

**PATTERNS IN WOMEN'S DEVELOPMENT: INTERRELATIONSHIPS  
AMONG ATTACHMENT, IDENTITY AND COGNITIVE  
SOPHISTICATION**

by

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## **Abstract**

The purpose of this study was to examine the interrelationships among women's conceptualizations of their childhood relationships (attachment), their sense of who they are (identity), and their understanding of children's development and child rearing (cognitive sophistication). A secondary goal was to predict the security of children's attachment from their mothers' standing on attachment, identity, and cognitive sophistication. One hundred and six women between the ages of 21 and 44 (mean age of 32), with children between the ages of 14 and 43 months (mean age of 29 months), were interviewed to determine their attachment style and identity status. Women's cognitive sophistication and their children's security of attachment were also assessed. With respect to women's development, the results indicated that women with a Secure attachment style were more often found in the committed identity statuses (Achievement/Foreclosure), while among the uncommitted identity statuses (Moratorium/Diffusion) a Fearful attachment style predominated. Cognitive sophistication varied as a function of an interaction between identity status and the security of family attachment. There was no significant difference in cognitive sophistication between Secure-Achieved and Secure-Foreclosed women, yet Insecure-Achieved women were significantly more sophisticated in their understanding of children's development than Insecure-Foreclosed women. These findings suggest that there may be two distinct patterns of Identity Achievement and Foreclosure. Women's level of development was not predictive of the security of their children's attachment. The interrelationships among the constructs were discussed in terms of six patterns of women's psychological development.

## **Dedication**

**To my family,  
Delories, Ronald, Irene and Frances MacKinnon,  
and to my partner,  
Rob Beynon.**

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## **Chapter 1**

### **Introduction**

**This study focuses on the structural organization of women's psychological development, drawing upon the major developmental personality theories of attachment, ego identity and cognition. A similarity among these theories is that they all postulate a process of developing increasingly complex, differentiated and integrated internal structures (Werner, 1948) with regards to one's self, others, and the world.**

**The primary goal of this research is to examine the interrelationships among the structural levels of women's personality development as assessed by constructs derived from theories of attachment, identity, and cognition. More specifically, this research investigates the linkages among women's conceptualizations of their childhood relationships with their parents (attachment history), their sense of who they are (identity), as well as their conceptualization and understanding of children's development and child rearing (parental cognition). The main hypothesis is that there will be congruence among the levels of women's psychological functioning in the areas assessed.**

**A secondary goal of this research is to predict the security of children's attachment from their mothers' standing on measures that assess the constructs of attachment, identity and cognition. Researchers in the areas of attachment (Main, Kaplan & Cassidy, 1985), identity (Marcia, 1988), and cognition (Newberger, 1987; Sameroff & Feil, 1984; Sigel, 1984) have postulated that parents' levels of psychological development have implications for children's psychological development. Hence, a secondary hypothesis of this research is that women who are psychologically mature**

with respect to attachment, identity and parental cognition will have children who are high in security of attachment.

In addition to the goals of this study there are two themes which underlie this work: the developmental relationship among the constructs assessed; and women's negotiation of autonomy and connection. These two themes will be presented briefly prior to discussing the theoretical foundations on which this research rests. Simply put, the first thread proposed to connect the constructs assessed in this research is that developmentally, secure attachment representations and high levels of cognitive development precede or coincide with adolescents' ability to explore identity-related alternatives in order to self-construct an identity.

The second theme, is that the present study can be conceptualized as an exploration of women's negotiation of autonomy and connection. On one hand, attachment is considered a relational construct, and on the other hand, identity has been conceptualized as a measure of individuation (Franz & White, 1985; Grotevant & Cooper, 1985, 1986; Waterman, 1981). Autonomy and connection are conceptualized as dialectical themes, or processes, with which people struggle throughout their lives.<sup>1</sup> Rather than being perceived as dual or polar opposites, autonomy and connection are viewed as mutually interdependent and interrelated processes. For example, as individuals become increasingly individuated in their relationships they can reach deeper levels of intimacy and relatedness, and vice versa.

Traditionally, ego psychoanalytic (Blos, 1967) and object relations (Greenberg & Mitchell, 1983) theorists focussed on separation and

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<sup>1</sup>Autonomy will also be referred to as individuation and separateness; connection will also be referred to as relatedness and intimacy.

individuation as the goals of development. Recent researchers and theorists such as Eichenbaum and Orbach (1983), Franz and White (1985), Grotevant and Cooper (1985, 1986), Jordan, Kaplan, Miller, Stivers, and Surrey (1991), and Patterson (1991) postulated that optimal or mature psychological development involves both autonomy and connection. Individuation and relatedness are conceived to be aspects of relationships (Grotevant & Cooper, 1986); however, the ability to develop and sustain autonomy and connection within a relationship is a function of the individual's levels of psychological development.

It is proposed that individuals capable of developing and sustaining connected and autonomous relationships are likely to be sensitive and responsive to children, providing adaptive and healthy caregiving environments. Such individuals value themselves and their children as unique persons who mutually influence each other over time (Newberger, 1978; Newberger & Cook, 1983; Sameroff, 1975). They understand that to optimally care for others they must take care of themselves and their own needs (Bradley & Marcia, 1993; Gilligan, 1982; Newberger, 1978, 1987; Newberger & Cook, 1983).

A minority of the population actually attains the optimum levels of development posited in theoretical models. Considering the model of autonomy and connection discussed, most people probably fall somewhere between the two unintegrated themes or processes of excessive or pseudo-autonomy with minimal or shallow connections to others (detachment) or excessive pseudo-relatedness with minimal individuation (enmeshment). The level of integration of these characteristics is a function of a variety of factors, such as individuals' developmental history, their unique physiological or

biological make-up, their societal and cultural values and mores, and the historical time in which they live.

The present study examines the quality of women's experiences of relatedness (attachment) and individuation (identity), as well as assessing levels of parental cognition and children's security of attachment. This research did not examine extrapsychic or external factors in the lives of women such as social support and relationship satisfaction. Nor did it explore children's contributions to the security of their attachment.

As just mentioned, the role of culture and society is not specifically examined in the present study, however, it is the author's opinion that societal values and mores do impact significantly on individuals' psychological development. Therefore the role of gender, culture and society will be briefly discussed.

Women have been perceived traditionally as emotional, irrational, and close to nature, with themes of relatedness and dependence being central to their lives. Conversely, men have been viewed as rational and the purveyors of culture, with themes of autonomy and independence being predominate (e.g., Eichenbaum & Orbach, 1983; Kheel, 1990; Miller, 1976; Tong, 1989). Moreover, North American patriarchal culture values characteristics associated with maleness while devaluing the attributes associated with femaleness. The values of individualism, war and domination have been extolled at the expense of nurturing, compassion and caregiving (Christ, 1990; Eisler, 1987; Rich, 1986).

These psychological gender differences and the values placed on them are part of the cultural mythology and pervade almost all areas of life influencing individuals' self-concepts, their relationships, the careers they choose, how they raise their children, as well as how they are treated by

individuals and institutions. This cultural mythology has also prevailed within psychology with theories of individuation, separateness and independence being held as evidence of psychological maturity (Jordan, et al., 1991). In recent years, however, there has been increasing discussion of the importance of *both* autonomy and connection for *both* male and female development (e.g., Chodorow, 1978; Gilligan, 1982; Grotevant & Cooper, 1986; Jordan et al., 1991; Marcia, 1992; Miller, 1976). The present study attempts to explore the relationships between women's individuation from their families and their connection with their families.

Prior to discussing the current study in more detail the theoretical foundations of this research will be discussed. Chapter 2 is devoted to attachment, Chapter 3 examines identity status and Chapter 4 discusses parental cognition.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Attachment**

#### ***Attachment Theory***

John Bowlby, a psychoanalyst heavily influenced by object relation theorists, proposed an ethological-evolutionary approach to the understanding of human behaviour in general, and specifically, to children's ties to their mothers. According to Bowlby's attachment theory (Ainsworth, 1980), infants are innately predisposed to behave in a manner which promotes proximity and contact to caregivers during times of distress. The biological function of attachment is protection of the infant, ultimately increasing the probability of survival. The psychological set-goal of attachment is "felt security" promoting exploration in the absence of stress (Bretherton, 1985).

With increasing age, attachment behaviours change; however, the underlying organization of attachment is considered to be relatively enduring. Bowlby (1982) proposed "that a child's attachment behavior is controlled by a behavioral system conceived as an organization existing within the child" (p. 317). This behavioural system is conceptually tied to what Bowlby called internal working models. He viewed the attachment system as drawing upon internal working models which are symbolic representations of the self, the attachment figure (other), and the general environment (the world). The concept of internal working models and the

underlying attachment system are the most intriguing and valuable contributions of Bowlby's theory.<sup>2</sup>

Children, through continual transactions with their primary caregivers and significant others, gradually construct increasingly complex, differentiated and integrated internal working models of self, other, and the world (Bretherton, 1985). During this time of rapid development the internal models are most responsive to changes in the environment (Bowlby, 1988). Once the attachment system and internal working models have developed, however, they have a tendency to operate outside of conscious awareness, to be relatively enduring, resistant to dramatic change, and self-perpetuating (Bowlby, 1982, 1988; Swann, 1988).

Throughout life there is a dynamic interplay between internal representations of attachment and interpersonal experiences. Internal working models of self and other develop in the context of interpersonal relationships, and once consolidated they tend to moderate our experience and behaviour in current and prospective interpersonal relationships, with respect to whom we choose to interact, as well as how we conceptualize, appraise, and understand relationships. In general, adult interpersonal experiences tend to consolidate and preserve existing internal working models (Swann, 1988).

In addition to the dynamic relationship between internal representations and interpersonal experience, it is likely that a dynamic relationship exists between internal representations of self and other and the manner in which developmental tasks, such as identity formation and parenthood, are approached and resolved. The occurrence of developmental

<sup>2</sup>Internal working models will also be referred to as internal representations.

tasks or crises may also have implication for the reorganization of internal representations.

Although resistant to change, internal representations are active constructs capable of reorganization and reconstruction (Main, Kaplan & Cassidy, 1985). Revision or reorganization, although difficult, would most likely occur during times of relevant developmental tasks or crisis (Ricks, 1985), such as identity formation or parenthood, and in the context of an emotionally close interpersonal relationship.

Ricks (1985) discussed change and reorganization of representational models of attachment based on Epstein's theory of personality. She proposed that change most likely occurs during particular times of the life cycle (e.g., adolescence or the birth of a child) through an emotionally significant experience and in the context of an interpersonal relationship. More specifically, she outlined three types of relationships which can provide an emotionally corrective experience. The first involves change across time in the primary attachment relationship; second, experience in numerous relationships which repeatedly challenge and disconfirm earlier internal working models of attachment; and third, a significant emotional experience occurring in the context of a single relationship (e.g., marriage, psychotherapy). Such a proposition receives indirect support from research by Rutter (1979) which suggests that having at least one stable relationship with an adult (e.g. teacher, neighbour) can be a "protective factor" against some of the detrimental effects of being raised in a disruptive family environment.

To summarize, the attachment system and the corresponding internal working models are theoretically important in that they moderate the experience of ourselves and our interpersonal relationships influencing the



manner in which developmental crises/tasks are approached and resolved, thus affecting psychological health.

### ***Attachment During Infancy and Childhood***

The Ainsworth Strange Situation (Ainsworth & Wittig, 1969) has become the standard method for classifying attachment behaviour in 12 to 18 month old infants. The procedure consists of eight three-minute standardized episodes in which an infant's behaviour is observed in an unfamiliar setting, in the presence and absence of an unfamiliar female adult, with the infant's mother present or absent. Infant behaviour directed towards the mother and stranger are rated and then matched to prototypical descriptions of each category of attachment (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters & Wall, 1978). The attachment classification reflects primarily the behaviour the infant displayed during the reunion episodes with the caregiver. Although it is the infant's behaviour which is assessed in determining the quality of the attachment, Ainsworth (Ainsworth, et al., 1978) considered an attachment classification to reflect the quality of caregiving an infant has received.

There are three empirically derived classifications and eight subgroups of attachment behaviour (Lamb, 1987). Infants are considered to be *securely* attached when they behave in a manner Bowlby considered most evolutionarily adaptive. That is, in the absence of stress the infant uses the caregiver as a secure base from which to explore the environment, and when distressed the infant seeks contact or reassurance from the parent. The other two groups are both considered to be *insecurely* or *anxiously* attached because their behaviour deviates from the adaptive securely attached pattern (Lamb, 1987). *Avoidant* infants tend to ignore or avoid their caregivers

especially upon reunion, and insecure infants are considered to have an *ambivalent* attachment because they oscillate between contact-seeking and angry rejection of their caregiver during reunion.

Since the Ainsworth Strange Situation was developed much research has been devoted to understanding the constructs of secure and insecure attachment. Research has demonstrated (Waters, 1978) that in middle class samples an attachment classification is stable from 12 to 18 months of age. A classification of secure attachment versus insecure has been found to differentiate between children's competence with peers, their self-esteem, curiosity, enthusiasm, persistence in problem solving, independence, frequency of behaviour problems, ability to cope with novelty and failure, among other things (Sroufe, 1985). Longitudinal research suggests that securely attached infants from stable caregiving environments are more competent (Sroufe, 1983; 1985), even up to six years of age (Main, et al., 1985).<sup>3</sup>

### ***Attachment during Adolescence and Adulthood***

Until recently attachment research has been confined to infancy and early childhood with little attention paid to attachment throughout the lifespan. According to Bowlby's (1979) theory the attachment behavioural system and the corresponding internal working models are an integral part of human behaviour throughout the lifespan "from the cradle to the grave" (p. 129). To understand attachment from infancy to old age, theoretical and empirical research must explore changes in the expression and manifestation

<sup>3</sup>There is, however, an ongoing debate over the coherence and stability of attachment. Refer to Lamb (1987), and Sroufe (1979; 1983) for discussion of this issue.

of internal working models, as well as in the external objects of attachment. Research on adult attachment has proliferated in recent years as a result of the development of measures to assess attachment in adults. This section will discuss attachment theory and research as it pertains to adults.

Weiss (1982) was one of the first to address the developmental changes in adolescent attachment. He described adolescence and young adulthood as a time when most individuals begin to separate, psychologically and/or physically, from their primary attachment figures, their parents or caregivers. He proposed that adolescents' attachment to their parents does not gradually wane or fade, but rather, adolescents experience increasingly prolonged interruptions of ongoing attachment relationships which continue to become more frequent and of longer duration. The result is that the attachment behaviour towards parents becomes absent for increasingly longer periods of time with brief resurgences of attachment behaviour occasionally taking place. As adolescents and young adults relinquish their parents as primary attachment figures they become attached to emotionally important same- or opposite-sexed peers.

According to Weiss (1982) indicators of attachment, comparable to those in infancy, exist in emotionally important adolescent and adult relationships. For example, wanting to be with the attachment figure especially during times of (dis)stress, feeling increased comfort and decreased anxiety when in the presence of the attachment figure, and feeling distressed when there is a disagreement, separation, or threat of separation from the attachment figure. Shaver, Hazan and Bradshaw (1988) also proposed that early childhood love relationships with parents and adult romantic love relationships are both, in a sense, attachment. Shaver and his colleagues

(1988) provide a comprehensive comparison of features of attachment and parallel features of romantic love.

In addition to discussing the similarities between infant and adult attachment, several authors have addressed how they differ. Weiss (1982) proposed three fundamental ways in which children's and adults' attachments differ. Adult attachment occurs in relationship to peer(s) rather than caregivers. The attachment is generally directed towards an individual with whom there is also a sexual relationship. And attachment in adults does not generally overwhelm other behavioural systems as it often does in infancy. Hazan, Hutt, Sturgeon and Bricker (1991) agreed with Weiss that adult attachments differ from childhood attachments in that they are reciprocal rather than complementary, and that the attachment figure is usually a sexual partner. Hazan and her colleagues (1991) along with Bretherton (1985) and Main and her colleagues (1985) suggested that attachments in adulthood and childhood differ because what was initially concrete behaviour in children becomes more psychological in adolescents and adults. For example, in adulthood there are many factors besides fear which influence proximity seeking, such as interpersonal attraction and sexual interest. With a slightly different twist, West, Livesley, Reiffer and Sheldon (1986) suggested that adults' attachment is less instinctual than infants', relying more on feedback from higher order processes. For example, adults recognize dangers such as threats to one's integrity and self-concept.

The process that children and adolescents go through in relinquishing parents as attachment figures in favour of peers and romantic partners has been empirically studied by Hazan, Hutt, Sturgeon & Bricker (1991). Hazan and associates explored the extent to which children, adolescents and adults differ in their reported use of parents and peers with respect to the three

defining features or functions of attachment: secure base, safe haven, and proximity-seeking or separation protest. Secure base behaviour was described as exploration in the presence of the attachment figure; safe haven behaviour is displayed when a person ceases exploration and returns to the caregiver or peer when distressed or when there is a perceived threat; and proximity seeking and separation protest are demonstrated by wanting to be near a caregiver or peer and resisting being separated from them. Contrary to Weiss, Hazan and her colleagues (1991) hypothesized that attachment functions would be gradually transferred from parent to peer, with proximity-seeking being the first to shift, and secure base being the last.

As hypothesized (Hazan et al., 1991), proximity seeking (not including separation protest) was found to be the first attachment behaviour to be transferred from parent to peers, followed by safe haven, and lastly, secure base. Children as young as five to seven years old often preferred to spend time with their friends (proximity seeking) but did not want to be separated from their parents and used them as a safe haven and secure base. By age eleven children relied more on friends for emotional support and comfort (safe haven), however, not until adulthood were parents relinquished as a secure base. Adults clearly relied on peers as attachment figures, with most of the attachment figures being romantic sexual partners. Unexpectedly Hazan found that proximity seeking and separation protest were not two aspects of the same process.

West and associates (1986) delineated three types of normal adult attachments differentiated by whom the attachment object is: a dependent child; a peer, lover or spouse; or a parent. A superior attachment is one involving the protection of dependent children, whereas a reciprocal attachment involves an alliance with another adult to form a secure base that

is sustaining for oneself and protective for dependents. Finally, residual attachments are affectional ties to one's parents, originating in infancy. Bowlby (1980) would not consider West's superior attachment to be attachment per se, but rather caregiving which he believes arises from a behavioural system complementary to that of the attachment behavioural system.

As a result of the development of new measures based on Bowlby's concept of internal working models of attachment, empirical research has begun to explore the three types of adult attachments delineated by West and his colleagues (1986). Measures have been developed to assess adults' internal working models of their early childhood family experiences (West's residual attachments) (George, Kaplan & Main, 1985; Main & Goldwyn, unpublished manuscript), their internal working models of attachment to peers or intimate partners (West's reciprocal attachment) (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991; Hazan & Shaver, 1987), and parents' internal working models of themselves as caregivers (West's superior attachment) (Bretherton, Biringen, Ridgeway, Maslin & Sherman, 1989; George & Solomon, 1989). A discussion of adults' representation of their childhood attachment relationships will follow. Attachment in the context of caregiving will be discussed in the section on the Intergenerational Transmission of Attachment.

The Adult Attachment Interview (AAI) (George, et al., 1985) was one of the first measures designed to assess adults' internal working models of attachment. Since its development, theory and research on attachment across the lifespan has proliferated. The AAI is a structured interview designed to assess adults' internal working models of attachment and in particular individuals' understanding and conceptualization of their childhood family experiences and relationships. Individuals are asked to

describe their childhood experiences of their parents and family, and to provide general and specific memories of separation and loss, and feelings of being upset, physically hurt, ill, rejected, threatened, and abused. The interview probes the reasons why interviewees believe their parents behaved as they did, changes in their relationships with their parents since childhood, and the effects of childhood family experiences on their personality.

The interviews are rated for childhood experiences of parents in terms of: love, rejection, pushed to achievement, neglect, role-reversal, coherence, and idealization. The interviews are also rated for present state of mind with respect to attachment in terms of: idealization, anger, memory and lack of resolution of mourning. Individuals are classified into one of three or four attachment classifications that correspond to infant attachment classifications. The classifications are believed to reflect "the subject's current overall state of mind with respect to attachment rather than his or her history (or "attachment classification") with any particular person" (Main & Goldwyn, unpublished manuscript, p. 12)

Individuals classified as secure/autonomous (Main, Kaplan & Cassidy, 1985; Main & Goldwyn, unpublished manuscript) value attachment relationships and believe they influence personality development. They provide integrated and coherent interviews discussing and recalling attachment issues with ease. Individuals classified as dismissing devalue the importance of relationships, have little or no memory of their childhood, and are likely to idealize their parents. They often provide descriptions of their parents as rejecting or unloving, however, they minimize or deny the occurrence or effects of such behaviours on themselves. Individuals classified as preoccupied are overly concerned with their relationships to parents. They often describe their parents as overprotective or role reversing, and they

provide an interview that lacks coherency. A fourth classification has been delineated for adults who have unresolved loss or trauma (Main & Solomon, 1986, 1990).

Research with the AAI has demonstrated relationships between parents' internal working models and their children's attachment behaviour (Main & Goldwyn, unpublished manuscript; Main, et al., 1985), their behaviour with their children (Crowell & Feldman, 1988, 1991; Grossmann, Fremmer-Bombik, Rudolph & Grossmann, 1988), and their children's clinical status (Benoit, Zeanah & Barton, 1989; Crowell & Feldman, 1988).

Bartholomew (1990) contributed to attachment theory and research by providing a necessary link between Bowlby's concept of internal working models of self and other and three of Ainsworth's and Main's patterns of attachment. Bartholomew conceptually derived four patterns of attachment depending on whether or not an individual's model of self and other is positive or negative. People with positive self models have good self-concepts and believe themselves to be love worthy, whereas people with negative self models have negative or poor self-concepts, low self-esteem, and view themselves as unlovable or unworthy of love. A person with a positive model of others perceives others as available, caring and trustworthy, whereas a person with a negative model will perceive others as distant, rejecting and uncaring. Refer to Figure 1 for Bartholomew's model of attachment.

According to Bartholomew's model (1990; Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991) individuals who have a positive model of themselves and of others are considered *Secure* in their attachment. Secure individuals are considered to have high self-esteem and self worth, they expect others to be trustworthy, accepting and responsive, and they are comfortable with both intimacy and autonomy. Individuals who have a negative self model but a positive model



of others are considered to be *Preoccupied* in their attachment, otherwise known as ambivalent or enmeshed. Such individuals are overly dependent and characterized by low self-esteem, and feelings of unworthiness, however, they value others and have an overwhelming desire to attain the approval of others. The third style is *Dismissing* or detached and is representative of individuals who have a positive self model and a negative model of others. Such people tend to value independence and autonomy at the expense of relatedness because they believe relationships are unimportant.

Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991) suggested that "Such people protect themselves against disappointment by avoiding close relationships and maintaining a sense of independence and invulnerability" (p. 227). The fourth style, labelled *Fearful*, has not been delineated elsewhere. The internal representations of Fearful individuals for both self and other are negative. Therefore they have a poor self-concept and a sense of unworthiness, and they perceive others as uncaring, rejecting and untrustworthy.

Unlike Main's three category model of attachment, Bartholomew's model (1990; Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991) specifies relationships among the attachment styles. For example, both Fearful and Dismissing individuals have a negative model of others and tend to avoid intimacy, yet there are notable differences between the two styles. People who are Dismissing tend to deny attachment needs and therefore do not desire closer relationships, whereas Fearful individuals are aware of their attachment needs but avoid attachment relationships for fear of being hurt. Bartholomew (1990) suggested that the Dismissing attachment style taken to the extreme corresponds to the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders

classification of schizoid personality disorder, whereas the extreme of the Fearful style corresponds to the avoidant personality disorder.

Bartholomew (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991) modified the Adult Attachment Interview (George et al., 1985) and developed a scoring system consistent with her model of attachment. The Family Attachment Interview (FAI), as it became known, is different from the AAI in that a person receives a rating from one to nine for each of the four attachment styles depending upon their concordance with each of the four attachment prototypes. This rating system provides a more sophisticated examination of attachment than is possible with a single attachment classification provided by the AAI. Another advantage of the FAI is that it is based on Bartholomew's model of attachment which is directly related to Bowlby's conceptualization of self and other internal models of attachment.

In addition to the Family Attachment Interview, Bartholomew (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991) developed the Peer Attachment Interview (PAI), a semi-structured interview used to assess current representations of attachment in terms of close friendships and romantic relationships. In both the FAI and the PAI people are rated for their compatibility to each of Bartholomew's four prototypic attachment styles, as well as on 15 attachment related dimensions.

Using the Peer Attachment Interview Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991) provided support for Bartholomew's model of attachment and hypotheses derived from it. In the first of two studies they demonstrated that the PAI can be used to classify subjects according to the four prototypic attachment styles as described by Bartholomew, and that the four styles of attachment are distinct. Furthermore, results from interview ratings, self-report ratings, and friend-report ratings were all consistent with the

proposed model. As hypothesized there was a positive correlation for subjects' positive representations of self (Secure and Dismissing) with measures of self-concept, whereas there was a negative correlation between subjects with negative representations of self (Fearful and Preoccupied) and measures of self-concept. As expected, sociability was positively correlated with positive representations of others (Secure and Preoccupied), whereas sociability was negatively correlated with negative representations of others (Dismissing and Fearful).

Interestingly, Bartholomew and Horowitz found gender differences in the attachment styles using the PAI. Women rated significantly higher than men in the Preoccupied style, and men rated significantly higher than women in the Dismissing style. These findings are consistent with the literature suggesting that women tend to desire more connectedness, whereas, men desire more independence in friendship and romantic relationships (Eichenbaum & Orbach, 1983; Miller, 1976).

In the second study Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991) demonstrated moderate correlations between the four attachment styles as assessed by the Family Attachment Interview and the Peer Attachment Interview. They concluded that "the four adult attachment styles are meaningfully related to, although by no means reducible to, representations of childhood experiences" (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991, p. 240).

### ***Intergenerational Transmission of Attachment***

Bowlby (1984) suggested that parents' attachment representations have implications for their children's attachment patterns. In his words "successful parenting is a principle key to (the) mental health of the next generation" (Bowlby, 1984, p. 269). Recently studies have begun exploring

what has come to be known as the "intergenerational transmission of attachment."

This section will discuss research on the intergenerational transmission of attachment. The studies to be discussed involve relationships between parents' representations of their childhood attachment relationships and their children's attachment classification, the relationship between parents' representations of their relationships with a specific child and the child's attachment, and the relationship between parents' attachment representations and their behaviour as caregivers.

