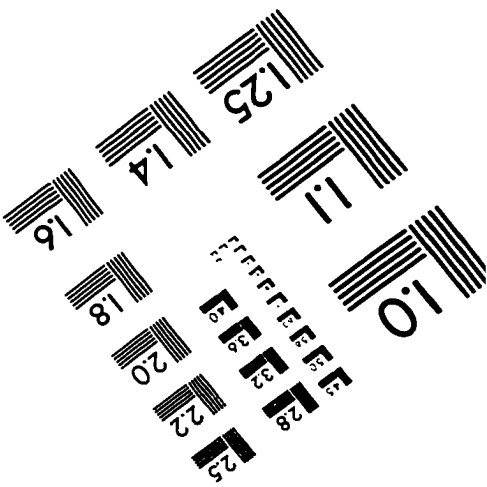












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