The first studies exploring the social transmission of attachment were conducted by Margaret Ricks and her associates (Ricks 1982, 1983; Ricks & Noyes, 1984; Tronick, Ricks & Coin, 1982; all cited in Ricks, 1985). They hypothesized that women's memories of childhood relationships and women's self-esteem would be related to infants' attachment classification. Results indicated that mothers of securely attached infants had higher self-esteem and reported more positive memories of their childhood relationships compared to mothers of anxiously attached infants. Maternal defensiveness and idealization of parents, however, did not differentiate between mothers of securely and insecurely attached one year old infants.

Ricks (1983; cited in Ricks, 1985) conducted a follow-up study of the mothers and their preschool children who had participated in a Strange Situation three to four years earlier. In this study maternal defensiveness and parental idealization were related to children's earlier attachment classification. Mothers of children previously classified as anxious were more defensive and likely to idealize their own mothers compared to mothers of securely attached infants. In both of Ricks' studies, women's recollections of

acceptance from their own mothers during childhood was the strongest predictor of child outcome.

One of the best known studies on the intergenerational transmission of attachment was part of an ongoing longitudinal study by Main, Kaplan and Cassidy (1985) and Main and Goldwyn (unpublished manuscript). Infants' attachments to their mothers at age 12 months, and fathers at age 18 months, were assessed using the Ainsworth Strange Situation. Five years later the parents were administered the Adult Attachment Interview. The observed agreement between mothers' classification on the AAI and infants' attachment classifications from five years previous was reported to be 75%, with observed agreement between fathers' and infants' attachment reaching 69% (Main & Goldwyn, unpublished manuscript).

The scoring and classifications of the AAI were designed so that parents' classifications corresponded to infants' attachment classifications. Parents of securely attached infants valued attachment relationships, and provided coherent interviews, whereas, parents of ambivalent (resistant) infants were preoccupied with dependency on their own parents. Parents of disorganized/disoriented infants experienced the death of an attachment figure during their childhood and had not completed the mourning process, and parents of infants classified as avoidant dismissed attachment relationships as having no value or importance.

More specifically, Main and Goldwyn (unpublished manuscript, 1984) noted that infants' avoidant behaviour in the reunion episodes of the strange situation was correlated with the mothers' inability to recall childhood events, ratings of rejection by their own mothers, and idealization of rejecting mothers. If a mother expressed anger toward her own mother and discussed

attachment relationships in a coherent manner, her own infant was unlikely to have avoided her during the strange situation five years earlier.

In support of Main and her associates' findings (Main et al., 1985; Main & Goldwyn, 1984), Grossmann, Fremmer-Bombik, Rudolph & Grossmann (1988) found an 80% concordance between mothers' secure and insecure attachment representations and the security of their infants' attachment classification from five years previously. Similar results were found considering the AAI was scored differently, and the sample was with German mother-infant dyads.

The research discussed is impressive in its demonstration of a relationship between parents' and children's attachment representations, however, the direction of the effects are unclear. The studies claim to be evidence of the intergenerational transmission of attachment, yet it is possible that parents internal representations have evolved from their relationship with their child (Fonagy, Steele & Steele, 1991).

To help clarify the direction of the effects, Fonagy, Steele and Steele (1991) conducted the first prospective study of parent and infant attachment. Using the AAI they assessed mothers' attachment representations during their third trimester of pregnancy with their first child. From the women's prenatal AAI classification they correctly predicted, in 75% of the cases, whether an infant would be coded as secure or insecurely attached to their mother in the Strange Situation at 12 months of age. More specifically, they found that 75% of secure mothers had securely attached infants, and 73% of insecurely attached mothers had insecurely attached infants at one year of age. Of the women rated dismissing 68% had infants rated avoidant and 20% of the women rated preoccupied had infants rated ambivalent in their attachment.

Empirical research has recently begun to examine parental representations and experiences of the parent-infant/child attachment relationship. Rather than inquiring about parents' past relationships with their parents or their current love relationship, parents have been asked about their conceptualization and understanding of their relationship *to a specific child* (Bretherton et al., 1989; George & Solomon, 1989; Zeanah, 1988; Zeanah & Anders, 1987; Zeanah & Barton, 1989; Zeanah, Benoit, Hirschberg, & Barton, 1988).

Not surprisingly, Zeanah and Anders (1987) found parents' internal working models of their infants present prior to the birth of the infants and these models influenced their perception and interpretation of their infants' characteristics and behaviour. As discussed earlier, Fonagy and his associates (1991) found similar results using the Adult Attachment Interview.

Bretherton and her associates (1989) found significant relationships between parents' responses to the Parental Attachment Interview and their children's attachment behaviour in the strange situation at 18 months, the security of their children's attachment at 25 months as measured by the Attachment Q-Set, and their children's attachment at 37 months as assessed by Attachment Story Completions. As well, George and Solomon (1989) found a significant relationship between mothers' internal working models of caregiving and children's security of attachment as assessed by their response in a laboratory reunion.

Although parents' internal representations of attachment have been demonstrated to be predictive of children's attachment behaviour, little is known about what is transmitted or how. Bretherton (1985) proposed three possible explanations for how parents' internal models of attachment mediate

parental beliefs and behaviour. First, child rearing is guided by internal representations of one's parents' parenting (identification). Second, a person's current self model, which is rooted in earlier attachment relationships, guides parenting attitudes and behaviour. Third, how a person construes their internal working models of attachment, rather than the internal models per se, influence child rearing attitudes and behaviour. Bretherton preferred the third explanation, suggesting that what seems most relevant in the research on the transmission of attachment, is how parents conceptualize their early attachment relationships. Bretherton (1985) elaborated:

True to Bowlby's hypothesis, the social transmission of adverse patterns appears to be more likely when the parent is using two incompatible models of his or her own attachment figures, with explicit awareness only of the idealized model. When early rejection is understood as an attribute of the parent, not as a reflection of the self, the repetition of patterns experienced in childhood is apparently less likely (pp.23-24).

I agree with Bretherton that the more objective and reality-based these models are, the more likely it is that an individual will have a well integrated secure attachment system, regardless of their childhood experiences.

Bretherton's explanations, however, are not mutually exclusive. How an individual construes themselves and their relationships is a function of their attachment representations, and can not be separated from them.

Furthermore, parental behaviour could be guided by both internal representation of attachment, as well as an internalization of a parent (identification/introjection), simultaneously or concurrently. One model may be more dominant with respect to everyday child rearing (attachment model) and another model (identification/introjection) being evoked only in certain circumstances or situations, e.g, when tired or stressed, when visiting one's family, or with a certain child. An example of this may be when parents are



shocked to hear themselves sounding just like their own parents, even though they swore they would never speak to their child(ren) that way. Obviously, much theoretical and empirical research is necessary to elucidate the relationship between attachment representations and parental behaviour.

Crowell and Feldman (1989, 1991) attempted to clarify the relationship between parental attachment representations as assessed by the AAI and parental behaviour with preschool children (Crowell & Feldman, 1988, 1989, 1991). They found that mothers' internal representations of attachment were related to their behaviour with their children, as well as children's behaviour and developmental status. Women rated securely attached were more helpful and supportive of their children (Crowell & Feldman, 1988), more thoroughly prepared them for a departure and were more responsive to their children upon reunion (Crowell & Feldman, 1991) compared to women rated detached and preoccupied. Moreover, mothers of children with behaviour problems were predominantly insecurely attached. Children of women rated securely attached behaved in a more positive manner than children of women rated insecurely attached (Crowell & Feldman, 1988). More specifically, children with mothers classified as preoccupied were negative, avoidant, less compliant and persistent, and more controlling of their mothers. Children of women rated detached were less angry than children of preoccupied mothers, but were anxious, subdued, and lacking in affection.

After reviewing their findings and discussing specific case studies Crowell and Feldman (1989) noted similarities in the interactions between mothers and children and mothers' descriptions of relational and interactional patterns in their families of origin. They concluded that "the

behaviors in the play session suggest a process through which mothers' working models are expressed in interaction and translate, over time into a *replication of the conceptualized relationship*" (p. 181).

Much theoretical and empirical research is necessary to elucidate the interrelationships among parents' internal working models of childhood family attachments, romantic love or peer attachments, and caregiving or parental attachment, and how these different types of internal representations mediate parents' behaviour as caregivers. Research also needs to explore how the many different relationships in children's lives impact the development of their internal representation of self and other, both in the general sense and for specific relationships. Furthermore, children's contributions to their attachment relationships need to be explored.

In summary, empirical research has begun to support Bowlby's argument that the organization of the attachment system and the corresponding internal working models have implications for how one interprets, experiences and behaves in interpersonal relationships, including the parent-infant/child relationship. Research also supports Bowlby's view that parents' attachment systems have implications for children's development.

## **Chapter 3**

### **Identity**

Marcia (1988) suggested that the quality of attachment influences the negotiation of separation-individuation and identity formation. Prior to discussing the proposed inter-relationship between attachment and identity, identity status theory and research will be discussed.

Establishing an identity or self-definition is considered to be a major developmental task usually occurring during adolescence. Current identity theory and research rests upon the foundations of Erikson's (1959; 1963; 1968) psychosocial theory of ego development and in particular his construct of ego identity. According to Erikson (1963; 1968), ego development occurs in a series of eight stages, with each stage defined by a central developmental task or crisis, the outcome of which can be described as falling along the continuum of adaptive to maladaptive. The quality of resolution for each developmental task, or crisis, rests upon the quality of resolution of previous developmental tasks, and has implications for how future developmental tasks are approached and resolved. Each crisis or stage is believed to arise according to an epigenetic schedule of development with the outcome of each crisis/task being impacted by the socio-historical context within which a person lives. (Refer to Figure 2 for Erikson's epigenetic diagram).

The development of a personal sense of identity while avoiding the risk of identity confusion is the central task of Erikson's (1959; 1968) fifth psychosocial stage, identity versus identity confusion. The most adaptive resolution of this stage is the development of a personally expressive identity which provides a person with a sense of inner sameness and continuity. An

individual unable or unwilling to actively engage in constructing an identity risks role diffusion, isolation and identity confusion.

Marcia (1966) contributed to identity theory and research by developing a measure of Erikson's construct of identity, the Ego Identity Status Interview. Since the development of the interview in the mid 1960's an extensive body of research has established construct validity for the measure and the four identity statuses, as well as contributing to identity theory (Bourne, 1978a,b; Marcia, 1980; Marcia, Waterman, Matteson, Archer & Orlofsky, in press).

The Ego Identity Status Interview (Marcia, 1966) is a semi-structured interview which assesses the extent to which an individual explores alternatives in search of personally expressive life values, beliefs and goals, and the extent to which a person is committed to specific values, beliefs and goals. Based on the presence or absence of exploration and commitment in various content domains an individual is classified as falling into one of four identity statuses, Achievement, Moratorium, Foreclosure, or Diffusion. (Refer to Figure 3 for Marcia's Model of Identity).

The four identity status are:

**Identity Diffuse.** Individuals are considered diffuse because they do not exhibit a firm sense of identity nor are they in the process of attempting to construct one. Such individuals demonstrate little if any commitment to an occupation, ideology or belief system, and they are not currently actively exploring alternatives. In interviewing someone who is Diffuse it is difficult to get a sense of who they are. Theory and research has consistently described this status as the least adaptive (Marcia, 1980; Waterman, 1982), however, the adaptiveness of a status is dependent upon the context in which

a person lives. Marcia (1989) described five different types of Diffusion which vary in the degree to which they are pathological or adaptive.

Identity Research has found that individuals rated Diffuse tend to be high in anxiety (Marcia, 1967; Marcia & Friedman, 1970; Oshman & Manosevitz, 1974; Podd, Marcia & Rubin, 1970), external in their locus of control (Adam & Shea, 1979), low in autonomy (Matteson, 1974), susceptible to social peer pressure (Marcia et al., in press), impulsive (Waterman & Waterman, 1974), low in ego (Ginsburg & Orlofsky, 1981) and moral development (Podd, 1972), and their relationships lack depth and intimacy (Orlofsky, Marcia, & Lesser, 1973)

**Foreclosure.** An identity status of Foreclosure is assigned to an individual who exhibits a firm sense of identity with little or no evidence of exploration of alternatives. Such individuals adopt their identity or have it conferred upon them from their family or culture, without their questioning the appropriateness of the identity for themselves. Therefore, Foreclosed individuals can be described as high in commitment and low in exploration.

Individuals Foreclosed on identity have been found to idealize their mothers (Marcia, 1980; Waterman, 1982), to be conventional and rule-oriented in moral reasoning (Podd, 1972; Rowe & Marcia, 1980; high on authoritarianism (Marcia, 1966, 1967; Marcia & Friedman, 1970; Schenkel & Marcia, 1972; and Matteson, 1974), high in impulsivity (Waterman & Waterman, 1974), low in autonomy (Matteson, 1974), and anxiety (Marcia, 1967; Marcia & Friedman, 1970; Podd et. al., 1970; Oshman & Manosevitz, 1974), and ego development (Ginsburg & Orlofsky, 1981), their relationships lack intimacy and depth (Orlofsky, Marcia, & Lesser, 1973), and they have a more rigid cognitive style than individuals who are Identity Achieved or Moratorium.

**Moratorium.** An individual is classified as Moratorium if they are currently in the process of constructing their identity. Such individuals are high in exploration of alternative careers, roles and/or ideologies, however, low in commitment. To undergo a period of exploration one may have to precariously suspend or relinquish previously held commitments in the areas being explored. It is not surprising that individuals in Moratorium have been found to be high in anxiety (Marcia, 1967; Marcia, et al., in press). They have also been found to be low on authoritarianism, high in ego development (Ginsburg & Orlofsky, 1981), and to be more reflective than impulsive when compared to individuals rated Foreclosure and Diffuse.

**Identity Achievement:** A person who has undergone a process of exploration (Moratorium) and has subsequently committed to an occupation/career, role and/or ideology is considered to be Identity Achieved, the most developmentally advanced, adaptive and flexible status (Waterman, 1982). Individuals who have gone through the process of constructing a self-expressive identity have been found to have greater cognitive flexibility than individuals rated Foreclosed (Marcia, 1988; Waterman & Waterman, 1974), to be more reflective than impulsive when compared to individuals rated Foreclosed and Diffuse (Waterman & Waterman, 1974), to be high on moral reasoning (Podd, 1972; Rowe & Marcia, 1980), care-based moral reasoning (Skoe & Marcia, 1991), and ego development (Ginsburg & Orlofsky, 1981) to be highly empathetic and socialized (Hogan, 1973), to have an internal locus of control (Adam & Shea, 1979), to be resistant to self-esteem manipulation (Marcia, 1967), and to have mature and intimate relationships (Orlofsky, Marcia & Lesser, 1973).

According to Marcia (1980, 1993) identity is a personality or self structure. He explained that "This structure consists of an individual's

organization of drives (needs, wishes) and abilities (skills, competencies) in the context of his particular cultures's demands (requirements) and rewards (gratifications)" (Marcia, 1993, p. 2). In addition to the structural aspect of identity, Marcia and his colleagues (in press) believe that there is also a phenomenological and behavioural aspect to identity. The behavioural aspect of identity is how an identity is manifested behaviourally. This is most evident in terms of exploration and commitment within the various content domains. The structural aspect of identity is the inner organization and psychological structure which has implications for overall ego strength, as well as how one perceives and handles life experiences (Marcia, et al., in press). The identity structure is a result of the quality of the processes underlying identity, exploration and commitment.

The phenomenological aspect of identity refers to the experience of an individual in a particular identity status. Individuals who are Foreclosed and Achieved both have a stable and coherent sense of inner sameness, however, they experience their life goals and plans differently. An individual with a conferred or Foreclosed identity, are fulfilling the expectations of parents or authority figures from whom they adopted their identity, whereas individuals who have self-constructed an identity, Identity Achievement, are fulfilling a life plan which they constructed and which can be adapted or revised as they move through life. Unlike the individuals with committed identity statuses, individuals in Diffusion do not have a stable and coherent sense of inner sameness. They may take the path of least resistance, living in the present without a life plan or goals, being at the mercy of the "vicissitudes of fortune" (Marcia, et al., in press, p. 10). Marcia (et al., in press) described individuals in the process of constructing their identity, Moratorium, to be "like trapeze performers, holding onto the bar of the past

while swinging toward those of the future with all the vacillation, fear, intensity and excitement connoted by the circus image" (p. 11).

### *Women and Identity*<sup>4</sup>

There are numerous issues pertaining to women's identity formation, such as gender differences in identity statuses, the relative adaptiveness of the identity statuses, gender differences in content domains, the order and timing of identity formation, as well as obstacles women face in constructing an identity.

#### *Gender Differences in Identity Statuses*

The original identity status research was conducted primarily with men and it was assumed that the process of identity formation would be similar for women, except that the content domains around which women established their identity would differ from men (Marcia, 1980). From her research and after reviewing the literature, Archer (1989, 1990; Archer & Waterman, 1988) concluded that there was no consistent evidence of gender differences in the process of developing an identity. Although men and women were similar in the frequency with which they were found in the different identity statuses, differences in the pattern of results was found (Marcia et al., in press), as well as in content domains (Patterson, Sochting & Marcia, 1992). These will be discussed below.

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<sup>4</sup>The term women and men is used although some of the research to be discussed was conducted with adolescents as young as 12.



### *Adaptiveness of Identity Statuses for Women*

The original identity status research (Marcia, 1966, 1967) conducted with men demonstrated the adaptiveness of exploring alternatives to construct a personally expressive identity. A pattern emerged whereby men in Identity Achievement and Moratorium statuses consistently scored more positively on a variety of measures compared to men in Foreclosure or Diffusion statuses. Identity Achievement and Moratorium became known as the "high" identity statuses, and men in these statuses were considered to be more advanced, adaptive, mature and sophisticated in their development.

When the identity status interviews were administered to women a different pattern of results emerged. It appeared that for women it was most adaptive to have a firm sense of identity, evidenced by strong commitment, regardless of whether or not alternatives had been explored. The results revealed that women in the Identity Achievement and Foreclosure statuses were most similar in that they scored more positively on a variety of measures as compared to women in Moratorium and Diffusion statuses (Marcia, et al., in press). For both women and men Identity Achievement (Marcia, 1980) was found to be the most adaptive status and Diffusion the least adaptive status. Women and men differed, however, with respect to the relative adaptiveness of the Moratorium and Foreclosure statuses.

A recent review of identity research with women (Marcia, et al., in press) revealed different patterns of results depending on when studies were conducted. Marcia found that the Achievement-Foreclosure and Moratorium-Diffusion pattern was found in seven of the eight studies conducted prior to 1977, whereas, 12 out of 16 studies conducted after 1977 found results consistent with an Achievement-Moratorium and Foreclosure-Diffusion

pattern. Only four of the 16 studies after 1977 had results consistent with the Achievement-Foreclosure and Moratorium-Diffuse pattern. Marcia and colleagues (in press) and Patterson and colleagues (1992) interpreted the change in the pattern of findings to be the result of both cohort effects and the type(s) of measures used in the studies.

In discussing cohort effects on women and identity, Marcia and his colleagues (in press) and Patterson et al. (1992) suggested that women's changing roles in society may have impacted women's identity formation. During the 1980's, as contrasted with the 1970's, there may have been more actual or perceived support for women to consider choices and options available to them and to begin exploring those options. At the same time, however, the types of measures used in the studies had changed. Identity research with women in the late 1970's and the 1980's tended to use measures tapping "deep" psychological structures such as moral reasoning, ego strength and psychosocial development, compared to the surface measures of autonomy and the self-report measures of self-esteem employed prior to 1977 (Patterson et al., 1992).

### *Gender Differences in Content Domains*

Research supported (Archer, 1989, 1990) the contention that there would be no significant differences between the genders in the frequency with which they are found in different identity statuses. Identity Status theory (Marcia, 1980) had predicted, however, differences between the genders in content domains: interpersonal issues were hypothesized to be more relevant to women's identity than the traditional occupation, religion and politics (ORP) domains. For this reason the attitudes toward pre-marital intercourse content domain (also known as sexuality; Marcia and Friedman, 1970) was

developed to assess a more interpersonal aspect of identity. Since 1970 numerous interpersonal domains have been developed, such as marriage and the role of the spouse (also known as interpersonal relatedness), sex-role attitudes (Matteson, 1977), family and career priorities (Archer, 1985), dating (Thorbecke, & Grotevant, 1982) and role as parent (Marcia, et. al., in press). The main impetus for developing these new content domains has been to make the interview more appropriate for women.

Research using interpersonal content domains found that women Achieved in sexuality but not in occupation, religion or politics (ORP) had higher self-esteem and lower levels of anxiety than women Achieved in ORP but not in sexuality (Schenkel & Marcia, 1972 ). When compared to men, women have been found to be higher in identity in the areas of sexuality (Orlofsky, 1978; Poppen, 1974; Waterman & Nevid, 1977), sex-roles (Hodgson & Fischer, 1979), and family-career priorities (Archer, 1985), whereas men have been found to be higher in religion (Adams & Fitch, 1981; Bilsker, Scheidel & Marcia, 1987; Hodgson & Fischer, 1979), politics (Adams & Fitch, 1981; Archer, 1989; Bilsker et. al., 1987; Hodgson & Fischer, 1979), and occupation (Hodgins & Fischer, 1979).

In reviewing the literature on gender differences in content domains, Waterman (1982) found that in the ORP domains men were more Achieved than women in occupation in two of the ten studies reviewed, in politics in three of the eight studies reviewed, with the results for religion being mixed. With respect to the interpersonal domains women were more Achieved than men in four of the eight studies examining attitudes towards premarital sex, and in two of the four studies examining sex role attitudes.

Since Waterman's 1982 review of content domains Archer introduced (1985) an additional identity content domain to assess how individuals

balance, or plan to balance, family and career priorities. In a study using this content domain with junior and senior high students, Archer (1985) found female students to be four times more likely to be Achieved or Moratorium than male students, males to be twice as Diffuse as the females, and females to be somewhat more Foreclosed than the males.

Although several studies found that women tend to rate higher in the interpersonal domains and men somewhat higher in the tradition ORP domains, there were no domains that were specifically male or female. Numerous studies found no significant differences between the genders in various content domains, and in some cases significant differences in the direction opposite to that expected were found. For example, Orlofsky (1978) found women to be more Achieved than men in religion. Overall, there appears to be some support for the proposition that women tend to be more developmentally sophisticated than men in the interpersonal domain, with women rating more Achieved than men in 50% of the studies Waterman (1982) reviewed. There is only limited support, however, for men being more developmentally advanced than women in the domains of politics and occupation, with men rating more Achieved than women in only 20% of the studies review.

After reviewing the literature on content domains Patterson et al. (1992) concluded that

interpersonal content areas are more prominent identity concerns for women than they are for men, at least in the adolescent years. Although a shift in concerns has occurred in recent years, the central importance of interpersonal connectedness remains apparent in women's struggle to integrate personally defined aspects of their identity with their interpersonal relationships and responsibilities (p. 21).

It is not surprising to find support for interpersonal concerns being relevant, if not central, to many women's identity. The importance of

interpersonal connectedness for women's identity and development has been suggested by numerous researchers and theorists such as Douvan and Adelson (1966), Erikson (1968; 1975), Gilligan (1982), as well as feminist self-in-relation theorists Jordan, Kaplan, Miller, Stiver and Surrey (1991). Josselson (1988) recently argued that interpersonal connectedness is central to the process of women's identity and should be considered an underlying dimension of identity along with exploration and commitment.

### *Order and Timing of Identity Formation*

An issue related to the centrality of connectedness and the interpersonal domain for women, is the timing of intimacy. According to Erikson's (1959; 1975) epigenetic theory, the stage of identity versus identity confusion must be resolved prior to tackling the developmental task of intimacy versus isolation. It appears that for women this linear progression is not always the case. Apparently the two developmental tasks may be approached simultaneously with the two issues blending and merging together (Patterson, 1991; Schiedel & Marcia, 1985), or they may be resolved sequentially, generally with identity preceding intimacy.

If identity development can occur prior, after, or simultaneous with intimacy, when is the optimal time for women to construct their identity? Erikson (1968) suggested that women need to keep their identities flexible in order to accommodate to the men they may marry, and the children they may have. In her work with junior and senior high students, Archer (1989) found that in the earlier grades female students were more likely to be Achieved than male students, and in the senior year more male students were found to be Achieved compared to more female students being in moratorium. Archer

(1989) suggested that there is "a similar epigenetic underpinning to the formative period of identity development for males and females" (p. 136).

After reviewing the literature on women and identity Patterson et al. (1992) concluded that adolescence may be the optimal time for some women to construct their identity whereas other women may enter their first Moratorium during adulthood, often after their care-giving responsibilities have lessened (O'Connell, 1976).

### *Obstacles and Risks to Women's Identity Formation*

There are numerous obstacles women face in constructing an identity, most of which are the function of societal limitations placed upon women because they can potentially bear children and are expected to assume responsibility for childcare.<sup>5</sup>

During the 1950's, 60's and 70's there was minimal societal support for women to explore career options outside of the home, whereas it was generally expected that boys and men would explore their career options prior to choosing one. Currently, there may be more societal support for women to explore career options, yet it is still generally assumed that women with families will continue to care for the home, for male partners, for children, and arrange for child care. As Kroger (1987) suggested, women must make meta-decisions about how to balance competing commitments and identity content domains while considering the implications for significant others. In support of Kroger, Archer (1989) found female students four times

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<sup>5</sup> Refer to Archer (1990) for an excellent discussion of the disadvantages associated with identity formation because women are potential childbearers.

more likely to make meta-decisions about balancing family and career priorities than male students.

An additional obstacle to women's construction of an occupational identity is that however a woman chooses to balance career and family, whether it is to postpone childbearing, to not have children, to hire a nanny, use a daycare service, or stay at home, the media provide numerous examples of the dire consequences associated with each option. No matter what a woman's decision, there will be a segment of society that disagrees with or condemns her choice of how to balance career and family. For women this has become a political issue, not just a personal issue. For these reasons, and many others, women's construction of an occupational identity is a more complicated and controversial process, with less societal and structural support, than for men who generally have not needed to consider any of the above mentioned issues.

Another hindrance to women's identity formation is that society does not condone or expect exploration in the content domains most relevant to women's identity, the interpersonal domains. North American culture expects boys and men, and more recently to some extent girls and women, to explore career and vocational options prior to committing to one. Similarly, in the political domain "good citizens" are expected to consider the alternative parties or candidates in order to make an informed choice. On the other hand boys and girls, women and men, are not expected to explore their gender roles, their sexuality, their sexual orientation, or whether or not they will marry. For example, a woman's exploration of gender roles generally involves the examination of traditional sex-roles. To do so carries the risk of being labelled a feminist which in North American culture is often considered to be a pejorative term associated with man-hating, selfishness,

aggressiveness, and lack of femininity. The risks may include scorn, hatred, belittlement and even physical violence towards some women. For content areas such as sexuality, the margin of acceptability for women's exploration of sexual behaviour and attitudes is still narrower than for men. For women to explore their sexual identity they may risk being considered a "slut" or a "whore", whereas for men such risks are minimal. North American culture condones women's exploration in the domains of politics and occupation, but exploration in the interpersonal domains of sex roles and sexuality is less sanctioned, and, in some ways, is actively discouraged.

In summary, numerous obstacles and risks are associated with women's construction of their identity, such as society's expectation of women to bear the responsibility of child care, the complexity arising from the interdependence of the content domains for women and their need to consider balancing their own and other's needs, risks associated with women's construction of an occupational identity, and the lack of societal support for exploration in many of the interpersonal content domains important for women's identity.

Although women's construction of an identity appears to be more complex and complicated than it is for men, many women are able to forge personally expressive identities. It should be understandable though, that for other women, especially those economically disadvantaged or dependent, it may seem safer and less of a risk to avoid exploration and take the path of least resistance or maintain a belief system that is supported by family and friends.



## ***Identity and Attachment Related Research***

Several researchers (Franz & White, 1985; Grotevant & Cooper, 1985, 1986; Josselson, 1988; Kroger, 1985; Kroger & Haslett, 1987; Marcia, 1988) have proposed interrelationships between identity and attachment, mostly from within an ego psychoanalytic and object-relational perspective. This is not surprising since Erikson's theory contains themes of attachment. For example, the development of basic trust in oneself and others (secure attachment) must be established in order to construct an identity and avoid the risks of identity and role confusion.

Franz and White (1985) commented on the limitations and inconsistencies in Erikson's theory with respect to individuation and attachment. They explained that

a single developmental path in which strands of individuation (autonomy, initiative, and industry) predominate through childhood, only to relinquish their predominance, somehow, to the adult expressions or achievements (love and care) of a connectedness which seems to imply vital attachments. Erikson does not convince us that the developmental path to identity will also prepare the young adult to be intimate (p. 246).

Working from an ego psychoanalytic and object relational perspective, as well as incorporating the social cognitive work of Robert Selman, Franz and White extended Erikson's theory to include two strands of development; individuation and attachment. In their two path model of development they conceptualized individuation and attachment as separate but interconnected strands of a double helix.

According to their model the crises or stages occurring within the individuation strand are basically the same as Erikson's, except that intimacy and generativity are moved to the attachment strand. Furthermore, basic trust versus mistrust, and integrity versus despair are

the first and last crises or stages respectively, in both the individuation and attachment strands. For a full discussion of Franz and White's two pathway model of attachment and individuation refer to their 1985 article.

From a slightly different perspective Grotevant and Cooper (1985, 1986) developed a model of individuation as occurring within the context of relatedness. Their model draws on identity theory and research, object relations theory and research on attachment and role-taking. Their model will be elaborated on in the following section.

Marcia (1988) recently proposed a relationship between attachment and identity. More specifically he suggested that a secure attachment is necessary for an individual to enter Moratorium and eventually become Achieved in identity. Conversely, individuals Foreclosed or Diffuse in identity are likely to have insecure attachment representations. Although Marcia (1988) proposed a correspondence between the quality of attachment and identity status, early attachment patterns do not determine identity status. Rather, individuals' internal working models of self and other in operation at the time of identity formation are more important than childhood attachment styles. In most cases, however, adolescents' and adults' attachment representations are based on the early attachment relationship.

Three possible relationships between the constructs of identity and attachment are proposed. First, internal working models of attachment supply the raw material for identity. I shall digress for a moment in an attempt to clarify my point. Marcia and his colleagues (in press) described the internalizations of Foreclosures to be "based upon introjected, unreconstructed authority figures (parents), and reflects little "metabolism" of early identifications - the outside is inside, but it has not been

reformulated in the individual's terms" (p. 4). It is proposed that it is not the introjects which are not "metabolized" but rather the internal working models of attachment. According to this model Moratoriums are in the midst of *reorganizing* ("metabolizing") and *elaborating* their internal working models of attachment, whereas Identity Achievements have gone through this process and have developed coherent integrated internal working models; in another words, they have constructed an identity. Such a model implies that attachment representations become part of one's identity, perhaps having the most influence in the interpersonal content domains.

A second possible model is that identity and attachment are separate constructs/structures with the quality of attachment representations influencing the process of identity formation and the resulting identity statuses. For example, an adolescent/young adult who experienced a secure attachment relationship with their parents, and currently has secure attachment representations, will feel secure in themselves and in the support they receive from others, providing them with an internal and external secure base from which they can explore alternative ways of understanding themselves and the world.

A third possible relationship between the two constructs incorporates aspects of the first two models. Attachment and identity can be conceptualized as separate but interrelated internal constructs/structures with mutual influence.<sup>6</sup> Not only would the attachment system influence identity formation, as discussed in the second model, but identity would have implications for the organization of attachment representations. In addition

<sup>6</sup>In form this model is similar to that proposed by Franz and White (1985), however, their model draws upon object relations theories, whereas the present model draws upon attachment theory and research.

to the influence of attachment on identity as discussed in the second model, identity crises may provoke a re-evaluation or even reorganization of the internal models. I prefer this model because it allows for the complexity of human experience and is less linear in its predictions than the previous two models. For example, according to this model there may be life experiences or factors that both promote an identity crisis and a reorganization of attachment representation in adults who were previously insecure in their attachment and Foreclosed or Diffuse in their identity.

Although this model allows for diverse and complex relationships between the two constructs, several basic relationships believed to exist between Marcia's identity statuses and Bartholomew's attachment styles will be briefly presented. Individuals who are Identity Achieved are likely to have Secure representations of attachment providing them with the security to have explored alternatives and self-construct their identities. Their parents are/were probably authoritative (Baumrind, 1967, 1968), and the Achieved person would describe them as loving, and tolerant and supportive of differences.

Adolescents in Moratorium are likely have a similar developmental path as individuals who are Achieved in identity. Adults in Moratorium, however, may have Secure or insecure attachment representations, depending on the type of Moratorium they are in. For example, as adults some women may enter Moratorium for the first time, others may re-enter Moratorium as part of a MAMA (Moratorium-Achievement-Moratorium-Achievement) cycle (Stephen, Fraser & Marcia, in press) while still other women, may be long-term or chronic in their Moratorium. Women who are unable to make or sustain commitments and are "chronic" in their Moratorium are likely to have insecure attachment representations, however,

no clear patterns emerge as to which style of insecure attachment. Women re-entering Moratorium as part of a MAMA cycle are likely to be Secure in their attachment, following a similar developmental path as Achieved women. Women entering Moratorium for the first time may have previously been insecure in their attachment but are currently undergoing a revision of their identity and attachment representations.

People who Foreclose on identity are likely to have Preoccupied attachment representations. Such individuals lack the confidence necessary to explore alternatives and because of their desire for love and approval they adopt the family or community belief system for fear of rejection, or loss of love and respect. Their parents are probably authoritarian (Baumrind, 1967, 1968), having little tolerance of differences and expecting obedience and conformity to their rules and values. The Foreclosed individual would likely describe their family as loving and close, however, they would idealize their parents and their descriptions would lack coherence.

A person Diffuse in identity is to likely to have Fearful or Dismissing attachment representations. Three types of Diffusion will be discussed. During childhood and adolescence, individuals Diffuse in identity may have experienced overly punitive, abusive authoritarian (Baumrind, 1967, 1968) parenting. The first type of Diffusions are individuals who developed and maintained Fearful attachment representations. Such individuals would not have the security or confidence to explore alternative roles or ideologies, and they may not have had the trust in others to internalized parental goals and beliefs on which they could commit. Diffusion/Fearful individuals experience their psychological pain and may describe their parents as rejecting, uncaring or indifferent. The second type, Diffusion/Dismissing individuals, may have developed a Dismissing attachment style as a defense against

experiencing and remembering the pain of their childhood. Such individuals may be the "disturbed" Diffusion delineated by (Marcia, 1989). He draws parallels between "disturbed" Diffusion and the schizoid personality, as Bartholomew (1990) draws parallels between the extreme Dismissing attachment style and a diagnosis of schizoid personality disorder. Diffuse/Dismissing individuals may provide themes of parental rejection, indifference and abuse, however, they would probably idealize their parents, minimizing the effects of the abuse. The third type of Diffusion, may have experienced very permissive (Baumrind, 1967, 1968) parenting, with minimal structure or limits provided. Such individuals may also have Dismissing attachment styles. They would be most similar to Marcia's (1989) "carefree" type.

### *Identity and Perceptions and Experience of Family Relationships*

Research on identity and family experiences and perceptions of those experiences provide indirect support for an association between identity and attachment. According to attachment theory, attachment representations initially develop within the context of family relationships and perceptions of those relationships are considered to reflect individuals' attachment representations.

Marcia (1993) recently reviewed the research on identity statuses and their families and noted that the studies fell into one of two patterns depending upon the methodology used. First, there are studies examining adolescents' and parents' perceptions and descriptions of each other; and second, research examining actual family interactional patterns. Both types of research will be discussed, however, refer to Marcia (1993; Marcia et al., in press) or Grotevant (1983) for a more comprehensive review of the literature.

Jordan (1970; 1971) was one of the first researchers to explore the relationship between parents', and adolescents' retrospective perceptions of the adolescents' child rearing experiences and current identity statuses. Themes similar to those arising in Main's and her colleagues (1985) and Rick's (1985) research are notable. Jordan found that Identity Achieved individuals viewed their families in a more objective manner, similar to adults considered securely attached in Main's study. Moratoriums, however, currently felt ambivalent about their families and were perhaps in the process of individuation. Individuals considered Foreclosed on identity experienced their families as being close, loving and child-centered, encouraging conformity to family values, whereas Identity Diffused individuals considered their parents to be rejecting and somewhat detached as did avoidant adults in Main's research (Main et. al., 1985; Main & Goldwyn, unpublished manuscript, 1984). Jordan's and Main's research did not assess quality of caregiving, but rather current perceptions of that caregiving. Therefore, conclusions drawn are limited to the relationship between current representations of earlier family experiences and identity status.

LaVoie (1976) and Adams and associates (Adams & Jones, 1981, 1983; Adams, 1985; Campbell, Adams & Dobson, 1984) found results similar to Jordan. Adolescent girls high in identity (Achieved and Moratorium) perceived their parents to be less rejecting (Adams, 1985), and their mothers less restrictive and controlling, and more encouraging of autonomy and independent behaviour compared to the perceptions of low identity adolescent girls (Foreclosed and Diffuse; LaVoie, 1976; Adams & Jones, 1981, 1983). Furthermore, high identity status females perceived more companionship with their fathers (Adams, 1985) and reported them to be fair

disciplinarians (Adams & Jones, 1983). Achieved and Moratorium adolescents of both genders (Campbell, Adams & Dobson, 1984) perceived their relationships with their parents to be more independent than Diffuse and Foreclosed adolescents.

Conversely, low identity adolescent females perceived their parents to be more rejecting (Adams, 1985), their mothers to be restrictive and controlling (LaVoie, 1976; Adams & Jones, 1981, 1983), and they described less companionship with their fathers (Adams, 1985). Within the low identity statuses, Campbell, Adams and Dobson, (1984) found that Foreclosed adolescents perceived their relationships with their mothers as more affectionate than Diffuse adolescents, with Achieved and Moratorium subjects falling between the two extremes. This finding was more descriptive of males than females.

Parental self-reports of their caregiving supported their daughters' descriptions of their parents (Adams, 1985) in that parents of low identity status adolescent girls reported being more rejecting and controlling and providing less companionship compared to parents of high identity status females. Interestingly, parents who were low in identity themselves were equally likely to have adolescent daughters high or low in identity, whereas, parents high in identity tended to have daughters high in identity. Parents high in identity perceived themselves as being more supportive than low identity parents.

Marcia (1993) noted that several recent studies examining the relationship between adolescent identity development and family environment have replicated and extended previous findings. After reviewing the research of Frank, Pirsch and Wright (1990), Kamptner (1988),



Papini, Sebby and Clark (1989), and Weinman and Newcombe, (1990) Marcia (1993) concluded that

Families which facilitated identity development are ones which tolerate, and even encourage, differences and some independence among family members. Those which inhibit identity development are characterized either by marked absence (and perhaps intolerance) of conflict or by emotional distance - between parents and between parents and adolescents. (p. 18)

In general, research on adolescents' and parents' perceptions of their relationships provide empirical support for an association between attachment and identity.

Several researchers explored the association between adolescents' identity and patterns of family communication (Marcia, 1993). One of the most intriguing studies was conducted by Grotevant and Cooper (1985). They studied adolescents and their families to develop and assess a model of individuality and connectedness as it relates to adolescent identity exploration. They constructed the Family Interaction Task, an adaptation of the Plan Something Together Task (Watzlawick, 1966; cited in Grotevant & Cooper, 1985), which involved a family planning for a fictional two week vacation. Transcripts of the sessions were coded for expressions of individuality (separateness) and connectedness (mutuality and permeability).

A few of the relevant findings will be discussed here. Identity exploration in adolescent females, but not in males, was associated with more separation expressed by them to their siblings, and to them by their parents. Female adolescents' exploration was related to communication patterns in all four family relationships examined, daughter-mother, daughter-father, sibling-sibling, mother-father, whereas only father-son interactions were relevant to male adolescents' exploration (Grotevant & Cooper, 1985).

In addition to gender differences found in the number of family relations relevant to identity exploration, gender differences were found in how father-adolescent communication patterns related to exploration. Adolescent males high in exploration directly expressed more disagreement and suggestions to their fathers, and their fathers responded with mutuality (connection) and minimal disagreements (less separation). In contrast, female adolescents high in exploration expressed their suggestions indirectly to their fathers and their fathers responded with more disagreements (separateness). Thus it appears that fathers provide a model of connectedness for their sons and separateness for their daughters. The findings that fathers are models of separateness for their daughters resonate with propositions from Chodorow's (1978) feminist psychoanalytic theory.

The results of Grotevant's and Cooper's (1985) research support their model of both continuity and change existing in parent-child/adolescent relationships (Grotevant and Cooper, 1986), in that adolescent identity exploration (individuation) occurs within the context of family relatedness (connectedness) rather than involving a separation or moving away from such relationships. Parent-child/adolescent relationships progress from unilateral authority towards mutuality, with mutual re-definition of the relationships occurring. Grotevant and Cooper (1986) noted that individuation is not a characteristic of a person but of a relationship, and defined individuated relationships as having moderate to high levels of expressed individuality and separateness within the context of at least moderate connectedness. Furthermore, they suggested that early attachment relations are the origins of a propensity to seek, and maintain individuated relationship. According to Bartholomew's (1990; Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991) model of attachment

an individual who both seeks and maintains autonomous and connected relationships is Securely attached.

### *Early Memories*

The content of early memories is assumed to reflect current psychosocial issues in the lives of adolescents and adults (Orlofsky & Frank, 1986). Although not directly assessing attachment, relational themes in early memories may tap internal working models of attachment. Three studies were conducted exploring personality structure and ego structuralization of identity statuses as viewed through early memories.

The first study exploring identity and early memories was by conducted by Josselson (1982). Orlofsky and Frank (1986) replicated and extended Josselson's work by correcting methodological flaws and including males. Both studies found that individuals in Achievement and Moratorium statuses provided early memories considered to reflect mature developmental themes (i.e., striving for mastery, competence and achievement), compared to individuals rated Foreclosed and Diffuse who provide early memories reflecting themes considered less developmentally mature (trust/mistrust, nurturance/dependence, and compliance/rebellion).

Both studies also found that Achieved individuals provided more blended memories with primary themes of competence and secondary themes of nurturance. Josselson (1982) interpreted these results as evidence of "rapprochement" in Achieved individuals, "wherein closeness is maintained to the person from whom the individual is separating and individuating" (p. 298). These results resonate with Grotevant and Cooper's (1985, 1986) model of individuation and connection and with Bartholomew's Secure attachment style.

The homogeneity of themes of mastery and competence provided by individuals in Moratorium were interpreted as evidence of their need to test their autonomy and "do it alone" (Josselson, 1982; Orlofsky & Frank, 1986). Josselson (1982) elaborated that individuals in Moratorium are capable of bearing anxiety and do not seek comfort when scared or distressed. According to Bartholomew's model of attachment such individuals would have a negative model of others and would be classified as either Fearful or Dismissing in their attachment.

Kroger (1990) recently improved on the methodology used in previous studies of early memories and identity. Rather than imposing an external coding system upon the memories, she used Gushurst's (1971; cited in Kroger, 1990) method of deriving underlying thematic messages. Kroger derived five general relational themes from the early memories provided; four of which correspond to Bartholomew's styles of attachment and will be included in parenthesis. Individual's rated Diffuse were characterized by themes of "longing for relationship" (Fearful) as compared to individuals in the other statuses. Foreclosed individuals provided memories with themes of "seeking security, proximity to or support from significant others" (Preoccupied) compared to individuals in other statuses. Individuals in Moratorium provided themes of "moving away from significant others" (Dismissing) compared to Achieved and Foreclosed individuals, whereas individuals rated Achieved provided themes of "moving contentedly alone or alongside significant others" (Secure) compared to Foreclosures.

Conclusions drawn by Orlofsky and Frank (1986) pertain to all three studies. They explained that if the content of early memories are reflective of the psychosocial (and attachment) issues relevant to adolescents and adults

lives, then as Erikson suggested, lack of resolution of early issues of basic trust and security may hinder mature identity resolution.

### *Empirical Research on Identity and Attachment*

In addition to the indirect support for an association between identity and attachment several recent studies have attempted to directly explore the relationship between the two constructs. Using the Hansburg Separation Anxiety Test (SAT) Kroger (1985) found that individuals high in identity (Achieved and Moratorium) were less anxiously attached and more secure in dealing with separation issues than individuals low in identity (Foreclosed and Diffuse).

In a study of women attending university, most of whom reported one or more traumatic experiences during childhood (including emotional, physical and sexual abuse), Scalzo (1991) found no association between identity and attachment as assessed by the Identity Status Interview and the SAT. Visual inspection of the data revealed that women rated Foreclosed were three times more likely to be secure than insecure, whereas women rated Achieved were twice as likely to be insecure than secure. Women rated Moratorium were equally likely to be secure and insecure.

Using a more indepth measure of attachment, Grunberg (1991) re-analyzed the data for 38 women who participated Scalzo's study. Using Bartholomew's (1990; Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991) model of attachment and system of rating for the Family Attachment Interview, Grunberg rated women's responses to Scalzo's Past Experiences Interview. Identity status and attachment ratings were analyzed as both categorical and continuous variables.

Results provide tentative support for an association between the two constructs, however, not always in the expected direction (Grunberg, 1991). As in the original study by Scalzo, analysis of variance failed to reach significance. Visual inspection of the means, when attachment was collapsed into Secure and insecure, revealed that the majority of women rated Achieved and Moratorium were insecure, whereas the majority of women rated Foreclosed were Secure. All of the women rated Diffuse were insecure in their attachment. Correlational analysis using identity and attachment as continuous measures supports what was found through visual inspection. There was a positive relationship between Foreclosure and Secure attachment style, with Foreclosure being negatively correlated with Fearful attachment. There was no association between Achievement and Secure attachment, however, Achievement was negatively correlated with a Dismissing attachment style. Diffusion and Secure attachment style were negatively correlated, however, Diffusion was correlated with Fearful attachment. These results suggested that for high functioning women who suffered childhood traumatization, women Foreclosed in identity were likely to be Secure and unlikely to be Fearful; Achieved women were unlikely to be Dismissing; and Diffuse women are most likely to be Fearful, and unlikely to be Secure.

Analysis of attachment sub-ratings revealed Achievement was associated with high rebellion and perceived parental rejection and lack of love, whereas Foreclosure was associated negatively with rebellion and positively with perceptions of parental love. Grunberg (1991) suggested a similarity between rebellion in the attachment interview and exploration in the identity interview.

Although there are methodological problems with this study such as the small sample size, it is evident that Secure family attachment representations do not necessarily precede Identity Achievement, at least for women who experienced trauma during their childhood. Rather, there are probably several pathways to Identity Achievement (Grunberg, 1991). This is reminiscent of Adams (1985) findings that approximately half of the children of parents low in identity will manage to construct their own identity.

Benson, Harris and Rogers (1992) conducted a study using the Extended Version of the Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (EOMEIS-2; Adams, Bennion & Huh, 1987; cited in Benson et al., 1992) to assess identity, and the parent subscale of the Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA; Armsden & Greenberg, 1989; cited in Benson et al., 1992) to assess attachment. They found that female and male adolescents reported attachment to their mothers predictive of high levels of Achievement and low levels of Moratorium and Diffusion, whereas attachment to father predicted higher levels of Foreclosure. Benson and colleagues concluded that "the secure base provided by mothers appears necessary for both males and females to address identity issues and make commitments" (Benson, et al., 1992, p. 200).

In summary, the research on adolescences' early memories, perceptions of their families, and attachment as assessed by the SAT generally supported a relationship between identity and attachment. For the most part adolescents rated Achieved generally reported positive family experiences (Adams, 1985) and described their parents as supportive of autonomy (LaVoie, 1976; Adams & Jones, 1981, 1983). Their early memories provided themes of autonomy and mastery as well as wanting connection (Josselson, 1982; Kroger, 1990; Orlofsky & Frank, 1986). Adolescents rated

Foreclosed generally reported their families as being very close (Jordan, 1970, 1971; Campbell et al., 1984) however, themes of expectations of conformity and low tolerance of separateness and differences were noted (Jordan, 1970; 1971). Their early memories tended to reflect themes of desiring connection and seeking security (Josselson, 1982; Kroger, 1990; Orlofsky & Frank, 1986). Some of the studies which collapsed across Foreclosure and Diffusion statuses note themes of parental rejection and control (Adams, 1985; Adams & Jones, 1981, 1983; LaVoie, 1976).

Adolescence rated Diffuse tended to come from the least adaptive families, in that themes of rejection control, and lack of tolerance were noted (Adams, 1985; Adams & Jones, 1981, 1983; Jordan, 1970, 1971). Unexpected, but not surprising, adolescence in Moratorium were found to be ambivalent about their families (Jordan, 1970; 1971), they consistently provided themes of autonomy and independence in their early memories (Josselson, 1982; Kroger, 1990; Orlofsky & Frank, 1986). Little information specific to Moratoriums' family experiences were discussed.



## **Chapter 4**

### **Parental Cognition**

Parenthood is considered to be a major developmental task (Cohler, 1984) and an organizer of personality (Benedek, 1959; cited in Cohler, 1984). The process of parenthood is considered to begin not at the time of conception or the birth of a child, but rather during parents' early childhood experiences in their family of origin (Bowlby, 1984).

One of the themes discussed throughout this paper is that "developmental history shapes personality and psychological well-being, which in turn influences parental attitudes and functioning" (Belsky, 1984, p. 86). That is, the totality of who a person "is", their representations of self and others (attachment), their identity, and level of cognitive and moral development, all play a role in the development of their attitudes, beliefs and values (conscious and unconscious) concerning child rearing and their behaviour as a parent. The remainder of this section will discuss two measures of parental cognition and related research, followed by a brief discussion of cognition, identity and attachment.

As previously discussed, parents' internal working models of attachment have implications for parental behaviour in the caregiving role (Crowell & Feldman, 1989, 1991) as well as impacting children's internal models of attachment (Main, et al, 1985; Fonagy et. al.,1991). It has also been suggested that the level of a person's cognitive and moral development should impact their parental attitudes and behaviour, and ultimately their children's development (Newberger & Cook, 1983; Sameroff & Feil, 1984).

Researchers and theorists such as Sameroff and Feil (1984) and Carolyn Newberger (1978, 1980, 1987) have conceptualized parental

understanding of children and child rearing in terms of increasingly sophisticated stages of cognitive and social-cognitive development. To assess parental conceptions of children and child rearing Carolyn Newberger developed the Parental Awareness Interview, a semi-structured interview, based on the cognitive and moral developmental work of Lawrence Kohlberg, Carol Gilligan, Robert Selman and Jean Piaget. Her measure assesses the extent to which parents are able to think of the parent-child relationship in terms of autonomy and connection in a transactional framework.

The interview (Newberger, 1978, 1987, unpublished manuscript) consists of two parts. The first section is a series of personal questions regarding the parent's child and child-rearing practices, and the second part involves asking the parent to respond to hypothetical dilemmas of situations involving conflict between parents and children. Parents' responses are classified as falling into one of four developmental levels of increasingly comprehensive and flexible awareness of children and child rearing. The levels are:

**Egoistic (Self) Orientation** in which the parent views the child in relation to the parent's experience and needs.

**Conventional (Norm) Orientation** whereby the parent understands the child according to externally derived, preconceived expectations (culture, tradition), and the parent-child relationship is viewed as a mutual fulfillment of well-defined roles.

**Individualistic (Child) Orientation** recognizes the child's subjective experience and conceives of the parent-child relationship as a reciprocal emotional exchange.

**Analytic (Systemic) Orientation** recognizes the parent-child relationship as a mutual and reciprocal system which is more than an emotional exchange,

stressing a shared acceptance of each other as autonomous interdependent individuals, valuing both separateness as well as closeness.

Research with the Parental Awareness Interview found some evidence of a developmental progression of parental awareness during childhood and adulthood, and a correlation between parental awareness and years of experience as a parent (Newberger & Cook, 1983). No significant relationships have been found between levels of parental awareness and race, social class or sex of parent. Newberger and Cook (1983) contend that research lends tentative support to the proposition of a relationship between parental awareness and parental interactions with their children. She found that abusive mothers scored lower on parental awareness than non-abusive mothers. Newberger (1987) explained that there is not a necessary and direct relationship between parental understanding and parental behaviour, but that parental awareness is one aspect of parental experience contributing to the quality of parent-child relationships.

Shirley Partol (1980) provided evidence of a relationship between identity and parental ideology. In examining the external correlates of parental awareness, she found that individuals high in identity were also likely to be high on parental awareness.

Similar to Newberger, Sameroff and Feil (1984) developed a four stage theory of parents' conception of children and their development. An underlying assumption of their theory is that parents understanding of their children's development depends upon their general level of cognitive complexity. Sameroff's and Feil's theory was modeled after Piaget's stages of cognitive development, whereas the influence of social-cognitive and moral developmental theory is more evident in Newberger's work. The four levels of parents' concepts of development are:

**Symbiotic Level** - parents at this level are primarily concerned with the immediate here-and-now relationship to their children. They tend to interpret their children's behaviour in an egocentric manner, not perceiving their children as separate from themselves. Their understanding of their children's development is atheoretical. This level is most similar to Newberger's Egoistic Orientation.

**Categorical Level** - at this level parents are able to see their children and themselves as separate. They tend to focus, however, on the identification of children with their role labels and use single explanations for their children's behaviour based on either the environment or constitution alone. The categorical level is most similar to Newberger's Convention (Norm) Orientation.

**Compensating Level** - at this level parents are able to view their children as having an existence apart from the parent's activities as well as apart from the labels placed on the children. Behaviour can be perceived as having more than one cause, therefore both environmental and constitutional variables can be considered; a full understanding of the complex relationship between the variables and outcome, however, is lacking.

**Perspectivistic Level** - at this level parents are able to see their children's behaviour as a result of individual experience with a specific environment. Behaviour is explained by a combination of events over time and there is an appreciation of transactional explanations, in that parents and children are believed to mutually influence each other over time. The family is described as a system of dynamic and reciprocal relationships. Newberger's Analytic (Systemic) Orientation is most similar this level.

The Concept of Development Questionnaire (CODQ) was theoretically and empirically derived and it consists of 20 questions a parent must rate on

a four-point scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The CODQ produces three scores, a Categorical Score, a Compensating-Perspectivistic score, and a Total Score. The Symbiotic level can not be assessed with the questionnaire.

The original 44-item version of the CODQ was used in a pilot study involving 145 English mothers and 338 American mothers. Preliminary analysis led to the reduction in the number of items resulting in a 20 item questionnaire. Results of the pilot study revealed significant differences for both nationality and SES for the average CODQ Total Score. American women scored as more Perspectivistic compared to English women and women from high SES backgrounds scored as more Perspectivistic than women from low SES backgrounds. Examination of the means, however, revealed that only the American women from a high SES background differed from the other three groups of women. The authors argued that the low scores and lack of differences between those scores for English women from both high and low SES is understandable considering the English cultural belief that people should conform and "stay in their place."

In addition to the Concepts of Development Questionnaire, Sameroff and Feil (1984) developed the Concepts of Development Q-sort (CODQ-S) and the Concepts of Development Vignettes (CODV). A second study was conducted with 80 mothers of preschool children to obtain normative data on the three methods of assessing concepts of development and to compare their scores. The SES effects found in the previous study were replicated, and the CODQ, CODQ-S, and CODV scores were strongly intercorrelated.

The next study attempted to determine if parental cognition impacts on child development. As part of the Rochester Longitudinal Study, women of varying mental health and social status who were mothers of four year old

children completed the CODQ. The children's intellectual and social competence were also assessed. Analyses revealed significant correlations for both CODQ and mental health with both children's intellectual and social competence. Regression analyses revealed that women's concepts of development made an independent contribution to children's intelligence scores but not to their social competence scores, whereas women's mental health made an independent contribution to children's social competence scores but not to their intelligence scores (Sameroff & Feil, 1984).

### ***Cognition, Identity and Attachment***

Theories of cognition (Piaget, 1960), social-cognition (Selman, 1977), attachment (Bowlby, 1973) and identity (Marcia, et al., in press) all postulate the development of internalized structures. Cognitive developmental theory discusses the quality of logical thought structures. Social-cognitive development theories explore the relationships between thought process and individuals' knowledge and understanding of their social world (Muuss, 1988). Attachment theory examines relational self and other models. And identity theory is interested in individuals' self models with respect to values, roles and ideologies. Relationships have been proposed among identity and cognition, and attachment and cognition. These proposed relationships will be discussed briefly.

Marcia and his colleagues (in press) reviewed the literature on identity and cognition. With respect to cognitive complexity they concluded that individuals Foreclosed on identity are cognitively simple, individuals rated Achieved and Moratorium are moderately complex, and Diffuse individuals are very complex, maybe even disorganized in their thinking. They (Marcia, et al., in press) also noted that formal operations does not appear to be a

necessary condition for Identity Achievement, but that the two constructs are related. They suggested that cognitive measures which approximate real-life problem-solving, as well as general measures of cognitive sophistication appear to hold promise in exploring the relationship between cognition and identity. As previously mentioned Partol (1980) found an association between identity and parental cognition. In the present study Identity Achievement and Moratorium are expected to be associated with higher levels of parental cognition, and Foreclosure and Diffusion with lower levels.

Although internal working models of attachment are believed to have both cognitive and affective components, attachment theory and research has paid little attention to the cognitive dimensions of attachment. Newberger's Parental Awareness Interview may tap cognitive components of internal working models of parenting and attachment to a specific child. The Parental Attachment Interview (Bretherton, et al., 1989), designed to assess parents' representations of a specific child, sounds similar in content to Newberger's (1977; Newberger & Cook, 1983) Parental Awareness Interview. It is possible that both interviews assess different, yet related, aspects of the same construct: the Parent Attachment Interview tapping affective components, and the Parental Awareness Interview tapping social-cognitive and moral developmental components of parenting, and parents' relationships with their children.

In addition to attachment representations having cognitive components, attachment representations have been hypothesized to be related to cognitive development. In her discussion of attachment and cognition, Main (1991) recently proposed that individuals secure in attachment would hold "more sophisticated theories of knowledge" (p. 153). Along this line, it is proposed that women with Secure attachment

representations will be more sophisticated in their conceptualization of children and their development than women who are insecure in attachment.



## **Chapter 5**

### **The Present Study**

Linkages have been proposed to exist among several constructs derived from major developmental personality theories (Marcia, 1988). These constructs are: attachment, ego identity, and cognitive/moral development. The theories underlying these constructs all postulate the development of internal structures which become increasingly complex, differentiated and integrated with psychological maturity. An underlying premise of this research is that although these constructs or structures may differ with respect to their content, congruency should exist among their developmental levels. For example, it is not expected that women advanced in identity would have avoidant (Fearful) attachment representations, or that a women with a transactional (Perspectivistic) understanding of children and child rearing would be Identity Diffused.

Earlier in this paper the theoretical and empirical linkages between identity and attachment, and identity and parental cognition were discussed. Research has not, however, attempted to demonstrate the interrelationships among all three constructs. The primary goal of this study is to explore the interrelationships among identity, attachment and parental cognition.

Also discussed was research (Main et al., 1985; Ricks, 1985) demonstrating a relationship between women's conceptualization of their attachment history and their children's attachment, and research providing support for the proposed relationship between parental cognition and parenting behaviour (Newberger & Cook, 1983). However, the relationship between women's identity and children's attachment, or between parental cognition and children's attachment, has not been studied. A secondary goal

of this research is to determine if the security of children's attachment can be predicted as a function of their mother's representations of the parenting they received (family attachment representations), their identity, and their parental cognition (concepts of development).

The measures employed were: The Ego Identity Status Interview - Adult Form (ISI; Marcia, et al., in press) to assess ego identity; the Family Attachment Interview (FAI) (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991) to assess women's attachment representations; the Concepts of Development Questionnaire (Sameroff & Feil, 1984) to assess women's conceptualization and understanding of children's development and child rearing; and finally, the Attachment Behaviour Q-Set (Waters, 1987, 1988, 1991) to assess children's security of attachment. The Identity Status Interview, the Family Attachment Interview and the Concepts of Development Questionnaire were briefly discussed in the introduction and further descriptions of each measure will be provided in the Method section.

## ***Hypotheses***

### ***Family Attachment and Identity Status***

1. There will be a difference in attachment style scores among women in different identity statuses.

1a. Identity Achieved women will have higher mean Secure ratings than Diffuse and Foreclosed women.

1b. Foreclosed women will have higher mean Preoccupied ratings than women in other identity statuses.

1c. Identity Diffused women will have higher mean Fearful and Dismissing ratings than women in other identity statuses.

### *Identity Status and Concepts of Development (CODQ)*

2. There will be a difference in concept of development scores among women in different identity statuses.

2a. Women who are Identity Achieved or in Moratorium will have higher mean Total and Perspectivistic CODQ scores than Foreclosed or Diffuse women.

2b. Identity Diffuse women will have higher mean Categorical CODQ scores than women who are Achieved or in Moratorium.

### *Family Attachment and Concepts of Development*

3. There will be a positive relationship between women's security of attachment and concepts of development.

3a. There will be a positive relationship between Secure attachment and Total and Perspectivistic CODQ.

3b. There will be a negative relationship between Secure attachment and Categorical CODQ.

### *Identity Status, Family Attachment and Concepts of Development (CODQ)*

4. There will be congruency among women's levels of development for identity status, family attachment and concepts of development.

4a. Women who are high in identity exploration (Achieved and Moratorium) will be classified as Secure in their attachment and they will have higher Total and Perspectivistic CODQ scores than women who are low in identity exploration (Foreclose and Diffuse) and classified as insecure in their attachment.

4b. Women who are low in identity exploration (Foreclose and Diffuse) will be classified as insecure in their attachment and they will have higher Categorical CODQ scores than women who are high in identity exploration (Achieved and Moratorium) and classified as Secure in their attachment.

*Identity Status, Family Attachment, Concepts of Development (CODQ) and the Security of Children's Attachment*

5. Women's identity status, their family attachment ratings and level of concepts of development, will be predictive of the security of their children's attachment.

5a. There will be a positive relationship between the security of women's attachment and the security of their children's attachment.

5b. There will be a positive relationship between women's Identity Status and the security of their children's attachment

5c. There will be a positive relationship between women's Perspectivistic CODQ scores and the security of their children's attachment.

5d. There will be a negative relationship between women's Categorical CODQ scores and the security of their children's attachment.

## *Method*

### *Participants*

One hundred and six women between the ages of 21 and 44 years ( $M = 32$ ), with children between the ages of 14 and 43 months ( $M = 29$ ), participated in the study. Two home visits were conducted with data available from both home visits for 96 of the women. The data from the first home visit were missing for eight women, and two women did not complete the second home visit; I was unable to contact one of the women to arrange the second interview, and the other woman explained that she was too busy to finish the study.

To participate in the study women had to be over the age of 20, have a child between the ages of 18 and 36 months of age, speak English, and live in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia. Eleven children were over 36 months of age at the time of the second interview, and one child was under 18 months. Seven of the children over 36 months of age were 36 months or younger when their mothers' were initially screened to participate in the study. The children's age criterion was relaxed for four of the children over 36 months of age because their mothers' participated in a previous study (Patterson, 1991) and the data were required as part of a follow-up. One child was under 18 months because the researcher forgot to ask the infant's age during the telephone screening.

Participation in the study was solicited in a variety of ways. Fifty-seven percent ( $N = 60$ ) of the women were directly contacted by one of the researchers. Twenty-six of these women participated in a previous study (Patterson, 1991) when their first child was between six and 18 months of

age. They were contacted to participate in the present study when their first child was between 17 and 36 months of age. Thirty-four of the of women were contacted directly by one of the researchers from names received through word-of-mouth from friends and colleagues of the researchers and from women participating in the study. As well, the principal researcher recruited women who attended Family Place drop-in centres with their children.

Approximately 40.6% ( $N = 43$ ) of the women volunteered to participate in the study by contacting the primary researcher. Thirty-two of these women heard about the study from friends, and eleven from flyers that were distributed to daycares, Family Place drop-in centers, and community bulletin boards in art centres and public markets. It is uncertain how 2.8% ( $N = 3$ ) of the women learned about the study. Table 1 shows how women came to participate in the study.

Eighty-four percent ( $N = 89$ ) of the women in the study were living with male partners, 71% ( $N = 75$ ) of these women were married and 13% ( $N = 14$ ) were living common-law. Eleven percent ( $N = 12$ ) of the women were not in a relationship at the time of the study and one woman was in a relationship but not living with the man. The percentage of women in common law relationships and the number of single mothers is comparable to data from the 1991 Canadian Census (1992). Twenty percent ( $N = 21$ ) of the women were employed full-time, 31% ( $N = 33$ ) part-time, 41% ( $N = 43$ ) did not have paid employment outside the home, four percent ( $N = 4$ ) were on maternity leave and one woman was receiving Unemployment Insurance at the time of the study. The employment status of the women who participated in the present study was comparable to the findings of the 1988 National Child Care Study (Lero, Pence, Shields, Brockman, Hillel, 1992). In the

current study 51.9% of the women were in the labour force compared to 56.7% of the women with children age 18 to 36 months in the national sample.

Women in the study represented a broad spectrum of educational attainment and yearly family income. Seven percent ( $N = 7$ ) of the women in the study had not completed high school, 14% ( $N = 15$ ) obtained a high school diploma with no post-secondary training, 36% ( $N = 38$ ) had some post-secondary training, 28% ( $N = 30$ ) received university degrees and 13% ( $N = 14$ ) were currently attending graduate school or had in the past. The women in this study are more educated than the average Canadian woman over age 25 in 1986 (Census, 1986). With respect to family income the women in this study are comparable to Canadian women who participated in the 1988 National Child Care Study (Lero et.al, 1992). Twenty-four percent ( $N = 25$ ) of the women had a family income below \$25,000 a year, 49% ( $N = 52$ ) of the women had family incomes between \$26,000 and 55,000 a year, and 19% ( $N = 20$ ) of the women have family incomes of over \$56,000 a year.

Forty-three percent ( $N = 45$ ) of the women in the study had one child, 45% ( $N = 47$ ) had two children, 8% ( $N = 8$ ) had three children, and 3% ( $N = 3$ ) of the women had four children. Family composition in terms of number of children is very similar to the distribution of families in the National Child Care Study (Lero, Hillel, Pence, Brockman, Nuttal, 1992). Seventy-three percent ( $N = 77$ ; not including the twins) of the children identified for the Attachment Q-Set were first born, 15% ( $N = 16$ ) were second, four of the children were third, and two were fourth born. Two of the children identified for the Q-sort had a twin. Fifty-two percent ( $N = 54$ ) of the children identified for the Q-sort were female and 48% ( $N = 50$ ) were males. One of the children had Downs' Syndrome.

Ethnic and racial background of the women was not ascertained. With respect to employment status, relationship status and family income, the women who participated in this study were representative of Canadian women with preschool children. The women in this study, however, were more educated than the average Canadian woman over age 25. It is important to note that most research with mothers is either with women who are university educated or with an "at risk" population.

### *Measures*

#### *Ego Identity Status Interview*

The Adult version of Marcia's Ego Identity Status Interview (Marcia, et al., in press) was used to determine women's ego identity status. The content areas explored were: religion, occupation, sex roles and interpersonal relatedness (marriage and the role of spouse). The semi-structured interview involves asking women to discuss each content area with respect to her current beliefs and attitudes, how she arrived at these beliefs, whether or not they are similar to her parents' beliefs, how important the beliefs are to her, and how the beliefs are manifested behaviourally. One of four identity statuses (Achievement, Moratorium, Foreclosure, Diffusion) is assigned to each content domain depending on the extent to which women have explored alternative beliefs and attitudes and the degree of commitment they express with regards to their beliefs. There is generally consistency in identity statuses across content areas (Rogow, Marcia, & Slugoski, 1983), and the predominant identity status will be used as the overall rating. (See Appendix A for interview form). During the past 25 years, over 300 studies have demonstrated the validity of the identity status construct and the four



identity statuses (Marcia, et al., in press). In general inter-rater reliability ranges from 75% to 100% depending upon how reliability is assessed (Marcia, 1980; Marcia, et al., in press).

### *Family Attachment Interview*

The Family Attachment Interview is a modification of George, Kaplan and Main's (1985) Adult Attachment Interview (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991). It is semi-structured and designed to assess adults' understanding and perceptions of childhood relationships in their family of origin.

Individuals are asked about their family background, the quality of their relationships with each parent from their earliest memories to the present, their reactions to being separated from their parents, their feelings of rejection by parents, memories of abuse within the family, and important losses in childhood and adulthood. Individuals are also asked to evaluate their childhood experiences in the family, to discuss why they think their parents acted as they did, and to discuss how these childhood experiences influenced them.

The interview is rated on 16 nine-point scales regarding the participant's relationship with each parent, i.e., acceptance, rejection, idealization, coherence. Each subject is also rated on a nine-point scale for their degree of correspondence with each of the four attachment prototypes. The four attachment prototypes are Secure, Fearful, Preoccupied and Dismissing. *Secure* individuals are coherent in their discussion of early relationships, realistically appraise the past, value attachment relationships, and do not idealize their parents. *Fearful* individuals perceive their parents as rejecting, overly critical, harsh, and unavailable. *Preoccupied* individuals idealize their parents, still try to please them, and are emotionally enmeshed

and dependent upon them. The interview lacks coherence and there is evidence of role-reversal. Individuals rated *Dismissing* tend to deny the importance of attachment relationships, over emphasize independence, idealize parents, have a poor memory for childhood relationships, are limited in their awareness of the effects their parents had on them, have difficulty evaluating early experiences, and give interviews lacking coherence. (See Appendix B for the interview questions; Appendix C for the scoring sheet; and Appendix D for descriptions of the four attachment styles).

Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991) conducted two studies which provided support for the validity of Bartholomew's (1990) four-group model of adult attachment styles. The results of their studies were discussed in Chapter 2 under the heading of *Attachment during Adolescence and Adulthood*. Refer to Figure 1 for an illustration of Bartholomew's Model of Attachment. Bartholomew and Horowitz also provided support for the validity of the attachment styles derived from the Family Attachment Interview. The inter-correlations for the family attachment styles were consistent with the proposed model of attachment; diagonally opposed family attachment styles were significantly negatively correlated, and the correlations of adjacent attachment styles were nonexistent or very low. Furthermore the four family attachment styles were significantly correlated with the four peer attachment styles.

### *Concepts of Development Questionnaire*

The Concepts of Development Questionnaire (CODQ; Sameroff & Feil, 1984) is a 20 item theoretically and empirically derived questionnaire designed to measure parents' conceptual levels with respect to understanding children's development. The CODQ is based on Sameroff's and Feil's theory

that there are four levels or stages of parents' constructs of the child, analogous to Piaget's four stages of cognitive development. They believe that the complexity and sophistication of parent's understanding of children's development is dependent upon parents' general level of cognitive complexity. The four levels of parents' concepts of development are: symbiotic, categorical, compensating, and perspectivistic.

Symbiotic Level - parents at this level are primarily concerned with the immediate here-and-now relationship to their children. They tend to interpret their children's behaviour as directly tied to their own behaviour, and their understanding of development is atheoretical.

Categorical Level - at this level parents are able to see their children as separate from themselves. They tend to focus, however, on the identification of children with their role and labels (e.g, boy or girl) and to use single explanations of behaviour based on either the environment or constitution alone.

Compensating Level - at this level parents are able to view their child as having an existence apart from their own activities as well as apart from the labels given to their children. Developmental outcomes can be understood as having more than one cause, but a full understanding of the complex relationship between the variables and outcome is missing. Sameroff and Feil (1984) believe that the majority of parents are at this level.

Perspectivistic Level - at this level parents are able to see their children's behaviour as stemming from individual experiences in a specific environment. Behaviour is explained by a combination of events over time and there is an appreciation of transactional explanations of development, in that parent(s) and child(ren) are believed to mutually influence each other

over time. The family is described as a system of dynamic and reciprocal relationships.

Sameroff and Feil (1984) originally constructed 44 statements designed to assess the four levels of parental cognition. Parents were expected to rate each statement on a four point scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Factor analysis revealed seven clusters which reflected the levels of parental cognition as well as specific content areas within levels. There were two factors in which symbiotic items appeared, one reflecting positive affect and the other negative affect towards ones' child. There were four factors on which categorical items appeared, and they reflected either a constitutional or environmental view of development with either positive or negative outcomes. The final factor consisted of a combination of compensating and perspectivistic items. Sameroff and Feil (1984) also found high inter-correlations among the cluster scores which they interpreted as an indication of the existence of a single dimension from categorical to perspectivistic. The symbiotic clusters did not correlate with the categorical clusters or with each other, and the categorical cluster correlated negatively with the compensating-perspectivistic items.

In a later analysis in which all the items were treated as a single scale, Cronbach's alpha of .71 was obtained. Part-whole correlations of each item were computed and items with low part-whole correlations were dropped, resulting in the elimination of the symbiotic items. The final version of the CODQ consists of a total of 20 items, 10 categorical and 10 compensating-perspectivistic items. Cronbach's alpha for the final version is .82.

Two studies were conducted using the CODQ and both found significant differences in CODQ for SES. Sameroff and Feil (1984) also developed the Concepts of Development Q-sort (CODQ-S) and the Concepts of

Development Vignettes (CODV). They found strong intercorrelations among the three measures of concepts of development. In the second study employing the CODQ, Sameroff and Feil (1984) noted that women's CODQ made an independent contribution to children's intelligence scores but not to social competence scores. For further elaboration on these studies refer to Chapter 4, Parental Cognition. No further studies are known to have employed the CODQ (A. J. Sameroff, personal communication, April 1991), therefore, further information regarding the reliability and validity of the CODQ is not available.

To complete the CODQ parents are asked to rate a series of statements about child rearing on a four-point scale from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Two examples of the items are: 1) Children have to be treated differently as they grow older (compensating-perspectivistic level), 2) Parents must keep to their standards and rules no matter what their child is like (categorical level). Four of the categorical items include statements about gender stereotypes or labels. For example, item 16 states: Boy babies are less affectionate than girl babies. (See Appendix E for CODQ).

The CODQ (Sameroff & Feil, 1984) produces three scores, a Categorical score, a Compensating-Perspectivistic score, and a Total CODQ score which provides an overall score combining the amount of disagreement to the categorical items and the amount of agreement to the compensating-perspectivistic items. The Compensating-Perspectivistic score will be referred to as the Perspectivistic score or level.

### *Attachment Behavior Q-Set*

Waters' and Deane's (1985) Attachment Behavior Q-Set is a theoretically and empirically derived Q-sort measure of infant/toddler

security of attachment based on Bowlby's behavioural control theory of attachment. After reviewing the literature on attachment, Waters and Deane constructed a list of attachment-related behaviours and the contexts in which they occur. During a series of home visits they used the items to rate infants' and toddlers' behaviour, and they had parents describe their children using the items. Items with poor inter-rater agreement and minimal variance across subjects were eliminated. For many of the items, examples of the opposite behaviour were provided, and items and their opposites were ordered to balance for social desirability.

The Attachment Q-Set was used to provide a criterion sort for security of attachment (Waters, 1988). The attachment security criterion was constructed by averaging the Q-sorts of the "hypothetical most secure child" provided by M. Ainsworth, I. Bretherton, M. Main, A. Sroufe, B. Vaughn, & E. Waters. Criterion sorts were provided for 12 and 36 months (Waters & Deane, 1985), and it appears that they were averaged to produce the composite "hypothetical most secure child". The alpha reliability of the composite was .96, and the correlations among the sorters ranged from .70 to .90 (Waters, 1988).

The third revision (Waters, 1988) of the Q-sort was used in the present study. It consists of 90 items with statements making reference to specific attachment related behaviors and contexts, as well as 72 of the items providing definitions of the opposite behaviours in italics. Since the Attachment Q-Set items have only masculine pronouns to refer to the target child, the Q-sort was modified to include a male child and female child version. Examples of modified Q-sort items are: 70) Child quickly greets her mother with a big smile when mother enters the room. (Shows her a toy, gestures, or says "Hi, Mommy") Low: Doesn't greet mother unless she greets

child first; and, 25) Child is easy for mother to lose track of when he is playing out of mother's sight. Low: Talks and calls when out of sight. Easy to find; easy to keep track of what child is playing with. Middle: If never plays out of sight. (See Appendix F for female child Attachment Q-Set).

In the present study the Q-sort was introduced to the women during the first session at which time they completed the practice Q-sort. It was suggested that the women practice the Q-sort during the upcoming week and to observed their child's behaviour for at least one week keeping in mind the Q-sort items. The Q-sort was scored for security of attachment by computing the correlations between the 90 item description of the target children and the 90 item description of the "hypothetically most secure child."

The Attachment Q-Set is gaining popularity because it is economical in terms of time and training, and because it can be used with preschool children in a nonstressful naturalistic or home environment (Teti, Nakagawa, Das & Wirth, 1991). Numerous studies have employed the Attachment Q-Set, but, as of yet, only a few studies have been published (Waters, 1991), making it difficult to obtain information on the reliability and validity of the measure. Deane and Waters (1984; cited in Waters and Deane, 1985) reported correlations between the Q-sorts of two observers as ranging from .75 to .95. These Q-sorts were completed after six to eight hours of observing three year old children in their homes. In the same study (Deane and Waters, 1984; cited in Waters and Deane, 1985) mothers' complete the Q-sort twice, each time after observing their children's behaviour during the previous week. The correlations between the composite of the mothers' sort and the composite of the observers' sort ranged from .59 to .93, with a mean correlation of .80. Waters and Deane (1985) examined the differences between the mothers' and observers' sorts and concluded that

the differences were the result of the mothers having more access to observe the behaviour of their children.

The results of a study by Pederson and Moran (1990) were somewhat less impressive than the findings reported by Waters and Deane. Pederson and Moran reported a correlation of .72 between the Q-sorts of two observers, and correlations of .40 and .57 between mothers' sorts and each of the observers. The observers spent approximately four hours observing mothers and their one year old infants in their home. Mothers performed a practice sort and completed the final Attachment Q-Set between the first and second home visit. It should be noted that agreement between observers does not indicate that the ratings are accurate or representative of the children's behaviour.

Three studies have examined the concurrent validity between the Attachment Q-Set and children's behaviour in the Strange Situation. Two of these studies had mothers complete the Q-sort and one had independent observers complete the Q-sort. A study conducted in the Netherlands (Van Dam & Van Ijzendoorn, 1988) found no relationship between 18 month old children's classification of a secure attachment assessed by the Strange Situation and the security of their attachment as assessed by their mothers' Q-sort descriptions of their behaviour. Bretherton and her colleagues (1989) converted Strange Situations classifications into security scores and found that Strange Situation ratings at 18 months were correlated ( $r = .40$ ,  $p < .01$ ) with mothers' Q-sorts for security of attachment at 25 months, but not at 37 months ( $r = .14$ ). Vaughn and Waters (1990) used consensus Q-sort descriptions from two researchers who observed 12 to 18 month old infants for four to ten hours. They found that infants classified as secure in the Strange Situation obtained significantly higher security ratings on the



Attachment Q-Set than infants classified as insecure in the Strange Situation. Bretherton and her colleagues (1989) also demonstrated moderate stability between mothers' Q-sort descriptions from 25 to 37 months ( $r = .39$ ,  $p < .05$ ).

It should be noted that there is much variability among studies using the Attachment Q-Set in terms of the ages of the target children; the person completing the Q-sort, mothers or independent observers; the extent of instruction or training observers and mothers receive; the length of interval between mothers' preliminary and final Q-sorts; the time spent observing the target children; the means of derivation of the Q-sort score (consensus, compilation); and the version of the Attachment Q-Set used. Hence, it was difficult to draw definitive conclusions regarding the validity of this measure. There is some evidence however, that mothers can provide reliable and stable descriptions of their children using this measure, and that their descriptions may coincide with their children's behaviour in the Strange Situation.

### *Demographic and Information Questionnaires*

Two demographic questionnaires were designed by the primary researcher. The questionnaires asked the age of women and child, current relationship status, sex, date of birth of other children in the family, the woman and her partner's educational background, family income, women's employment status, child care arrangements, and the names and phone numbers of any friends who might be interested in participating in the study. One of the questionnaires was conducted in interview style with the researcher recording the responses (see Appendix G); the other was given to the women to complete (see Appendix H).

## *Procedure*

Each women was contacted by phone or in person and the study was briefly discussed. Women were informed that participation in the study involved two home visits by two different female researchers and each of the measures were briefly explained. Women were informed that participants completing the study would have their names entered into a lottery for \$100, and would receive a summary of the results upon completion of the study.

During the first home visit women read a description of each measure and the study was briefly discussed. Refer to Appendix I for the descriptions of the measures. Women completed the consent form (see Appendix J) and were asked relevant demographic information as well as information about child care arrangements. The Ego Identity Interview was conducted, the Attachment Behavior Q-Set was explained and the preliminary Q-sort completed. During the second home visit, by a different female researcher, the Attachment Q-sort was completed and the Family Attachment Interview was conducted. The order of the procedures during each visit was flexible to accommodate the women and their child care arrangements. At the end of the second session the women were thanked for their participation and any questions regarding the study were answered. Each home visit lasted approximately two to three hours and the time between home visits varied depending upon the women's schedules, ranging from five days to 13 weeks, with an average of 3.3 weeks. The time between sessions was rarely less than a week or more than seven weeks.

The Ego Identity Status Interview and the Family Attachment Interview were audio-taped, and duplicates of all audio-tapes were made. All Ego Identity Status Interviews were rated by the interviewer after the home

visit. The majority of the Family Attachment Interviews were rated after listening to the audio-tape of the interview. Forty of the Family Attachment Interviews were rated by someone other than the interviewer. Raters were asked to provide their notes as well as their ratings for Identity Status Interviews and Family Attachment Interviews.

Inter-rater reliability for Identity Status Interviews was determined by having all, except four, of the identity status tapes re-rated by a second independent rater. Two of the tapes were not re-rated because the second raters knew the women interviewed, and two tapes could not be re-rated because of poor sound quality. In the case of disagreement between the two raters a third rating was obtained from an independent rater. A criterion of agreement between two of the three raters was required for an Identity Status Interview to be used in the analyses. Three interviews did not reach this criterion and were dropped from the study. In total six raters served as second raters and two as third raters.

Inter-rater agreement between the first and second raters was 73/95, 76.8 percent exact agreement, with a Kappa of .65. Of the 22 interviews requiring a third rater, agreement between two out of three raters (the third rater and either rater one or two) was 19/22, 86.4 percent exact agreement. There was no agreement on three of the Identity Status Interviews and they were not used in the analyses. Using a criterion of agreement of two out of three ratings the inter-rater reliability was 92/95, 96.8 percent exact agreement, and Kappa was .95.

Seventy of the Family Attachment Interviews were coded twice. The 13 tapes rated by the least trained rater were re-rated, and the interviews that the principal researcher found most difficult to rate were also re-rated. The remaining interviews were randomly chosen for the reliability check.

Seven of the Family Attachment Interviews were rated by a third rater because there was a four or more point discrepancy between the ratings of the first and second rater. The ratings of the two most experienced raters were chosen to be in the final data analyses. If there was still a three or more point discrepancy between the two most experienced raters, then the average ratings of the three raters was used.

Cronbach's Alpha coefficients were computed to assess the reliability of the 70 Family Attachment Interviews which had two or more ratings. The reliabilities were .84 for Secure, .79 for Fearful, .74 for Preoccupied, and .84 for Dismissing. These reliability coefficients are very comparable to those found by Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991). Correlations between the first and second raters were; Secure  $r = .7315$ , Fearful  $r = .6541$ , Preoccupied  $r = .5989$  and Dismissing  $r = .7186$ .

The four family attachment ratings, Secure, Fearful, Preoccupied and Dismissing, were used as both continuous and categorical variables. As with Grunberg's (1991) research in identity and attachment, it was believed that using the attachment ratings in two different ways would provide the best overall understanding of the relationships among the variables.

The family attachment ratings were converted into four categorical variables as suggested by Dr. K. Bartholomew (personal communication, May 1993). Women were assigned to the attachment category in which they received the highest rating. If there was a tie between a Secure attachment rating and an insecure rating the woman was assigned to the Secure category. If there was a tie between two insecure ratings the woman was randomly assigned to either one of the insecure categories. If there was a tie among three attachment prototypes and the scores were less than 3.5 then the subjects were dropped from the analyses using attachment as a

**categorical variable. Attachment ratings were dropped for two women for this reason.**

## **Chapter 6**

### **Results**

BMDP (1990) was used for the following multivariate analysis of variances (MANOVAs), analysis of variances (ANOVAs), t-tests, chi-square analyses, and discriminant function analyses. SPSS (1990) was used for the discriminant function analyses to determine the chi square tests and the correlations between predictors and discriminant functions. Unless otherwise stated, each of the MANOVA's and discriminant function analyses with Secure, Fearful, Preoccupied and Dismissing as the dependent variables or predictor variables had a total  $N$  of 106 which was reduced to 92 after the deletion of 14 cases having missing data. Unless otherwise stated, MANOVAs and discriminant function analyses with Perspectivistic and Categorical CODQ scores as the dependent variables, and ANOVAs with Total as the dependent variable, had the total  $N$  of 106 which was reduced to 94 after the deletion of 12 cases having missing data. The alpha level was set at 0.05 for the following analyses.

#### ***Identity Status and Family Attachment***

##### ***Identity Status (A,M,F,D) and Family Attachment***

To assess the relationship between identity status and women's family attachment a between-subject MANOVA was performed with the four dependent variables being scores on the four family attachment classifications of Secure, Fearful, Preoccupied and Dismissing. The group means, standard deviations and number of subjects for family attachment by identity status are shown in Table 2. The between-subject factor was identity

status which consisted of four levels: Achievement, Moratorium, Foreclosure and Diffusion. By the F-ratio approximation to Wilk's lambda likelihood ratio statistic the dependent variables differed significantly according to identity status,  $F(12, 225.18) = 2.15, p = 0.0152$ . The results are shown in Table 3. Univariate tests for each dependent variable revealed significant differences in Secure attachment among identity statuses ( $F(3, 88) = 4.85, p = 0.0036$ , using a Bonferroni-corrected alpha of 0.0125). The results of this analysis are presented in Table 4.

To clarify further the relationship between identity status and Secure attachment a series of pairwise t-tests were performed using Fisher's procedure. The alpha level was set at 0.0125. In partial support of hypothesis 1a, Achieved ( $M = 4.488$ ) and Foreclosed ( $M = 4.176$ ) participants had significantly higher Secure attachment scores ( $p = 0.0003$ , and  $p = 0.0046$  respectively) than did Diffuse participants ( $M = 2.908$ ). Refer to Table 5 for the results of this analysis.

A discriminant function analysis was performed using the four family attachment ratings (Secure, Fearful, Preoccupied, Dismissing) as the predictors and identity status (Achieved, Moratorium, Foreclosed, Diffuse) as the grouping factor. Three discriminant functions were calculated, with a combined  $\chi^2(12) = 24.93, p = 0.015$ . There was no significant discrimination among the groups beyond the first function ( $\chi^2(6) = 9.65, p = 0.1402$ ). The first discriminant function accounted for 62.62% of the between-group variability and separated maximally women classified as Achieved and Foreclosed from women classified Diffuse. The correlations between predictors and discriminant functions suggested that the best predictor for distinguishing between Achieved and Diffuse women and Foreclosed and Diffuse women was a high score on Secure attachment (0.88). The next best predictor was a low

score on Fearful (-0.64), followed by a low score on Dismissing (-0.43). The Preoccupied attachment style (0.14) was a relatively poor predictor of identity status.

Women's attachment styles, as categorical variables, differed significantly among the identity statuses ( $\chi^2(9) = 22.499, p = 0.0074$ ; Table 6 shows the results of this analysis). Women classified as Achieved and Foreclosed, were most likely to be Secure, 53.7% and 46.9% respectively, compared to only 20% and 8.3% of the women classified as Moratorium and Diffuse, respectively. Women classified as Moratorium and Diffuse were most likely to be Fearful, 80% and 50% respectively. Twenty-five percent of the women rated Diffuse were Dismissing in their attachment.

Although women classified as Achieved and Foreclosed were similar in that they were both likely to be classified Secure, differences between the two identity statuses were notable. The Foreclosed and Achieved women differed significantly on the Preoccupied and Dismissing attachment styles ( $\chi^2(1) = 4.701, p = 0.0301$ ). Overall more Foreclosed women were Preoccupied (28.1%) than were Achieved (9.8%) women. Conversely, Achieved women were Dismissing (17.1%) more frequently than were Foreclosed (6.3%) women. To clarify further these results, 58.3% of all the women classified Dismissing were Achieved while only 16.7% were Foreclosed; whereas 60% of all women classified as Preoccupied were Foreclosed compared to 26.7% of them being Achieved. These results lend some support to hypothesis 1b.

#### *Identity Status (AF-MD; Commitment / Structure) and Family Attachment*

The results indicated that women classified as Achieved and Foreclosed were more Securely attached than women classified as Diffuse. This is not surprising since to be considered Achieved or Foreclosed one must



demonstrate commitment in the areas of interpersonal values, as well as occupation and religion beliefs, whereas, the Diffuse status is characterized by a lack of such commitments. The Moratorium status is also characterized by a lack of commitment, however, individuals in this status have generally suspended commitment while exploring various belief systems and ideologies.

Commitment to a belief system is considered to be evidence of internalized psychological structure. To clarify further the relationship between Identity and Attachment it was decided to re-analyze the data contrasting high commitment/structure with low commitment/structure. This was done by combining the identity statuses of Achievement and Foreclosure (high commitment/structure), and Moratorium and Diffusion (low commitment/structure). Group means, standard deviations and number of subject for the four family attachment styles by identity commitment, are provided in Table 7.

A between-subject MANOVA was conducted with commitment/structure as the between-subject variable, the two levels were high and low commitment. The four dependent variables were Secure, Fearful, Preoccupied and Dismissing attachment scores. Using Hotelling's generalized T-squared statistic the dependent variables differed significantly on commitment/structure,  $F(4, 87) = 4.11, p = 0.0042$ . Table 8 shows the results of this analysis. Univariate tests for each of the dependent variables revealed that Secure ( $F(1, 90) = 12.37, p = 0.0007$ ), and Fearful ( $F(1, 90) = 8.06, p = 0.0056$ ) family attachment scores were significantly related to commitment/structure using a Bonferroni-corrected alpha of 0.0125. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 9.

Committed women, those with defined psychological structure (Achieved/Foreclosure;  $M = 4.349$ ), were more Securely attached than

uncommitted women with less developed psychological structure (Moratorium/Diffusion;  $\underline{M} = 3.117$ ). Women with less commitment and less developed psychological structure (Moratorium/Diffusion) were more Fearful ( $\underline{M} = 4.044$ ) than committed women (Achieved/Foreclosure;  $\underline{M} = 2.855$ ).

A discriminant function analysis was performed using the four family attachment ratings (Secure, Fearful, Preoccupied, Dismissing) as the predictors, and the two combined identity statuses (Achieved/Foreclosed and Moratorium/Diffuse) as the groups. One discriminant function was calculated and found to be significant,  $\chi^2(4) = 15.233$ ,  $p = 0.0042$ . The correlations between predictors and discriminant functions suggested that the best predictor for distinguishing between Achieved/Foreclosed and Moratorium/Diffuse women was a high rating on Secure (0.85), followed by a low rating on Fearful (-0.69). Dismissing (-0.39) and Preoccupied (0.13) attachment styles were relatively poor predictors in distinguishing between Achieved/Foreclosed and Moratorium/Diffuse women.

Using attachment styles as a categorical variable, women's attachment classifications differed significantly between the committed and uncommitted identity statuses ( $\chi^2(3) = 13.542$ ,  $p = 0.0036$ ; Table 10 shows the results of this analysis). Because the three insecure attachment classifications did not significantly differ from each other, they were collapsed to create an insecure category. The frequency of Securely attached women differed significantly between committed and uncommitted women ( $\chi^2(1) = 8.506$ ,  $p = 0.0035$ ). Committed women (Achieved/Foreclosed) were equally as likely to be Secure as insecure, whereas uncommitted (Moratorium/Diffuse) women were more likely to be insecure (88%). Ninety-five percent of all Secure women were in the committed statuses.

### *Identity Status (AM-FD; Exploration) and Family Attachment*

Identity status research suggests that women who have self-constructed an identity (Achievement) or are in the process of doing so (Moratorium) differ from women who have not self-constructed an Identity (Foreclosure and Diffusion; Josselson, 1982; Orlofsky & Frank, 1986). To test the assumption that it is advantageous to self-construct one's identity, the data were re-analyzed contrasting women who had undergone, or were currently undergoing, a period of self-exploration with those women who had not undergone such a process. This was done by comparing the combined identity statuses of Achievement and Moratorium (high exploration), with the combined statuses of Foreclosure and Diffusion (low exploration).

A between-subject MANOVA was performed with the two combined identity statuses, high (Achievement/Moratorium) and low exploration (Foreclosure/Diffusion) as the two levels of the between-subject variable identity exploration. The group means, standard deviations and number of subjects for family attachment by identity exploration are shown in Table 11. The four dependent variables were Secure, Fearful, Preoccupied and Dismissing. Using Hotelling's generalized T-squared statistic the dependent variables did not differ significantly according to the presence or absence of exploration ( $F(4, 87) = 1.79, p = 0.1388$ ). Table 12 shows for the results of this analysis.

Attachment classifications did not differ according to identity exploration ( $\chi^2(3) = 4.814, p = 0.1859$ ). Table 13 shows the for results of this analysis.

## ***Identity Status and Concepts of Development***

### ***Identity Status (A,M,F,D) and Total CODQ***

To examine the hypothesized relationship between identity status and concepts of development a between-subject ANOVA was performed with Total CODQ as the dependent variable. The group means, standard deviations and number of subjects for Total, Perspectivistic, and Categorical CODQ scores by identity status are shown in Table 14. The between-subject variable was Identity, consisting of four levels, Achievement, Moratorium, Foreclosure and Diffusion. Analysis of variance revealed differences between identity statuses and Total CODQ scores which approached, but did not attain, significance ( $F(3, 90) = 2.50, p = 0.0645$ ). Table 15 shows the results of this analysis. However, in partial support of hypothesis 2a, Achieved women ( $M = 2.230$ ) tended to score higher in Total CODQ than did Diffuse women ( $M = 2.077; p = 0.0019$ , using a Bonferroni-corrected alpha of 0.008). Table 16 provides the results of the pairwise t-tests.

### ***Identity Status (A,M,F,D) and Perspectivistic and Categorical CODQ***

To clarify further the relationship between identity status and concepts of development a between-subject MANOVA was performed. The two dependent variables were the two levels of concepts of development, Perspectivistic and Categorical; the between-subject factor was identity status consisting of four levels, Achievement, Moratorium, Foreclosure and Diffusion. The F-ratio approximation to Wilk's lambda likelihood ratio statistic indicated that the dependent variables differed significantly according to identity status,  $F(6, 178) = 2.30, p = 0.0365$ . Table 17 shows the

results of this analysis. The univariate tests for each dependent variable revealed that it was the Perspectivistic level that differed significantly among the identity statuses ( $F(3, 90) = 3.46, p = 0.0195$ , using a Bonferroni-corrected alpha of 0.025 for two variables). The results of this analysis are presented in Table 18.

To clarify the relationship between identity status and the Perspectivistic level of CODQ a series of pairwise t-tests were performed using Fisher's procedure. The alpha level was set at 0.025. Hypothesis 2a was partially supported in that Achieved women ( $M = 2.177$ ) were significantly ( $p = 0.0041$ ) more Perspectivistic than Diffuse women ( $M = 1.938$ ). Table 19 provides the results of the pairwise t-tests.

A discriminant function analysis was performed using the two CODQ scores (Perspectivistic, Categorical) as the predictors and the four identity statuses (Achieved, Moratorium, Foreclosed, Diffuse) as the groups. Two discriminant functions were calculated,  $\chi^2(6) = 13.444, p = 0.0365$ . There was no significant discrimination among the groups beyond the first function ( $\chi^2(2) = 2.9247, p = 0.2317$ ) which accounted for 78.96% of the between-group variability. The first discriminant function maximally separated Achieved women from Diffuse women. The correlations between predictors and discriminant function suggested that the best predictor for distinguishing between Achieved and Diffuse women and Achieved and Foreclosed women was a high Perspectivistic score (0.95). A low Categorical score (-0.37) was a relatively poor predictor.

#### *Identity Status (AF-MD; Commitment/Structure) and Total CODQ*

To examine the relationship between commitment/structure in identity status and concepts of development a one-way between-subject ANOVA was

performed. Group means, standard deviations, and number of subjects for Total, Perspectivistic and Categorical levels of CODQ by identity commitment are provided in Table 20. The dependent variable was the Total CODQ score and the between-subject variable was commitment/structure, consisting of two levels, high commitment (Achieved/Foreclosed) and low commitment (Moratorium/Diffuse). The results of this analysis were not significant,  $F(1, 92) = 1.49, p = 0.2249$ . The results of this analysis are presented in Table 21.

Since Total CODQ did not differ significantly according to the identity statuses, further analyses with Perspectivistic and Categorical CODQ were not performed.

#### *Identity Status (AM-FD; Exploration) and Total CODQ*

To examine the relationship between identity exploration and concepts of development a one-way between-subject ANOVA was performed. The dependent variable was the Total CODQ scores and the between-subject variable was identity exploration, consisting of two levels, high (Achieved/Moratorium) and low (Foreclosed/Diffuse) identity. The group means, standard deviation and number of subjects for the Total, Perspectivistic and Categorical CODQ scores by identity commitment are shown in Table 22. Analysis of variance revealed that Total CODQ scores differed significantly according to high and low identity exploration ( $F(1, 92) = 6.98, p = 0.0097$ ). Table 23 shows the results of this analysis. Women who had or who were going through a period of identity exploration (Achieved/Moratorium;  $M = 2.230$ ) scored significantly higher on Total CODQ than did women who had not gone through a period of identity exploration (Foreclosed/Diffuse;  $M = 2.116$ ).

### *Identity Status (AM-FD; Exploration) and Perspectivistic and Categorical CODQ*

To clarify further the relationship between identity exploration and concepts of development a between-subject MANOVA was performed. The dependent variables were Perspectivistic and Categorical CODQ scores, and the between-subject variable was identity exploration, consisting of two levels, high (Achieved/Moratorium) and low exploration (Foreclosed/Diffuse). Using Hotelling's generalized T-squared statistic, the dependent variables significantly differed according to the presence or absence of identity exploration ( $F(2, 91) = 4.57, p = 0.0128$ ). Table 24 shows the results of this analysis. The univariate tests for each dependent variable revealed that Perspectivistic CODQ scores differed significantly between low and high identity exploration ( $F(1, 92) = 6.53, p = 0.0122$ , using a Bonferroni-corrected alpha of 0.025). Table 25 provides the results of this analysis. In support of hypothesis 2a, women who had gone through a period of identity exploration, or who were currently doing so (Achieved/Moratorium,  $M = 2.161$ ) scored significantly higher on Perspectivistic CODQ than did women who had not gone through a period of identity exploration (Foreclosed/Diffuse,  $M = 2.024$ ).

A discriminant function analysis was performed using the two CODQ scores (Perspectivistic and Categorical) as the predictors, and the two combined identity statuses (Achieved/Moratorium, Foreclosed/Diffuse) as the groups. One discriminant function was calculated,  $\tilde{U}(2) = 8.7, p = 0.0128$ . The correlations between the predictors and the discriminant function suggested that the best predictor for distinguishing between Achieved/Moratorium and Foreclose/Diffuse women was a high Perspectivistic score (0.84), followed by a low Categorical score (-0.59).

### ***Family Attachment and Concepts of Development***

A series of Pearson product-moment correlations were calculated to examine the relationships among women's family attachment classifications (Secure, Fearful, Preoccupied and Dismissing) and concepts of development (Perspectivistic, Categorical and Total). No significant correlations were found, therefore hypothesis 3, 3a, and 3b, were not supported. Table 26 shows the correlations.

### ***Family Attachment, Identity Status and Concepts of Development***

#### ***Family Attachment, Identity Status and Total CODQ***

To examine the hypothesized relationships (hypothesis 4, 4a) between family attachment, identity status and concepts of development, a two-by-two between-subject ANOVA was performed with Total CODQ scores as the dependent variable. The groups means, standard deviations and number of subjects for Total CODQ by family attachment and identity are presented in Table 27. Two levels of family attachment, Secure and insecure (Fearful, Preoccupied and Dismissing), and two levels of identity status, high (Achieved/Moratorium) and low (Foreclosed/Diffusion), were the grouping variables. The results of this analysis revealed a main effect for identity ( $F(1, 85) = 7.30, p = 0.0083$ ) and a non-significant interaction between family attachment and identity status ( $F(1, 85) = 2.94, p = 0.0900$ ). Table 28 shows the results of this analysis.

Two one-way between-subject ANOVAs, with Total CODQ as the dependent variable, were conducted to test the simple main effects. A Bonferroni-corrected alpha of 0.025 was used. When the grouping variable



was identity status (Achieved/Moratorium and Foreclosed/Diffuse) at Secure attachment the results were not significant ( $F(1, 37) = 0.37, p = .5443$ ). When the grouping variable was identity status (Achieved/Moratorium and Foreclosed/Diffuse) at insecure attachment the results revealed that insecure-Achieved women ( $M = 2.298$ ) had significantly higher mean Total scores than insecure-Foreclosed women ( $M = 2.104$ ), ( $F(1, 48) = 12.71, p = 0.0008$ ). Table 29 and 30 respectively, shows the results of these analyses; and Figure 4 provides an illustration of the identity by attachment interaction for Total CODQ. These results failed to provide support for hypotheses 4 and 4a. The only finding that was in the expected direction was that women who were insecure and low in identity exploration were the least cognitively sophisticated.

#### *Family Attachment, Identity Status and Perspectivistic and Categorical CODQ*

To clarify further the interaction between identity and family attachment for concepts of development, a two-between-subject MANOVA was performed. The two dependent variables were the two levels of concepts of development, Perspectivistic and Categorical. The between-subject factors were two levels of identity status, high exploration (Achieved/Moratorium) and low exploration (Foreclose/Diffuse); and two levels of family attachment, Secure and insecure (Fearful, Preoccupied and Dismissing). Using Hotelling's generalized T-square statistic, the dependent variables differed significantly between high and low identity exploration ( $F(2, 84) = 4.51, p = 0.0137$ ), but not between the Secure and insecure attachment classifications ( $F(2, 84) = 0.74, p = 0.4790$ ). There was, however, an interaction between family attachment and identity status for the combined dependent variables

using Hotelling's generalized T-square statistic ( $F(2, 84) = 3.37, p = 0.0391$ ). The results of this analysis can be found in Table 31.

The univariate tests for each dependent variable revealed that the main effect for the identity statuses approached, but did not reach, significance for both Perspectivistic ( $F(1, 85) = 4.33, p = 0.0403$ ) and Categorical CODQ ( $F(1, 85) = 5.07, p = 0.0269$ ) using a Bonferroni-corrected alpha of 0.025 for two variables. The univariate tests for each dependent variable revealed a significant interaction for identity status and family attachment for Perspectivistic CODQ scores ( $F(1, 85) = 6.76, p = 0.0110$ ), but not Categorical CODQ scores ( $F(1, 85) = 0.03, p = 0.8613$ ). Table 32 provides the results of this analysis.

To clarify the simple main effects two one-way between-subject ANOVAs were conducted with Perspectivistic as the dependent variable. A Bonferroni-corrected alpha of 0.025 was used. When the grouping variable was identity status (Achieved/Moratorium and Foreclose/Diffuse) at Secure attachment the results were not significant ( $F(1, 37) = 0.13, p = 0.7201$ ). When the grouping variable was identity status (Achieved/Moratorium and Foreclosed/Diffuse) at insecure attachment women high in identity exploration ( $M = 2.226$ ) had higher Perspectivistic CODQ scores than women low in identity exploration ( $M = 1.970$ ), ( $F(1, 48) = 11.81, p = 0.0012$ ). Refer to Tables 29 and 30 for results of these analyses; and see Figure 5 for an illustration of the interaction. These results provide partial support for hypotheses 4 and 4b. The one finding that was in the predicted direction was that women who were insecure in their attachment and low in identity status were the least Perspectivistic in their concepts of development.

Almost all of the women who were Secure and high in identity exploration were Achieved with the exception of one woman in Moratorium;

similarly all the women who were Secure and low in identity exploration were Foreclosed with the exception of one women in Diffusion. Therefore, it was decided that an analysis including only Achieved and Foreclosed women may help clarify the findings. The group means and standard deviations and number of subjects for CODQ by identity and family attachment are shown in Table 33. A two-by-two between subject ANOVA was performed with Perspectivistic scores as the dependent variable. Two levels of family attachment, Secure and insecure (Fearful, Preoccupied and Dismissing), and two levels of identity status, Achieved and Foreclosed, were the grouping variables. Results of this analysis revealed a significant main effect for identity status ( $F(1, 68) = 4.11, p = 0.0466$ ) and a significant interaction between family attachment and identity status ( $F(1, 68) = 7.43, p = 0.0085$ ). Table 34 shows the results of this analysis.

Two one-way between-subject ANOVAs, with Perspectivistic CODQ as the dependent variable, were conducted to test the simple main effects. A Bonferroni-corrected alpha of 0.025 was used. When the grouping variable was identity status (Achievement and Foreclosure) at Secure attachment the results were not significant ( $F(1, 35) = 0.27, p = 0.6034$ ). When the the grouping variable was identity status (Achievement and Foreclosure) at insecure attachment, Achieved women ( $M = 2.263$ ) scored significantly higher on Perspectivistic CODQ than and Foreclosed women ( $M = 1.975$ ), ( $F(1, 33) = 9.62, p = 0.0039$ ). See Table 35 and 36 for summaries of these analysis and refer to Figure 6 for an illustration of the interaction.

### ***Attachment Q-Set: Identity Status, Family Attachment and Concepts of Development***

An all-possible-subsets-multiple-regression was performed between the dependent variable, children's Attachment Q-Set, and the independent variables of identity status, which was dummy coded, the four levels of women's family attachment, Secure, Fearful, Preoccupied and Dismissing, and the two levels of CODQ, Perspectivistic and Categorical. The total  $N$  of 106 was reduced to 85 after the deletion of cases with missing data. The only variable that was significantly related to the Attachment Q-Set was Perspectivistic CODQ. The correlation was  $-0.256$ , with an  $R$ -squared of  $0.065$ . Using a Bonferroni correction for the number of correlations computed, the correlation between Attachment Q-Set and Perspectivistic CODQ is not significant. The results of this analysis failed to support hypothesis 4 to 4d. Table 26 provides the correlations between Attachment Q-Set and each of the independent variables, except identity status.

### ***Demographic Variables***

Each of the demographic variables were examined with respect to the four family attachment styles and the four identity statuses. Education was examined to respect to concepts of development because it was expected that women with the highest levels of formal education would be cognitively more sophisticated than women with the lowest levels of formal education. Family income was examined with respect to concepts of development because previous research (Sameroff & Feil, 1984) found that Total and Perspectivistic CODQ scores differed according to SES.

To convert CODQ scores to categorical variables, the Total, Perspectivistic and Categorical scores were divided so that approximately 50% of the 97 women who completed the CODQ would fall in the low categories, and approximately 50% would fall in the high categories. Women with Total CODQ scores at or below 2.19 were assigned to the low Total CODQ, and women with scores at or above 2.20 were assigned to the high Total CODQ. Women with Perspectivistic CODQ scores at or below 2.1 were assigned to the low Perspectivistic CODQ, and women with scores at or above 2.2 were assigned to the high Perspectivistic CODQ. Women with Categorical CODQ scores at or below 0.7 were assigned to the low Categorical CODQ and women with scores at or above 0.8 were assigned to the high Categorical CODQ.

Children's age was examined with respect to their Attachment Q-Set ratings because previous research (Waters, Kondo-Ikemura, Posada & Richters, 1990) found a relationship between the two variables.

### *Age*

Women's ages were classified into one of five age ranges: under 25, 26-30, 31-35, 36-40, over 40. Women's age was found to differ significantly among the identity statuses ( $\chi^2(12) = 23.434, p = 0.0243$ ). Table 37 shows the results of this analysis. To clarify further the association between age and identity two additional analyses were performed. An alpha of 0.025 was set using a Bonferroni correction for two comparisons. Age was collapsed into two categories: 35 and under, and over 35. Results revealed that women's age significantly differed among the identity statuses ( $\chi^2(3) = 12.354, p = 0.0063$ ). Identity status was then collapsed across Moratorium, Foreclosure and Diffusion and compared to Achievement, and the two age classifications

of 35 and under, and over 35, were employed. Results revealed that age discriminated significantly between the most mature identity status (A) and the other identity statuses (MFD) ( $\chi^2(1) = 11.434, p = 0.0007$ ). Achieved women were almost equally distributed in the under (52%) and over age 35 (48%) categories, whereas the other three collapsed identity statuses were over-represented in the 35 and under (84%) category, and under-represented in the over 35 (16%) category.

A Pearson correlation was calculated on women's age and each of the four family attachment ratings. No significant correlations were found. The correlation coefficient is shown in Table 26.

Previous research (Waters, Kondo-Ikemura, Posada & Richters, 1990) found a relationship between children's age and their Attachment Q-Set ratings. A Pearson correlation was computed on the security of children's attachment (Attachment Q-Set) and children's age to determine if there was a relationship between the two variables. No significant correlation was found. These correlations are shown in Table 26.

### *Education*

Education consisted of five levels; 1) never graduated from high school, 2) graduated high school, 3) some post secondary training (attended university/college but did not graduate, technical training, and/or two year college diploma), 4) university degree, 5) graduate training or graduate degree. Women's highest level of education was found to differ significantly among the identity statuses ( $\chi^2(12) = 40.607, p = 0.0001$ ; results shown in Table 38). Comparisons between the women in the highest (did graduate work) and the lowest (did not graduate from high school) levels of education, revealed a significant difference among the identity statuses ( $\chi^2(2) = 17.070, p$

= 0.0002, using a Bonferroni corrected alpha of 0.025). Achieved Women attained the highest levels of education, whereas Diffuse women had the least amount of education. The difference between these groups was highly significant ( $\chi^2(1) = 17.00, p = 0.00005$ ). Ninety-two percent (12/13) of the women with graduate training were Achieved, and 71% (5/7) of the women without a high school diploma were Identity Diffused. Of the women classified as Diffuse, 62% had a high school diploma or less; 38% had some post-secondary training; but none of the Diffuse women had a university degree. The fact that none of the Diffuse women had a university degree is in stark contrast to women from the other statuses. Sixty percent (three out of five) of the women in Moratorium, 58% of the Achieved women and 33% of the Foreclosed women had at least one university degree. All the women in Moratorium either had a university degree or at least some post-secondary training. Foreclosure was the only status to have at least one woman in all five levels of education; however, the majority of Foreclosed women (76%) had at least some post-secondary training.

In summary, comparing women of different identity statuses with respect to their highest level of education, Achieved women were the most highly educated; Diffuse women were the least educated; and Foreclosed women, and women in Moratorium were moderately well educated.

Women's highest level of education was not significantly associated with family attachment ratings ( $\chi^2(12) = 14.244, p = 0.2854$ ; Table 39 shows the results of this analysis).

Level of education was found to differ with the Total CODQ ( $\chi^2(4) = 9.403, p = 0.0518$ ; see Table 40 for results of this analysis). The difference was most evident between women with the lowest and highest level of education ( $\chi^2(1) = 7.428, p = 0.0064$ ). One hundred percent of the women who

did not graduate from high school were low in Total CODQ, whereas 69.2% of the women with graduate training were high in Total CODQ. Levels of Perspectivistic ( $\chi^2(4) = 2.937, p = 0.5684$ ; refer to Table 41) and Categorical CODQ ( $\chi^2(4) = 6.087, p = 0.1927$ ; see Table 42) did not differ significantly with respect to women's level of education.

### *Employment*

There were three employment statuses; full-time, part-time and not employed outside the home. No significant differences were found between women's employment status and identity status ( $\chi^2(6) = 7.829, p = 0.2509$ ) or between women's employment status and family attachment ( $\chi^2(6) = 3.366, p = 0.7618$ ; see Tables 43 and 44 respectively).

### *Family Income*

Family income was divided into less than 25,000, 26,000 to 55,0000, and over 56,0000 a year. There were nonsignificant differences among family income levels and identity status ( $\chi^2(6) = 10.400, p = 0.1088$ ; see Table 45 for the results of this analysis).

Family income level, did however, differ significantly among family attachment classifications ( $\chi^2(6) = 22.635, p = 0.0009$ ; see Table 46). To clarify further the relationship between family income and family attachment three additional analyses were performed. For the following analyses a Bonferroni corrected alpha of 0.0166 was require to reach significance at 0.05. The three insecure classification of Fearful, Preoccupied and Dismissing were collapsed to form the Insecure group. Family income differed significantly between Secure and Insecure attached women. Women classified as Secure had higher family incomes than did women classified as Insecure in their attachment ( $\chi^2$



(2) = 16.210,  $p = 0.0003$ ), with the difference most evident between the women with the lowest and highest family income ( $\chi^2(1) = 15.213, p = 0.0001$ ). With respect to individual attachment styles the difference were most evident between the women classified Secure and Fearful ( $\chi^2(2) = 13.350, p = 0.0003$ ). For example, 54% of all women with family incomes below \$25,00 a year were Fearful, whereas, 70% of all women with family income above \$56,000 a year were Secure.

Since Sameroff and Feil (1984) found an association between Total and Perspectivistic CODQ and SES, it was decided to examine the differences in family income according to Total ( $\chi^2(2) = 0.817, p = 0.6645$ ) and Perspectivistic CODQ levels ( $\chi^2(2) = 0.570, p = 0.7521$ ). Family income did not differ significantly between low and high Total and Perspectivistic CODQ. Results of this analysis can be found in Table 47 and 48.

### *Relationship Status*

Women were categorized according to their relationship status: No current relationship, relationship but not living together, living together, or legally married. Only one women was in a relationship but not living with the man, so that category was dropped and the three remaining categories were used in the following Chi Square. Women's relationship status did not significantly differentiate among women's identity statuses ( $\chi^2(6) = 6.209, p = 0.4002$ ; see Table 49).

Women's relationship status did significantly differentiate among attachment categories ( $\chi^2(6) = 12.281, p = 0.0560$ ; see Table 50). To clarify further the results the living together and no current relationship categories were collapsed to create a Not Legally Married group which was compared to the Married group. Whether or not a women was legally married

differentiated significantly among the attachment categories ( $\chi^2(3) = 12.141$ ,  $p = 0.0069$ ). Women Fearful in their attachment were equally likely to be married or not married; whereas, Secure (89%), Preoccupied (69%) and Dismissing (69%) women were generally married. Fearful women accounted for 43% of all the women living with their partners but not legally married and 46% of the women not in a current relationship.

### *How Women Became Involved in the Study*

Since there were a variety of ways in which women became involved in the present study it was decided to examine the associations among how women learned about the study and identity status, and family attachment. There were four ways in which women learned about the study. 1) They participated in previous research and were contacted by one of the researchers. These women had no knowledge of the study prior to being contacted by the researcher. 2) Women contacted the primary research after being told about the study by a friend. They may have also been shown the flyer. 3) Women responded to the flyer and contacted the primary researcher. 4) The researcher directly contacted the women either in person or by phone. These women had no prior knowledge of the study.

How women learned about the study was not significantly associated with identity status ( $\chi^2(9) = 12.896$ ,  $p = 0.1674$ , see Table 51), but was significantly related to family attachment classifications ( $\chi^2(9) = 25.413$ ,  $p = 0.0025$ , see Table 52). To clarify further the nature of the association, the four ways in which women learned about the study were collapsed into two; women who contacted the researcher (active volunteers), and women who were contacted by a researcher (passive volunteers). Whether or not a women actively or passively volunteered to be in the study was significantly

associated with attachment classification. The majority of women classified as Secure (57%), Preoccupied (94%) and Dismissing (69%) *passively volunteered* to be in the study. Conversely, the majority of women classified as Fearful (71%) *actively volunteered* for the study. The most dramatic difference between women who actively volunteered and passively volunteered was found between Fearful and Preoccupied women ( $\chi^2(1) = 17.046$   $p = 0.00005$ ), with only 6% of women classified as Preoccupied actively volunteering to be in the study. It is interesting to note that 55% of the women who actively volunteered by responding to the flyer were Fearful.

## CHAPTER 7

### Discussion

#### *Identity Status and Family Attachment*

The results of analyses using family attachment as both a continuous and categorical variable confirmed a relationship between the constructs of identity status and attachment representations of childhood family relationships. Furthermore, support was found for some of the specific relationships hypothesized to exist between the identity statuses and attachment styles. As hypothesized women who self-constructed an identity (Achievement) were rated significantly more Secure than women who lacked a coherent sense of themselves (Diffusion). Using attachment as a categorical variable, 54% of Achieved women were found to be Secure, whereas only 8% of Diffuse women were Secure.

Achieved women were not significantly more Secure than Foreclosed women as hypothesized. In fact, women possessing a strong sense of identity, whether it was self-constructed (Achievement) or conferred (Foreclosure) were significantly more Secure than women without a strong sense of identity (Diffusion). High ratings on Secure and low ratings on Fearful and Dismissing discriminated Achieved and Foreclosed women from Diffuse women. In line with identity theory and research the Diffusion status was once again found to be the least adaptive identity status (Marcia, et al., in press), with both Achievement and Foreclosure appearing to be adaptive statuses for women with respect to attachment.

There was some limited support for the hypothesized relationship between a conferred identity (Foreclosure) and the Preoccupied style of

attachment. Foreclosed women had the highest mean Preoccupied rating; and when attachment was use as a categorical variable, 60% of all Preoccupied women were Foreclosed. In comparison, only 27% of Preoccupied women were Achieved, 13% Diffuse and none were in Moratorium. Furthermore, Foreclosed women were slightly more Preoccupied in their attachment than Achieved women, whereas Achieved women were slightly more Dismissing than Foreclosed women.

Limited support was found for the proposed relationship between Identity Diffusion and the Fearful and Dismissing styles of attachment. Women rated Diffuse had the highest mean Dismissing rating and the second highest mean Fearful rating, after Moratorium. Seventy-five percent of Diffuse women were found to be either Fearful or Dismissing.

Specific hypotheses were not proposed regarding the attachment style of women in Moratorium. The results indicated that women in Moratorium tended to be Fearful in their attachment. Moratorium women had the highest mean Fearful ratings; and when attachment was used as a categorical variable, 80% of women in Moratorium were classified as Fearful. The small number of women in Moratorium ( $N = 5$ ), however, limits the generalizability of these findings.

When identity statuses were collapsed as a function of low and high commitment/structure, women who lacked a coherent sense of themselves (Diffusion and Moratorium) were significantly more Fearful and less Secure than women with a strong sense of themselves (Achieved and Foreclosed). Similarly, a high Secure rating and a low Fearful rating discriminated significantly between the committed and uncommitted statuses. Using attachment as a categorical variable revealed that 95% of all women classified as Secure were committed in identity, and that 88% of

uncommitted women were classified as insecure in their attachment. These results suggest that identity structure was associated with a Secure attachment classification, whereas a lack of structure was associated with an insecure classification, particularly a Fearful attachment.

In summary, the following patterns of results emerged between identity status and family attachment representations when attachment was used as a categorical variable. *Identity Achieved* women were most likely to be Secure (54%) in their attachment, followed by Fearful (20%) and Dismissing (17%); they were least likely to be Preoccupied (10%). *Foreclosed* women were most likely to be Secure (47%) in their attachment followed by Preoccupied (28%) and Fearful (19%); they were least likely to be Dismissing (6%). *Diffuse* women were most likely to be Fearful (50%) followed by Dismissing (25%) and Preoccupied (17%); they were least likely to be Secure (8%). Women in *Moratorium* were most likely to be Fearful (80%), followed by Secure (20%); they were unlikely to be Dismissing (0%) or Preoccupied (0%).

From the perspective of attachment, most *Secure* women were in the committed statuses of Achievement and Foreclosure. The majority of *Preoccupied* women were Foreclosed (60%). And the majority of *Dismissing* women were Achieved (58%). The Fearful attachment style was distributed across identity statuses.

### ***Identity Status and Concepts of Development***

Support was found for a relationship between identity status and concepts of development, as well as for some of the specific relationships hypothesized between the identity statuses and levels of concepts of development. Women rated Identity Achieved and Moratorium had the

highest mean Total CODQ score, with Achieved women scoring significantly higher in Total and Perspectivistic CODQ than Diffuse women.

The results are suggestive of Achieved women being slightly more cognitively complex than Foreclosed women, and women in Moratorium being slightly more cognitively sophisticated than Diffuse women. Without using a Bonferroni corrected alpha for pairwise t-tests, Achieved women had higher mean Total ( $p = .0613$ ) and Perspectivistic ( $p = .0512$ ) scores than Foreclosed women, and women in Moratorium had higher mean Total ( $p = .0630$ ) CODQ scores than Diffuse women. Although not significant, the results are in the direction hypothesized: Achieved women were cognitively more complex than Foreclosed women and significantly more complex than Diffuse women, and Moratorium women were cognitively more complex than Diffuse women.

No direct support was found for the hypothesized relationship between high scores in Categorical CODQ and Identity Diffusion. Visual inspection of the means revealed that Foreclosed and Diffuse women scored the highest on Categorical items followed by Achieved women, with women in Moratorium attaining the lowest Categorical scores. There was some very tentative support for women in Moratorium being less rigid and concrete in parental cognition than women in Foreclosure and Diffusion. T-tests, without using a Bonferroni pairwise corrected alpha, revealed that women in Moratorium scored as less Categorical than women in Foreclosure ( $p = .0223$ ) and Diffusion ( $p = .0283$ ). Low Categorical scores suggest that women in Moratorium are less rigid, inflexible, and rule or role-bound in their thinking about children's development and child rearing than women in Foreclosure or Diffusion.

When identity was collapsed across exploration, women in the high exploration statuses (Moratorium and Achievement) rated significantly

higher in Total and Perspectivistic CODQ than women in low exploration statuses (Foreclosure and Diffusion). High Perspectivistic and low Categorical CODQ scores discriminated women high in identity exploration from women low in identity exploration. These results suggest that women who are high in identity exploration are cognitively more complex than women low in identity exploration.

Although women in Moratorium and Achievement were found to have similar mean Total CODQ scores, visual inspection of the mean Total, Perspectivistic and Categorical CODQ scores revealed that women in Achievement and Moratorium differed in how they attained their scores. As a group, Achieved women scored relatively high on Perspectivistic CODQ and moderately low in the Categorical CODQ. Thus it appears that Achieved women rated as cognitively complex because they were fairly sophisticated in their understanding of children's development and child rearing, i.e., reasoning that children's behaviour generally has more than one cause, and that children need to be treated differently from each other depending upon their own unique characteristics. Considering their moderately low Categorical scores they may be somewhat rule and role bound in their thinking, perhaps holding gender stereotyped views.

Women in Moratorium had a different configuration of CODQ scores from Achieved women. They had very low Categorical scores and they were in the mid-range with respect to Perspectivistic CODQ. It appears that women in Moratorium rated as cognitively complex because they were not rigidly rule or role-bound in their understanding of children's development or child rearing.

The finding that identity exploration was associated with high scores in parental cognition was consistent with previous research that found



Achieved and Moratorium individuals to be characterized by cognitive flexibility and complexity, as well as low authoritarianism (Marcia, 1966; 1967; Marcia, et al., in press; Marcia & Friedman, 1970; Matteson, 1974; Schenkel & Marcia, 1972; Waterman & Waterman, 1974).

### ***Family Attachment and Concepts of Development***

No support was found for the hypothesized relationship between Attachment and concepts of development. Correlations between the four attachment styles and the three CODQ scores (Total, Perspectivistic and Categorical) were negligible, with the exception of Secure and Perspectivistic which demonstrated a nonsignificant relationship ( $r = .235$ ) in the predicted direction.

### ***Identity Status, Family Attachment and Concepts of Development***

No support was found for the hypothesized relationships among family attachment, identity status and concepts of development. Although not in the expected direction an interaction was found for family attachment and identity status with respect to Total CODQ, and Perspectivistic CODQ. Most interestingly, there was no significant difference in Perspectivistic CODQ between Secure-Achieved and Secure-Foreclosed women, yet Insecure-Achieved women scored significantly higher in Perspectivistic CODQ than did Insecure-Foreclosed women. Refer to Figure 6 for identity by attachment interaction for Perspectivistic CODQ.

These results suggest that Secure-Achieved, Secure-Foreclosed and Insecure-Achieved women were relatively sophisticated in parental cognition, whereas Insecure-Foreclosed women were unsophisticated in their understanding of children's development and child rearing. These results

suggest that there may be two distinct patterns of both Foreclosure and Achievement. One Foreclosed pattern may be associated with Secure attachment and cognitive sophistication; the other may be associated with insecure attachment and a lack of cognitive sophistication. Both patterns of Achievement may be associated with cognitive complexity, but differentiated by whether or not women are Secure in their attachment.

### ***Attachment Q-Set: Identity Status, Family Attachment and Concepts of Development***

Women's identity status, family attachment and parental cognition were not predictive of their children's security of attachment as assessed by the Attachment Q-Set. Unexpectedly, the only variable that was remotely related to the Attachment Q-Set was Perspectivistic CODQ. The correlation was low ( $r = -.256$ ) and in the opposite direction to that expected. There were many difficulties with the Attachment Q-Set which will be elaborated on in the section discussing the limitations of the study. It is assumed that the Q-sort did not actually assess children's attachment behaviour and that the correlation between Perspectivistic CODQ and the Q-sort is possibly an unreliable finding.

### ***Demographics***

The results revealed that the oldest and most educated women in the study were Achieved in identity. Seventy-two percent of the women over age 35 were Achieved. With respect to education, Achieved women were the most educated, Diffuse women the least educated, and women in Moratorium and Foreclosure between the extremes of the least and most educated. There may have been an interaction between age and education for Achieved women in

this study. Perhaps the most educated women delayed having children until they completed their education and/or started their career. Therefore, Achieved women who delayed childbearing may have been mothers of young children at a later age than women who did not delay having children.

Using a population similar to the present study, Patterson (1991) also found that Achieved women were the most educated and Diffuse women the least educated. In the present study, none of the Diffuse women completed a university degree, and 38% of the Diffuse women had not graduated from high school. These findings provide further evidence of the difficulty Diffuse women have in making and sustaining commitments. Their lack of post-secondary education eliminated choices and may further contribute to their difficulty perceiving and exploring options and making commitments.

The relationship between identity and education may be partially the result of an interaction between identity and cognitive complexity. Considering Achieved women were relatively cognitively complex, they may have excelled in school providing them with a sense of efficacy and competence, increasing the likelihood that they would continue their education. Furthermore, women who attended university or other institutions of higher learning encountered diverse opinions and views of the world and were exposed to an environment that tolerated, if not encouraged, the exploration of identity related concerns. On the other hand, Diffuse women tend to be unsophisticated in their thinking and they may have experienced difficulty in school, adding to their sense of failure and incompetence, and making it unlikely that they would pursue post-secondary education. By entering the work force or starting a family rather than obtaining further education, Diffuse women may have not been exposed to an environment conducive to entering Moratorium.

Employment status, family income, relationship status and how women came to participate in the study did not differ according to identity status.

Women's age, education or employment status did not differentiate women according to their attachment style. Women's family income, relationship status and how they came to participate in the study, however, did differentiate among the attachment styles. Women rated Secure had higher family incomes than women rated Insecure. The difference was most apparent between Secure and Fearful women, with Fearful women comprising the majority of women with family incomes below \$25,000 a year, and Secure women accounting for 70% of the women with family incomes over \$56,000 a year. This finding is interesting considering that women's level of educations did not differentiate women according to their attachment style.

Without additional information, such as the relative contribution of women and their partners to their family income, the nature of the relationship between attachment and family income remains unclear. Some speculations may be proffered, however. Fearful women may have had lower family incomes because 23% of Fearful women were single mothers, and therefore had only a single income. Other possible reasons for lower family incomes are that Fearful women may have not had the confidence in themselves and trust in others to seek and obtain good paying jobs, or perhaps they decided to pursue motherhood as a career in order to give their children the love and attention they never received. It is also possible that Fearful women are in relationships with men who do not have high incomes.

Women's relationship status; i.e., living together, legally married, or no current relationship, differentiated significantly among family attachment

styles. The difference was most evident among women who were or were not legally married. Fearful women were equally likely to be legally married (50%) or not (50%), whereas the majority of Secure women (89%) were legally married, with Preoccupied (69%) and Dismissing (69%) women falling between Secure and Fearful women. Fearful women accounted for the highest proportion of women living with their partners (43%) and women not in a relationship (46%), whereas Secure women accounted for the majority of legally married (56%) women. It would be interesting to know the reasons why women married or did not marry, the quality of their love relationships, and the degree of their commitment to their relationships. It is possible that Secure women are more comfortable in love relationships, have fewer relational difficulties than Fearful women, and are, therefore, more willing to get married. Or perhaps Fearful women enter relationships with men who are unwilling to get married. There may also be an interaction between attachment and identity with respect to relationship status. Most Secure women were committed in identity, whereas, women in uncommitted statuses had higher Fearful ratings. Perhaps Fearful women in uncommitted identity statuses have difficulty making and sustaining commitments as compared with Secure women. Overall, it appears that Fearful women may have the least stable lives, both financially and relationally.

How women came to participate in the study differentiated among the attachment styles. Most interestingly, 71% of the women who volunteered for the study were Fearful, whereas only 6% were Preoccupied. If anything, it was expected that the results would have been in the opposite direction. Both styles of attachment are partially defined by the desire to be close to others, especially their parents. The styles are different in that individuals with a Preoccupied style approach others in attempts to win their approval

and love, whereas individuals with a Fearful style do not make such attempts. In this study Fearful women were the most likely to take the initiative and ask to be in the study. It is possible that Fearful women feel safe to approach others when they feel that they are needed. They may fulfill their needs for closeness in indirect ways, such as volunteering to be in a study so that they can share their life history with another woman. Perhaps women with Preoccupied attachment styles did not volunteer to be in the study because they are so involved with raising their children, and they did not want, or feel a need, to share their time or their life story.

These results suggest that in doing attachment research with women it is important to use a variety of methods to solicit participation in order to attract women of different attachment styles.

As might be expected, women with different levels of education had significantly different levels of cognitive sophistication. Women who were the least educated were all unsophisticated in their thinking about children's development and child rearing; whereas 69% of women with graduate training were sophisticated in their thinking about child rearing and development. The nature of this relationship is unclear. It is possible that women who are cognitively sophisticated tend to seek higher education, or that women who seek higher education learn to think in more complex ways.

Although previous research found an association between SES and Total and Perspectivistic CODQ (Sameroff & Feil, 1984), family income did not differ according to high or low Total and Perspectivistic CODQ scores.

### ***Limitations of the Study***

Most of the problems with the present study arose from women not receiving sufficient training in the Attachment Q-Set, and from difficulties in

standardizing the procedure for completing the Q-sort. It was initially planned that the duration between the practice Q-sort and the final Q-sort would be approximately one week. In practice, however, there was an average of three weeks between sessions, with a range of five days to 13 weeks, although the interval was rarely less than a week or more than seven weeks.

Many women reported that they did not practice, or even think about the Q-sort between the sessions. Furthermore, it is presumed that because of their busy schedules and the Q-sort being low among their priorities, most women did not observe their children's behaviour with the Q-sort items in mind, nor did they practice the Q-sort. Therefore, it is unlikely that children's attachment behaviour was actually assessed. Most of the women appeared to have completed the Q-sort relying on their general impressions of their children, so that mothers' projections, fantasies, and hopes for their children may have played a large role in their ratings. In addition, social desirability may have affected women's Q-sorts. Future studies using mothers as sorters should attempt to control for this possibility.

Futhermore, to use adequately the Q-sort, the women would have required more training in actively observing their children's behaviour with the Q-sort items in mind. Such training for the mothers in this study was not feasible, especially since the Attachment Q-Set was extremely uneconomical in terms of time. Women took approximately one hour and forty-five minutes to complete both the practice and the final Q-sort, with many women taking up to two and a half hours to complete both tasks.

In hind sight it would have been best not to have used the Attachment Q-Set in the present study. It may have been advantageous to have focused solely on women's psychological development, perhaps assessing women's

self-esteem, life stress, support system, satisfaction in love relationships, Baumrind's parenting styles, or incident, type and frequency of trauma/abuse during childhood. Such variables could have been examined in relation to attachment, identity and cognitive complexity.

An additional problem with the study was the variability among researchers in terms of interviewing skills. Second and third raters for both identity status and family attachment found some interviews difficult to rate because the interviewer had not asked the necessary questions or had failed to probe sufficiently, resulting in a lack of information. Interviewing experience did not seem to be related to quality of interview. Some of the most experienced interviewers failed to conduct indepth interviews. For Identity Status Interviews, this appears to have been the result of an experienced interviewer deciding prematurely upon a rating. For the Family Attachment Interview, one interviewer prematurely changed topics or provided answers as a way of avoiding emotionally laden topics.

A related issue was the importance of interviewers maintaining the integrity of the construct being assessed. For example, two of the most experienced identity status raters, although both originally trained by James Marcia, appeared to have gradually developed their own individualized conceptualizations about identity. Their ratings were highly discordant with each other. One rater required evidence of extensive exploration prior to assigning a rating of Moratorium or Achievement, whereas the other rater was quite generous in what she considered to be evidence of exploration. In future research, it is suggested that interviewers and raters be re-trained regardless of how much experience they may have.

Although the results of the present study provide information about *current* patterns in women's development, the study is limited in that the



nature of the developmental relationships among attachment, identity and cognitive sophistication can only be speculated upon. Marcia's (1993) warning about theorizing from the results of studies examining the relationships between identity and attachment is particularly relevant to the present study. He warned that:

...it may be the case that people tell their stories about their identity development in the same terms as they tell their stories about their attachment. Whether attachment produces certain identity patterns, or whether different identity patterns influence how one construes past and present relationships, or whether other factors contribute to the development of both identity and attachment is not discernible... (Marcia, 1993, p. 28).

### ***Theoretical Implications***

Although the intergenerational aspects of the present study were not demonstrated, several interesting findings with respect to women's psychological development were found. First, a Secure attachment was associated with the committed identity statuses, whereas the uncommitted statuses were associated with insecure attachment styles, in particular a Fearful attachment. Second, identity has both a socio-emotional/relational dimension (attachment), as well as a cognitive component (concepts of development). *Identity structure*, evidenced by commitment, was associated with positive internal representations of self and other (Secure attachment), whereas *identity exploration* was associated with cognitive complexity and lack of cognitive rigidity. Third, cognitive complexity varied as a function of an interaction between identity status and the security of family attachment styles. Some of the theoretical implications of these findings will be discussed.

One of the clearest results was that women with Secure family attachment representations had a strong sense of themselves as evident by identity structure. The combined committed identity statuses (Achievement and Foreclosure) had a significantly higher mean Secure rating than the combined uncommitted statuses (Moratorium and Diffusion). Furthermore, when attachment was used as a categorical variable ninety-five percent (37/39) of Secure women were in the committed statuses of either Achievement or Foreclosure. It is proposed that for most Secure women their positive internal representations of self and other were developed during infancy and childhood and maintained into adulthood, therefore preceding their identity commitment. Valuing and trusting oneself and others may promote commitment, being a buffer (Cicchetti, Carlson, Braunwald & Aber, 1987) against remaining in uncommitted identity statuses, such as Identity Diffusion and long-term Moratorium. Interestingly though, it appears that a Secure attachment during adulthood is not necessarily associated with exploration as it is during infancy and childhood.

In contrast to a Secure attachment being associated with identity structure, the lack of a coherent and stable sense of self was associated with insecure attachment styles, and in particular a Fearful attachment. Eighty-eight percent (15/17) of women in the uncommitted statuses (Moratorium and Diffusion) were classified as insecure in their attachment, with 80% (4/5) of women in Moratorium and 50% (6/12) of the women in Diffusion classified as Fearful. Together the combined uncommitted statuses had a significantly higher mean Fearful rating than the combined committed statuses. It appears that women who experience difficulty trusting themselves and others also have difficulty making and sustaining commitments.

Further evidence that positive representations of self and others are associated with the ability to make and sustain commitments, whereas negative representations of self and others are associated with difficulty making and sustaining commitments, was found in the frequency with which women of different attachment styles were committed in terms of being legally married. Significantly more Secure (89%) women were legally married than Fearful women (50%), with Preoccupied and Dismissing women falling between the two extremes (each 69%).

In examining the data qualitatively, it appeared that a Fearful attachment style may be associated with childhood maltreatment. Seventy-nine percent (19/24) of the women rated Fearful were noted by interviewers to have experienced some form of abuse in their family during their childhood, whereas 23% (15/66) of women in the other attachment styles were reported to have experienced abuse. More specifically, 100% of Fearful-Achieved (8/8), 83% of Fearful-Diffuse (5/6), 66% of Fearful-Foreclosed (4/6), and 50% of Fearful-Moratorium (2/4) women were noted to have been maltreated during their childhood. Overall, 38% of all women (34/91) were noted to have experienced some form of abuse during their childhood. These estimates are probably conservative since detailed notes on abuse were not kept.

Research on attachment and maltreatment in children found that children who have been abused and neglected are more likely to be insecure than children who have not been maltreated (e.g., Cicchetti, Carlson, Braunwald & Aber, 1987; Crittenden, 1988). Therefore it is possible that adults with Fearful family attachment styles who have been abused as children, maintained those negative representations of self and others (particularly of their parents) since childhood. A relationship between

childhood maltreatment and negative representations of self and other is consistent with clinical and research findings (Courtois, 1988). Women abused as children generally have low self-confidence, and feel ashamed and unworthy of love (Courtois, 1988).

### *Developmental Pathways to Identity Achievement*

Identity Achieved women were found almost equally in Secure and the insecure attachment styles suggesting that there are multiple pathways to Identity Achievement. It appears that many women were able to experiment with different values, roles and ideologies, and commit to an identity without currently experiencing their parents as having provided a secure childhood base. These results raise theoretical questions for both identity and attachment theory.

Considering that family attachment styles are believed to reflect individuals' internal representation of self and others (mainly parents), Secure versus insecure attachment styles might be conceptualized as providing an indication of a person's current balance of "basic trust" versus "mistrust" (Erikson, 1963). A high Secure attachment rating may suggest a tendency towards the adult sense of basic trust whereas a high insecure attachment ratings may indicate a tendency towards mistrust. In speculating upon the results of this study, it appears that many women were able to construct personally expressive identities without a current sense of basic trust in their parents or caregivers. If this is the case, and if basic trust in adulthood is related to basic trust during childhood, then the tenet of Erikson's (1959) theory that resolution of identity and other psychosocial tasks depends upon the positive resolution of previous psychosocial tasks, would be brought into question.

The results of this study suggest that exploration during adolescence and adulthood may not necessarily be dependent upon a secure base, and raises questions about the relationship between adult exploration and attachment. It may be that the quality, rather than the quantity, of exploration differs as a function of attachment styles. For example, Hazan and Shaver (1990) found that the type of exploration, defined by a persons' work/relationship balance, differed according to self defined attachment styles. They found some support for their hypotheses that ambivalent (Preoccupied) adults used exploration to meet attachment needs by attempting to attract attention and approval; that avoidant (Dismissing) individuals used exploration as a way of maintaining interpersonal distance; and that secure individuals did not use exploration as an attempt to please or avoid others.

If the quality of exploration differs with attachment styles, then it is possible that women with different attachment styles may enter Moratorium for a variety of reasons. Some women may enter Moratorium as a way of rebelling and distancing themselves from their parents, whereas others may enter Moratorium in search of the attention and approval they never received in their families. For example, women may explore different political or religious organizations or movements in search of a place to "belong". It is possible that insecure women may experience longer periods of Moratorium than Secure women if their Moratorium was sparked by a desire to be different from their parents or to fill their unmet relational needs, rather than the desire to develop a personally expressive identity. Such individuals could possibly remain in long-term Moratorium; abandon their search without forming an identity (Diffusion); or foreclose on identity, minimizing

and discounting their period of exploration. Finally, some women may be able to develop commitments and construct a personally expressive identity.

Considering that the results of this study suggest that there may be several pathways to Achievement, there may also be several ways in which women individuate from their families. Some women may have negotiated individuation while maintaining their connection to their family, as proposed by Grotevant and Cooper (1986) and Patterson (1991); whereas other women seem to have needed to emotionally and physically separate from their families in order to individuate. Perhaps individuation and connection are two separate but interrelated developmental strands as suggested by Franz and White (1985).

Considering that constructing an identity is *not* necessarily dependent upon being connected to one's family and having positive self and other representations, the question is raised as to what factors facilitate or hinder identity construction. Cognitive complexity seems a likely candidate. It differentiated significantly Achieved from Diffuse women, and Insecure-Achieved from Insecure-Foreclosed women. Although the empirical relationship between identity and cognitive complexity is well established (Marcia, et al., in press), the nature of the developmental relationship between identity and cognitive complexity remains unclear. It is proposed that cognitive sophistication in insecure adolescents and young adults may be a compensatory factor (Cicchetti et. al., 1987) increasing the probability that a woman may enter Moratorium. Insecure adolescents who are cognitively complex are better able to perceive available choices and to imagine a variety of possible selves, than are insecure adolescents who are rule-bound and concrete in their thinking. Therefore, it may be more likely that cognitively

sophisticated adolescents and young adults will enter Moratorium more easily than cognitively unsophisticated individuals.

Cognitive complexity, however, did not significantly differ between Secure-Achieved and Secure-Foreclosed women, although Secure-Foreclosed women did have a slightly, but not statistically significant ( $p = .1197$ ), higher mean Categorical score than Secure-Achieved women. This suggests that perhaps Secure-Foreclosed women are somewhat more rule-bound, cognitively rigid, and gender stereotyped than Secure-Achieved women. The results of this study offer no explanation as to why some Secure women were able to construct personally expressive identities whereas other Secure women maintained their conferred identity.

There are probably numerous factors operating at different levels that influence whether or not an individual will explore identity related concerns and/or develop an identity structure. Factors that promote or hinder identity exploration may operate at the individual level in terms of personality and psychological development; at the familial and societal level, in terms of the available support network provided by parents and friends in promoting and accepting differences in beliefs and values; at the institutional level, such as school and universities encouragement of cognitive complexity; and at the socio-cultural and socio-economic level, in terms of whether there are available and viable occupational, ideological and relational choices and options.

### *Relative Adaptiveness of Foreclosure versus Moratorium*

The findings that identity structure was associated with Secure attachment representations and identity exploration with cognitive complexity help shed some light on the enigma of the relative adaptiveness of

Foreclosure versus Moratorium identity resolution for women. As discussed in Chapter 3, some studies have found Foreclosed women most similar to Achieved women, whereas other studies found women in Moratorium most similar to Achieved women. In the present study the adaptiveness of Foreclosure or Moratorium was *not* a function of a cohort effect and/or the "depth" of the measures employed, as suggested by Marcia and colleagues (in press) and Patterson and colleagues (1992). It is proposed that the relative adaptiveness of Foreclosure and Moratorium for women in the present study, was a function of which construct was being assessed, whether or not Foreclosed women had Secure attachment representations, and the age of the women.

When attachment was used a continuous variable, Foreclosed women were found to be most similar to Achieved women with respect to Secure attachment representations, and women in Moratorium were found to be most similar to Achieved women with respect to parental cognition<sup>7</sup>. The argument that Foreclosure was more adaptive for women during the 1970's with Moratorium becoming more adaptive during the 1980's (Marcia, et al., in press; Patterson et al., 1992) does not hold for the present study because *both* Foreclosure and Moratorium were found to be adaptive depending upon the construct assessed.

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<sup>7</sup>Women in Moratorium and Achievement had the same mean Total CODQ score, but for different reasons. The high Total CODQ score for Moratorium was the result of a low mean Categorical score and moderate mean Perspectivistic score, whereas for Achievement it was a result of a high mean Perspectivistic score and a moderately low mean Categorical score.



The argument that the adaptiveness of Moratorium is found when "deep" measures of psychological functioning are used, whereas the adaptiveness of Foreclosure is found when "surface" measures are employed, was also not supported. Actually, the opposite results were found. The relative adaptiveness of Moratorium was found using a "surface" paper-and-pencil measure assessing cognitive complexity, whereas the adaptiveness of Foreclosure was found using the Family Attachment Interview, a "deep" measure considered to tap underlying psychological representations of self and other. In fact the Family Attachment Interview is probably one of the most sophisticated, or "deepest" measures ever given in conjunction with the identity status interview. The one other study which employed both the identity status interview and an adaption of the Family Attachment Interview also found Foreclosure to be adaptive in terms of attachment (Grunberg, 1991).

Examination of the interrelationships among attachment (Secure-insecure), identity (Achieved, Foreclosed), and cognitive sophistication (Perspectivistic, Categorical) revealed that there are two patterns of Foreclosure; one is adaptive with respect to socio-emotional functioning and cognitive sophistication, and the other is not adaptive in those areas. As predicted, one pattern consisted of Foreclosed women who were insecure in their attachment and cognitively unsophisticated (low in both Perspectivistic and Categorical CODQ). The second, and unexpected, pattern consisted of Foreclosed women who were Secure in their attachment and relatively cognitively sophisticated (relatively high Perspectivistic CODQ). Fifty-three percent of Foreclosed women fell into the Insecure and cognitively unsophistication pattern, suggesting that half of the Foreclosed women were not more adaptive in attachment than women in Moratorium. Furthermore,

although Secure-Foreclosed women were cognitively sophisticated in terms of Perspectivistic scores, considering Categorical scores it appears that women in Moratorium were less rigid and concrete in their thinking about children and child rearing than both Insecure-Foreclosed and Secure-Foreclosed women.

The age of women in identity research may have implications for whether or not Moratorium is associated with Secure or Insecure attachment styles. For most individuals, Moratorium is a temporary status that generally occurs during adolescence or young adulthood. The women in Moratorium in the present study had an average age of 31. These women may have been long-term or chronic in their Moratorium. Considering that a Secure attachment was found to be associated with identity commitment, women who are unable to make or sustain commitments would be expected to be insecure in their attachment. By contrast, a Secure attachment is probably associated with Moratorium during adulthood when the Moratorium is part of a MAMA (Moratorium-Achievement-Moratorium-Achievement) cycle (Stephen, Fraser & Marcia, in press).

Although the women in Moratorium in the present study were predominantly Fearful in their attachment, this finding does not imply that adolescents in Moratorium are necessarily Fearful in their attachment style. Considering 54% of all Achieved women in the present study had relatively Secure attachment styles, and that all these women presumably had undergone a period of Moratorium prior to achieving an identity, it is possible that many of these women were Secure in their attachment while undergoing Moratorium. Therefore, many adolescents in Moratorium may have Secure attachment representations. If this is the case, then adolescents in Foreclosure and Moratorium may be similar with respect to attachment.

There may be two patterns of Moratorium and Foreclosure; Foreclosure and Moratorium associated with Secure attachment, and Foreclosure and Moratorium associated with insecure attachment. If such results were found, then Foreclosure would not necessarily be a more adaptive status for adolescent females in terms of socio-emotional development.

In summary it is suggested that the relative adaptiveness of Moratorium and Foreclosure for women may be a function of the constructs assessed, the particular pattern of Foreclosure with respect to attachment and cognitive sophistication, and the age of the women in the study. It is possible that these factors have also influenced the findings in previous studies.

#### *Patterns of Women's Psychological Development*

The findings of this study converge to suggest that there may be six patterns of women's psychological development which fall into three general configurations. The configurations and patterns are outcomes, descriptive of women's current level of development with respect to the underlying dimensions of security of attachment, cognitive sophistication, identity structure and identity exploration. It is assumed that the patterns are distinct from each other in that they represent different developmental pathways.

The first configuration consists of women who are Secure in their attachment, have a firm sense of who they are and what they believe (identity structure), and are cognitively sophisticated. The two patterns within this configuration are differentiated according to whether or not women have self-constructed an identity (exploration).

The second and third configurations consists of women who are insecure in their attachment. The second configuration consists of insecurely attached women who are high in identity exploration and cognitive complexity. The third configuration consists of insecurely attached women who are low in both identity exploration and cognitive complexity. The patterns in each of these insecure configurations depend upon whether or not the women have a solid and stable sense of themselves (identity structure). Refer to Figure 7 for an illustration of this model.

During adolescence, there may be a fourth configuration consisting of adolescents who are Secure in their attachment representations, are cognitively sophisticated, and are in Moratorium en route to Achievement.

These configurations and patterns emerged from the results of the present study. There appeared to be two types of Achievement and Foreclosure in that both of these committed statuses were almost equally distributed between the Secure and insecure attachment styles. Moreover, almost all of the Secure women were in committed identity statuses. Women in Moratorium and Diffusion were fairly homogenous in that they were predominantly insecure in their attachment styles. Furthermore, there was an interaction between family attachment and identity status with respect to cognitive complexity. Secure women, regardless of whether they were Achieved or Foreclosed were moderately cognitively sophisticated, whereas insecure-Achieved women were very cognitively sophisticated and insecure-Foreclosed women were cognitively unsophisticated. Likewise, women in Moratorium were moderately cognitively sophisticated whereas Diffuse women were cognitively unsophisticated.

The first pattern, Secure-Achieved-Cognitively Sophisticated, as seen in Figure 7, seems to be the most adaptive and consists of women who are

relatively psychologically healthy, whereas the sixth and last pattern, Insecure-Diffuse-Cognitively Unsophisticated, is the least adaptive pattern. In both of these patterns, congruency exists among levels of development for each of the dimensions assessed. In Figure 7 as one moves away from the extreme patterns (1, 6) towards the middle patterns (3, 4), there is less congruency among the levels of development, and the adaptiveness of the patterns depends upon the constructs assessed.

The configuration and the patterns are presented in more detail below.

#### **I. SECURE - IDENTITY STRUCTURE - COGNITIVELY COMPLEX**

1. **Exploration (Achievement)**: This is the most adaptive pattern for women in that they are developmentally advanced in each of the areas assessed. They have Secure family attachment representation, have constructed an identity, and are cognitively sophisticated. These women are confident in relationships and value and trust themselves and others. They were able to individuate from their families, creating their own sense of meaning in life by constructing personally expressive identities. These women can be thought of as both connected and autonomous.

There are probably two developmental pathways to this pattern. The first consists of women who experienced sensitive and responsive caregiving during infancy and childhood and developed and maintained Secure attachment representations into adulthood. These women were probably able to individuate from their family while maintaining connection to them as proposed by Grotevant and Cooper (1986).

The second development pathway is descriptive of women who were insecurely attached during their childhood but managed to reorganize their attachment representations during adolescence or adulthood. Such women could be described as being individuated in spite of their family. They may

have been able to develop Secure attachment relationships' with people other than their parents. For example, one of the participants in the study who was a survivor of incest and was severely neglected during her childhood managed to develop relatively Secure attachment representations and to self-construct an identity. It appears that this women has made some movement from a Fearful attachment style to having attained some degree of Security. This women has done both individual and group therapy and she described her husband as being very supportive and caring. It is possible that her relationship with her husband and therapist(s) may have facilitated her development in both identity and attachment. Similarly, Egeland, Jacobvitz and Sroufe (1988) found that abused mothers who broke the cycle of abuse were significantly more likely to have participated in therapy and have experienced a stable, emotionally supportive and satisfying relationships with a love partner. A supportive relationship with a spouse or therapist are two types of relationships Ricks (1985) proposed as possibly challenging and facilitating change in the internal working models of attachment.

2. Low Exploration (Foreclosure): The second pattern is similar to the first in that these women also have Secure attachment representations and are relatively cognitively sophisticated. They may, however, be somewhat more rigid with respect to rules and roles than Achieved women with a similar personality configuration. Women in this pattern are content to live with the roles, values and ideology passed on to them. Such women are connected to their family of origin, yet experience no need to individuate from them, perhaps because they find their conferred identity to be self expressive even if they did not construct it themselves. These women might be generally referred to as "soft" or "flexible" Foreclosures.

## II. INSECURE - HIGH EXPLORATION - COGNITIVE COMPLEXITY

**3. Identity Structure (Achievement):** These women have managed to construct a personally expressive identity without experiencing a secure base with their parents. It is proposed that their cognitive sophistication was possibly a compensatory factor (Cicchetti et al., 1987) that facilitated their entering Moratorium. In their current relationships, these women may struggle to avoid repeating the patterns of relationship they experienced in their families of origin. It is possible that some women with this pattern have managed to develop relatively secure relationships with love partners and friends.

There are three possible subgroups of this pattern, depending upon the style of insecure attachment. Most of the women in the study described by this pattern had negative representations of others (Fearful or Dismissing). These women may have individuated from their families by emotionally and/or physically separating from them. Notes from the attachment ratings of Fearful-Achieved women revealed that they all ( $N = 8$ ) experienced some form of maltreatment during childhood, including sexual, physical and emotional abuse.

The second subgroup consists of women who are Dismissing. These women have relatively positive self models yet negative models of others; their self confidence may have facilitated their constructing an identity. Such women value autonomy and independence and they are not particularly connected to their families of origin. Many women in the present study in this subgroup could be described as having "alternative" lifestyles and espousing views that have traditionally been outside the mainstream of society. In general, these women seemed to be politically active at a grassroots level, for example several of the women organized and belonged to various types of cooperatives (i.e., food, housing). Some women with this

pattern rejected organized religion and held non-traditional, non-patriarchal spiritual beliefs (e.g., feminist witches).

The third and smallest subgroup consists of Preoccupied-Achieved women. For these women it is almost as if they are both individuated from their family in some areas, yet still emotionally enmeshed with them.

4. Lack of Structure (Moratorium): The women in this pattern of development were all Fearful in their attachment style, and they were the least rigid, rule-bound and gender stereotyped with respect to their conceptualization of child rearing and children's development. These women were struggling to "find" themselves and individuate, yet they probably experienced difficulty making and sustaining commitments because of their lack of trust in others and themselves. There are possibly three subgroup of this patterns: women who are entering Moratorium for the first time in their lives en route to Achievement; women who are re-entering Moratorium as part of a MAMA cycle (Moratorium-Achievement-Moratorium-Achievement) (Stephen, Fraser & Marcia, in press); and women who are "chronic" in their inability to make or sustain identity commitments.

### III. INSECURE - LOW EXPLORATION - LOW COGNITIVE COMPLEXITY

5. Identity Structure (Foreclosure): These women are insecure in their attachment representations, unsophisticated and rule bound in their understanding of children's development, and likely have a rigid Foreclosed identity structure. Their sense of who they are has been defined by others, either parents or other authority figures. Women with this pattern of personality development have not individuated from their families, and they are probably either enmeshed or disconnected from their family of origin depending upon the style of insecure attachment. Identity research has



generally, and apparently incorrectly, assumed this pattern to be descriptive of most individuals in Foreclosure.

There are probably two developmental pathways to this pattern. The first consists of women who Foreclosed on their parents during childhood and maintained developmental Foreclosure. The second includes women who arrived at Foreclosure via Diffusion. For example, several women in the study who were previously Diffuse, foreclosed on an ideology (i.e., religion), role (i.e., motherhood) or completely adopted their spouse's belief system. Their Foreclosure appeared to provide structure and meaning to their lives and was preferable to remaining Diffuse.

There are possibly three subgroups. The majority of Insecure-Foreclosed women were Preoccupied in their attachment. Preoccupied-Foreclosed women desired closeness with their families and made active attempts to win their love and affection. Their self confidence in relationships was low and they tended to value others' opinion over their own. These women are probably enmeshed in their family of origin and may have not self-constructed an identity for fear of disappointing their parents or risking parental rejection because self-exploration may be perceived as rebellion against parents and perhaps their cultural/ethnic identity.

A second subgroup were Fearful-Foreclosed women. They also desired closeness with their family; however, they did not make active attempts to win the love and approval of others. These women have not individuated from their family and they may be somewhat less involved and enmeshed with their families than Preoccupied-Foreclosed women. The third subgroup was rather rare in that only two of all Foreclosed women were Dismissing-Foreclosed. These women may not enter Moratorium for defensive reasons. For example, women in this pattern may have a high need for control and

may not be able or willing to risk the instability and loss of control often experienced during a Moratorium.

6. Lack of Identity Structure (Diffusion): This is the least adaptive of all the patterns. These women lack a coherent and stable sense of self, and they lack direction and a sense of meaning in their lives leaving them at the mercy of external events. They are cognitively unsophisticated being somewhat rigid, rule-bound and inflexible in their thinking. They are poorly educated, have difficult lives and perceive few options or choices available to them, which in fact may reflect reality.

These women have not individuated from their family, to whom they may have not been very connected in the first place. They are insecure in their family attachment and can be described as isolated. Several women with this pattern were noted to have experienced extreme abuse, including long-term sexual abuse. For example, one woman in the study was sexually abused and physically assaulted by multiple perpetrators, and she was "pimped" by her foster parents.

Although women who experienced childhood maltreatment were found among each of the identity statuses it is probably this group of women that are the least likely to be able to stop the cycle of abuse. These women may have a limited social support network, and limited psychological and economic (Patterson, 1991) resources to draw upon. Considering the lack of stability and consistency in their lives, they probably experience difficulties in attempting to provide consistent caregiving for their children.

There are three possible subgroups of this pattern. Most of the women in this pattern were Fearful in their attachment with at least 5/6 of them being abused as children. The second subgroup of women were Dismissing and the third Preoccupied.

In summary, the results of this study suggest that there are six patterns of women's development based on the dimensions of identity structure, identity exploration, security of attachment and cognitive sophistication. For the most and least adaptive patterns congruency exists among the levels of development for each dimension. There was evidence of incongruity among levels of development especially the middle two (3, 4) patterns.

### ***Future Directions***

The directions which future research could take as well as clinical implications of this work will be briefly discussed. Research is needed to determine if these six patterns of development (seven including Secure-Moratorium during adolescence and young adulthood) can be replicated, as well as generalized to other populations. It would be especially interesting to conduct similar research with adolescents of both sexes and with men. Research could attempt to further delineate the two types of Achievement and Foreclosure, as well as looking at qualitative differences between the statuses. It would also be interesting to explore the commonalities and differences among the various subpatterns, such as Preoccupied-Achievement and Dismissing-Achievement, or Fearful-Achievement and Fearful-Diffusion.

This research should be extended to include current attachments to peers and love partners as it is possible that individuals are insecure with respect to their families, yet have managed to develop and maintain secure relationships with their friends and romantic partner(s).

Considering that self-constructing a personally expressive identity is not necessarily dependent upon having a secure base with one's parents, research should attempt to determine which factors or mechanisms promote

or hinder identity exploration and commitment in Secure and insecure individuals.

Further changes need to be made to the Identity Status Interview and how it is rated in order to make it more applicable to adults. The vocation/occupation content domain needs to be modified to include motherhood and fatherhood as a possible career choice because the questions in the current interview are inappropriate for women or men who have chosen to forgo paid employment to be "at home" parents. For example the interview questions assume that an individual is either working outside the home or is a student. There are no questions regarding decisions to remain at home with a child or children and how those decisions were made.

Although the four identity statuses may be sufficient to capture identity concerns of adolescents and young adults, much information is lost in attempting to fit adult women into one of the four statuses. Women may arrive at their current identity through diverse paths. Many women, if not most, display aspects of two or more identity statuses, making it difficult to classify them into only one status. The three women eliminated from the study, because of a lack of agreement among the raters, exhibited characteristics of each of the four statuses and consequently three different raters gave them three different ratings. It is recommended that Identity Status Interviews be assigned overall ratings in two different ways: 1) continue to rate the interviews as they are currently done, providing primary and secondary classifications, e.g., A(F), A-F; 2) rate each identity status along a continuous dimension, similar to the manner in which the Family Attachment Interview is rated. For example, each individual would receive a rating from 1 to 9 on each of the four statuses. Such a rating would better reflect the complexity of identity in adults as well as allow for different

identity profiles to emerge. For example, in preliminary analyses incorporating secondary identity codes it was found that Foreclosed-Diffuse women scored significantly lower on Total CODQ, and significantly higher on Categorical CODQ than women in Achievement, Achievement-Moratorium, and Foreclosure. These results suggest that Foreclosed-Diffuse women are distinct from Foreclosed women, providing further support for the findings that there are at least two types of Foreclosure.

In terms of administering and rating identity status interviews, interviewers and raters should be retrained prior to beginning a new study to ensure the integrity of the construct.

With adult participants, notes should be made on individuals in Moratorium to help delineate if they experienced a long-term Moratorium, if their Moratorium was part of a MAMA cycle, or if they have recently entered Moratorium.

Research should continue to explore identity and attachment in populations other than university students and middle class Caucasian individuals. Furthermore, researchers should take Erikson's lead and look beyond psychological and familial variables to include more societal variables such as the effects of racism and discrimination on identity formation, as well as factors such as the economic climate, geography, and cohort effects. For example, are there different developmental pathways for members of "Generation X" (Copeland, 1991) compared to "babyboomers"? And what is the effect on identity of growing up in places like Glace Bay, Cape Breton where unemployment generally averages 50%?

Research should explore the possible relationship between childhood maltreatment and a Fearful attachment style. Moreover, the present study lends support to the importance of delineating a Fearful style of attachment,

suggesting that attachment research with adults and children could benefit from incorporating Bartholomew's model of attachment (Bartholomew, 1990; Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991).

Clearly, in order to understand the nature of the developmental relationship between attachment, identity and cognitive sophistication, long-term studies are required.

In terms of clinical applications, the present study supports previous findings (Marcia et al., in press) that Diffusion is the least adaptive of the identity statuses. Perhaps the lack of a coherent and stable sense of self, should be considered a "risk factor" for both parents and their children. For example, Diffuse adolescence may be at risk for dropping out of high school or university, and because of their impulsivity and lack of planning (Waterman & Waterman, 1974), Diffuse female adolescents and women may experience more unwanted pregnancies than adolescents and women in other identity statuses.

The results of the present study revealed that some insecure women were able to construct personally expressive identities even though they experienced maltreatment during their childhood. Based on the content of the family attachment interviews, only one woman, who was severely maltreated during her childhood, was identified as having possibly moved from an insecure style to a Secure style of attachment. There were numerous women, however, who seemed to have made some movement towards a Secure attachment style. Therefore, it may be easier for women to explore identity related concerns and commit to an identity, than it is to change their internal working models of self and others, mainly their parents. Considering this, in short term therapy with insecure women it may be advantageous to focus on empowering women to experience and explore the

options and choices available to them and promote their commitment to personally expressive values, ideologies and interpersonal relationships, rather than delving into their family issues in an attempt to change their internal working models of self and other. It appears that it may be easier for women to find their own voice, than it is to change their perceptions and feelings about themselves with respect to their family. Attempting to change attachment styles is probably advantageous when long-term therapy is possible.

In conclusion, it appears that there are many different pathways in women's development, and that no one model of development can represent the complexity of women's lives. Perhaps both the theorists who emphasize the importance of autonomy (e.g., Mahler, Pine & Bergman, 1975; Blos, 1967) and those who emphasize connection (i.e. Eichenbaum & Orbach, 1983; Franz & White, 1985; Grotevant & Cooper, 1985; 1986; Jordan et al., 1991; Patterson, 1991) are correct; some women individuate by separating from their families, and others individuate by remaining connected to their families.

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## Appendix A

### Identity Status Interview - Adult Form Revised

#### General Opening

How old are you?

Are you married?

(IF yes) How long have you been married?

How many children do you have, and how old are they?

Are your parents still living?

Are they still together, or have they ever been separated or divorced?

How long have you lived in \_\_\_\_\_? (eg. Vancouver)

How do you feel about living here?

And what is your husband's/partner's educational background?

What type of work is he doing now?

What was your father's educational background?

And what (is)(was) his occupation?

How about your mother, what education did she have?

And has your mother been employed outside the home? Doing what?

Do you have any brothers or sister?

(If yes) What are their ages?

(optional) What are they doing now?

#### VOCATION

Would you *briefly* fill me in on what you have been doing since high school (or whatever grade they completed) in terms of education, work, and marriage?

(IF not given chronologically) Can you tell me *when* you were doing each of the things you mentioned?

(Go to appropriate section)

#### Working - present

Where do you work?

How long have you worked there?

Do you work full-time or part-time?

(If part-time) How many days or hours a week do you work?

(If appropriate) Do you prefer full-time or part-time work?

How did you come to choose \_\_\_\_\_ as a line of work?

When did you first become interested in \_\_\_\_\_?

What do you find *attractive* about the work you are doing now?

What *drawbacks* do you see about your present work?

When you were deciding on employment, were there any other fields or types of work you were considering?

(IF appropriate, ask *attractive* and *drawback* questions about each field mentioned.

(IF appropriate) Why did you decide **not** to pursue that career?

(IF appropriate) Was that a difficult decision to make?

(IF appropriate) What influenced your choice? (? parents, husband?)

(*OPTIONAL*; depending on whether on not question previously answered)

{Have you ever worked at any other kinds of jobs?

{When was that?

{Did you enjoy that type of work?

{What was attractive about it?

{(If several types of work mentioned, asked about each in turn.)

When you were in high school, or younger, what ideas did you have about your future career?

(IF appropriate ask *attractive* and *drawback* questions for any fields seriously considered aside from those already discussed.)

Was there ever a time when you were trying to decide between two very different directions for your life?

(IF yes) Was that a difficult decision to make?

(IF yes) What influenced your decision?

Most parents have plans for their children, things they'd like to see them go into, things they'd like to see them do. Did your parents have any plans like that for you?

Do you think your parents may have had a preference for one field over another, although they would never have tried to pressure you about it?

How did your parents feel about \_\_\_\_\_ (list principal alternatives to the current employment)?

How do they feel about the work you are doing now?

(IF parents don't know, or are deceased) How do you think they would feel about your work?

(*OPTIONAL*) How does your husband (partner) feel about your having the job you do?

{Did you ever have any uncertainty about whether you should be working or be working at the job you have?

{(IF appropriate) Was it a difficult decision to make?

{(IF appropriate) What helped you to resolve your uncertainty?

{(IF appropriate) How are you going about trying to resolve your uncertainty?

{(IF appropriate) How important is this question for you now?

(*OR ASK*, depending on which is appropriate)

{Since you have been working at your present job, have you thought about changing fields? (or type of work?)

{(IF yes) What fields have you considered?

{Have you, (or are you) taken any steps in that direction?

{Have you thought about doing the same type of work for another employer?

{(IF yes) Why are you looking to change employers?

Overall, how satisfied would you say you are with the type of work you are doing?

How willing would you be to change your plans from \_\_\_\_\_ (the strongest one or two fields mentioned) if something better came along?

(IF asked *What do you mean by better?* respond: *Whatever might be better in your terms*).

(IF women indicates the possibility of change)

What might you change to?

What might cause you to make such a change?

How likely do you think such a change might be?

(Repeat for all the possibilities mentioned).

On a five-point scale, how important do you see your vocation/career as being to you in your life? 5 means you see it as extremely important and 1 means not at all important.

## VOCATION

### *Working - past or unemployed*

Where did you work?

How long did you work there?

What led to your decision to stop working?

Was it a difficult decision for you to make?

(IF appropriate) What helped you to resolve this question?

How did your husband feel about your decision to end your employment.

How did your parents feel about your decision to end your employment.

(IF wanting to work, but unemployed)

What type of work would you like to do?

How are you going about trying to obtain employment?

(GO TO *Working - present*, adapt remaining questions)

## VOCATION

### *Education - attended college/university (past)*

How did you come to decide on attending \_\_\_\_\_?

What was your major field?

How did you come to choose that field?

(IF not already answered) When did you first become interested in \_\_\_\_\_?

What did you find attractive about \_\_\_\_\_?

Did you have any plans about what you would like to do with \_\_\_\_\_ after you graduated?

Did you graduate? And in what year?

(IF not evident from the work experience) Have you been able to follow up on those plans since graduating.

When you were in college, or before, had you ever considered any other fields?

(IF appropriate ask about *attractive* and *drawback* questions for any fields seriously considered aside from those already discussed.)

(How seriously were you considering each of the fields you mentioned?

Did you ever feel that you were actively deciding between \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_?

Was this a difficult decision to make?

What influenced your choice/decision)?

(IF attended college before marriage)

Most parents have plans for their children, things they'd like to see them go into, things they'd like to see them do. Did you parents have any plans like that for you?

Do you think they may have had a preference for one field over another, even though they would never have tried to pressure you about it?

(If attended university during or after marriage). Husbands' usually have some feelings about their spouse's education and plans. What was you husband's feelings about your studies?

Do you think he may have had a preference for one plan or another, even if he never would have tried to pressure you about it?

**Education - *attended Technical School* (past)**

How did you come to decide on attending \_\_\_\_\_?

And how did you choose the field of \_\_\_\_\_?

When did you first become interested in \_\_\_\_\_?

What did you find attractive about this type of work?

What drawbacks did you see about working in this field?

When you were deciding on continuing your schooling, were there any other fields or types of work that you were considering?

(IF appropriate, ask *attractive* and *drawback* questions about each field mentioned.)

(IF appropriate) Why did you decide not to pursue that career?

(IF appropriate) Was that a difficulty decision to make?

(IF appropriate) What influenced your choice?

(If appropriate ask relevant questions in *attended university/college*)

## VOCATION

**Education - *present* (adapt for university or technical school)**

How did you come to decide on attending \_\_\_\_\_?

Have you choosen a major/field?

(IF yes), What is it?

(IF not sure) Are there any other fields you are considering?

Do you have any ideas about what you'd like to do after graduation?

How did you come to decide on \_\_\_\_\_? (Ask concerning future plans, if known, otherwise concerning major field. If no definite field mentioned, then omit.)

When did you first become interested in \_\_\_\_\_?

What do you find attractive about \_\_\_\_\_?

What are the drawbacks \_\_\_\_\_?

(If several alternatives mentioned, asked about each in turn.)

And were there any other fields that you considered?

(If appropriate)How seriously were (are) you considering each of the fields you mentioned?



(For students who have specified a decision)

Did you ever feel that you were actively deciding between \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_?

Was this a difficult decision to make?

What influenced your choice (decision)?

(For students who have not specified a decision)

Do you feel that choosing a career is something that you're trying to work out now, or do you feel that this is something where you can let time take its course and see what happens?

Do you have any idea when you would like to have this decision made by?

How are you going about getting the information you'd like to have in order to make a decision?

Do you feel that this is an important decision for you to make now or are you more concerned with other things right now?

How willing would you be to change your plans from \_\_\_\_\_

(the strongest one or two fields mentioned) if something better came along? (IF asked *what do you mean by better?* respond: *Whatever might be better in your terms.*)

(IF a possibility for change is indicated)

What might you change to?

What might cause such a change?

How likely do you think such a change might be?

(Repeat for all of the alternatives mentioned.)

Husbands (partners) usually have some feelings about their wife's education and plans.

What are your husband's feelings about your studies?

Do you think he may have a preference for one plan or another, even if he never would try to pressure you about it?

Did you ever have any uncertainty about whether you should have started school again or should continue?

(IF appropriate) Was it a difficulty decision to make?

(IF appropriate) What helped you to resolve your uncertainty?

(IF appropriate) How are you going about trying to resolve your uncertainty?

(IF appropriate) How important is this question for you now?

On a five-point scale, how do you see your education/career as being to you in your life? 5 means you see it as extremely important and 1 means not at all important.

### **Education - presently attending Technical School**

Since you have been attending \_\_\_\_\_, have you thought about changing schools or changing fields?

(IF yes) Why?

Overall, how satisfied would you say you are with the type of work you are prepare for?

How willing would you be to change your plans from \_\_\_\_\_ (the strongest one or two fields mentioned) if something better came along?

(If asked: *What do you mean by better?* respond: *Whatever might be better in your terms"*

(IF woman indicates the possibility of change)

What might you change to?

What might cause you to make such a change?

How likely do you think such a change might be?

(Also include portions of **Education - *present university***)

## RELIGIOUS/SPIRITUAL BELIEFS

Do you have any religious or spiritual preference?

Does your husband (partner) have a religious preference?

How about your parents, do they have any religious preference?

If so, in what religion were each of your parents raised?

Have they both continued in the \_\_\_\_\_ religion?

How important would you say religion is to your parents?

(or)

How important is religion in your parent's home?

(IF important) Can you give me some examples?

Do you currently attend religious services, or are you active in any church groups? (Adapt for Jews, Buddhist & Witches)

(IF not active) How about in the past, were you ever active in church groups or did you attend services?

(IF yes) What are (were) your reasons for attending services?

(If not already answered) How frequently do (did) you usually attend church services? (Ask for *past* attendance also)

(IF appropriate) What led to your attendance at services dropping off.

Do you find yourself getting into religious discussions?

(IF yes) What point of view do you express in these discussions?

(Although you may have already answered the next question, I want to ask it directly.) I'd like to find out where you stand on questions such as the existence of God, and the importance of organized religion.

(IF Catholic, add: and the authority (or infallibility of the Pope?)

(Ask questions concerning other religious issues if they seem appropriate.)

(*OPTIONAL; if not religious/spiritual*) PROBE, how moral dilemna's or decisions are resolved? What values guide their decisions?

How do your parents feel about your religious beliefs.

(IF parents don't know) How do you think they would feel about them if they did know?

(change to past tense if deceased)

Are there any important differences between you beliefs and those of your parents?

Are there any important differences between your religious beliefs and those of your husband (partner)?

(*OPTIONAL*) Was there ever anyone in your life who had a major influenced on the way you think with respect to religion (spirituality, God etc.).

Was there ever a time when you came to question, to doubt, or perhaps to change your religious beliefs?

(IF yes) What types of things did you question or change?

(IF appropriate) What started you thinking about these questions?

(IF appropriate) How serious were these questions for you?

(IF appropriate) Do you feel that you've resolved these questions for yourself or are you still working on them?

**(IF resolved) What helped you to answer these questions?**

**(IF unresolved) How are you going about trying to answer these questions?**

**At this point, how well worked out do you think your ideas in the area of religion are?**

**Do you think your ideas in this area are likely to remain stable or do you believe that they may very well change in the future?**

**(IF they may change) In what direction do you think your beliefs might change?**

**What might bring about such a change?**

**How likely is it that such a change might occur?**

**(If evidence of continued thought to religious questions)**

**How important is it to you to work out your ideas in the area of religion?**

**Are you actively trying to work out your beliefs now or are you more concerned with other things right now?**

**How would you like to see your own children raised with respect to religion? Why?**

**On a five-point scale, how important do you see your religious beliefs as being to you in your life?**

**Again, 5 means extremely important and 1 means not at all important.**

## **INTERPERSONAL RELATEDNESS**

**( marriage and role of spouse)**

### **Currently Married**

**How long have you been married?**

**(Explore if married before, ever separated or divorced)**

**(OPTIONAL)**

**{How did you meet your husband?**

**{How long did you know him before you married?**

**Had you always planned to marry? (May have to probe plans during high school)**

**(IF YES)**

**Why did you plan to marry?**

**When did you think that it would be a good time for you to marry?**

**Why then?**

**Before you met your husband, what kind of a person did you think you wanted to marry?**

**At that point, how did you picture what marriage might be like for you? (PROBE DAILY LIFE)**

**What did you see as your role as a wife at that point?**

**(IF NO)**

**What was your earliest thinking on this topic?**

**How did it come about that you married when you did?**

**How did you feel about marrying then?**

**(ALL)**

**How does your husband fit the description of the type of person you thought you might want to marry? (May have to probe adolescence or childhood)**

**Has marriage for you worked out the way you thought it would, or has it been different than you anticipated in some important respects?**

**Has your role as a wife been different from what you had anticipated?**

**Would you say that your decision about marriage came easily to you or was it a difficult decision to make?**

**Why do you think that was the case?**

**(OPTIONAL)**

**(How did your decision to marry change the plans that you previously had at that time?)**

**At this point, what do you see as the advantages and disadvantages of being married?**

**How does this compare to your earlier thinking about marriage?**

**Do you (or have you) held any particular view(s) about the institution of marriage itself?**

**(IF YES) What is it?**

**Have you ever gone through an important change in your thinking about marriage for yourself?**

**(IF yes) Please describe that change?**

**(IF appropriate) What started you thinking about these questions?**

**(IF appropriate) Who may have influenced your decision?**

**What are your views on living together?**

**Do you believe there are any differences between being married and living together.**

**Are your ideas about marriage fairly well worked out now or do you feel that you are still working on them?**

**(IF still working on them) What are you doing now to work out your thinking about marriage?**

**How would you compare your ideas about marriage with those of your mother?**

**How do your parents feel about your ideas about marriage?**

**Has that always been the case?**

**(IF parents don't know) How do you think they would feel about them if they did know? (if parents deceased use past tense)**

**How would you describe your parent's marriage?**

**What do you think of the marriage your parents have (had)?**

**Would you like your marriage to be similar to theirs or different in some important ways?**

**How does your marriage compare to your parents?**

**How would you compare your ideas about marriage with those of your husband?**

**What would you say are the most important similarities?**

**What would you say are the most important differences?**

**How have you gone about trying to resolve any differences that may exist?**

**On a five-point scale, how important do you see marriage, and the role of a wife to you in your life? Again, 5 means you see it as extremely important and 1 means not at all important.**

---

**Ever Separated or Divorced**

(Also probe current relationship, e.g., married or not married)

How long have you been separated (divorced)?

What would you say were the most important factors leading to your separation (divorce)?

Was the decision to separate (divorce) a difficult one for you to make?

(If appropriate) How did you go about making that decision?

How did your parents feel about your decision to separate (divorce)?

(If appropriate) What are their feelings now?

How did you react to the actual separation/divorce?

How do you think your (ex-)husband felt after the actual separation/divorce?

(If appropriate) Was the decision to enter another relationship a difficult one?

(If appropriate) Was the decision to remarry a difficult one?

Did you do anything differently in preparing for a new marriage (relationship) than you did the first time?

(If no) Why do you think that was the case?

(If not asked elsewhere) On a 5-point scale, how important do you see marriage and the role of spouse as being to you in your life? Again, 5 means extremely important and 1 means not at all important.

### **NOT MARRIED**

How long have you been with your current partner? (ask about time living together)

(optional) How did you meet your partner? (brief)

How long did you know your partner before you began living together?

Was the decision to live together an easy or difficult one to make?

What influenced your decision to live together?

What does it mean for you to be living with your partner (probe commitment of relationship)?

Do you plan to marry?

(IF YES)

Why do you plan to marry?

When do you think would be a good time for you to marry? Why then?

Would you marry your current partner?

(If appropriate) What kind of person would you want to marry?

How do you picture what marriage might be like for you?

How would marriage be different from your current relationship?

What do you see as your role as a wife (partner)?

(IF NO)

Have you ever considered the idea of marriage? (may have to probe ideas during adolescence and childhood)

Have you ever pictured (imagined) what marriage might be like for you?

(ALL)

Have you held any particular view about the institution of marriage itself?  
(IF yes) What is it?

(IF not planning to marry) What influenced your decision about not wanting to marry in the future?

Has your decision about marriage come easily to you or has it been a difficult decision to make?

Why do you think that has been the case?

What do you see as the advantages and disadvantages of being unmarried vs. being married?  
(could also ask) What do you see as the advantages and disadvantages of being in a committed relationship?

Have you ever gone through an important change in your thinking about marriage for yourself?

(IF yes) Please describe that change?

(IF appropriate) What started you thinking about these questions?

(IF appropriate) Who may have influenced your decision?

Are your ideas fairly well worked out now or do you feel that you are still working on them?  
(IF still working on them) What are you doing now to work out your thinking about marriage?

How would you compare your ideas about marriage with those of your mother?

How do your parents feel about your ideas about marriage?

(If parents don't know or deceased) How do you think they would feel about them if they did know?

How would you describe your parents' marriage?

What do you think of the marriage your parents have (had)?

How do you feel about that?

(IF appropriate) Would you like your marriage to be similar to theirs?

How does your partner feel about your attitudes toward marriage?

How do your ideas about marriage and committed relationships compare with his?

How willing would you be to change your plans about marriage?

(IF appropriate) What would it take to change your ideas about marriage?

Do you anticipate that you might re-examine your decision at some time in the future?

(IF yes) When? Why then?

On a 5-point scale, how important do you see marriage and the role of spouse as being to you in your life? Again, 5 means extremely important and 1 means not at all important.

## SEX-ROLES

Changing topic again, I'd like find out something about your perceptions of men's and women's roles in society today.

There are a variety of behaviours and traits that different people associate with being a woman; *what characteristics do you usually associate with the role of being a woman in today's society?*

(At some point get information about how woman feel *personally*, not just theoretically or globally)

What do you find to be most personally satisfying about being a woman?  
What do you find to be the least personally satisfying?

What advantages and disadvantages do you see as associated with the role of women in society?

If you could have chosen to be a man or woman what would you have chosen?

(What does being a woman mean to you?)  
(What do you think are society's expectation of being a women?)

How did you come to learn what it means to be a woman in today's society?  
Do you feel that is something that came naturally for you or were there times when you were uncertain as to how you should act?  
Can you give some examples? (You may have to probe to childhood)

How was your behaviour in this area influenced by your parents?  
How about the effects your brothers and sisters may have had? boyfriends and girlfriends?  
Are there any important differences between the ways in which you and your mother express the role of being a woman in today's society?

How do your parents feel about your views in this area?  
(IF parents don't know) How do you think they would feel about them if they did know? (use past tense if parents deceased)

How do your views of women and men compare with those of your husband?  
(If appropriate) What does your husband think about your view in this area?

Are there any areas of behaviour which you are still questioning as a female (woman)?  
(IF yes) What is the nature of your uncertainty?  
Why do you think this is an issue for you?  
How are you going about trying to work out your ideas about what you should do?

Do you see your ideas about women's and men's roles in today's society as remaining stable or do you see them as possibly changing in the future?  
(IF appropriate) What do you think might cause your ideas to change?  
(IF appropriate) How likely is it that such a change might occur.

What are your opinion of the women's movement (feminism)?  
What influence has the women's movement had on you?

How would you like to see your own (daughter) (son) raised with respect to the role of being a boy or girl, woman or man? Why?

In raising children, do you believe there are any important differences in how you should treat boys and girls?

Do you believe you are raising your own children in ways very different from the way you and your husband were raised?  
(IF appropriate) In what ways?



On a five-point scale, how important you see your role as a woman as being to you in your life? Again, 5 means extremely important and 1 means not at all important.

#### **OTHER CONCERNS AND CLOSING**

Those were the topics I thought might be of concern or importance to you. I may have missed an important area for you though.

What is most important to you at this time in your life?

What do you find yourself thinking or worrying about the most?

(As appropriate, follow-up on any other areas of concern not previously covered.)

That's the end of the interview, do you have any questions for me?

Thank you for your help.

## Appendix B

### Family Attachment Interview

We are interested in women's thoughts and feelings about the types of family experiences they have had during their childhood, as well as women's opinions about how the parenting they received has influenced them as parents and as people. So, we'd like to ask you about your early relationships with your family, and how you think they might have affected you. I'll ask you mainly about your childhood, but I'll also ask about your later years and what's going on right now. The whole interview will probably take us about an hour.

#### Family Background

-Could you start by helping me get oriented to your early family situation, and where you lived and so on? If you could start out with where you were born, whether you moved around much, what your parents did for a living, and if your parents ever separated or divorced.

-Who lived in the household? Where are the members of your immediate family now?

-Did you see much of your grandparents when you were little?

-I'd like you to briefly describe the relationship between your parents when you were young.

-Was there much conflict?

-Were they physically affectionate with one another in front of you?

-Briefly describe what kind of young child you were?

-When are your earliest memories?

-What are they?

#### Relationship with Parents

-I'd like you to describe your relationship with your parents as a young child, going back as far as you can.

-To which parent did you feel closest, and why?

-Why wasn't there this feeling with the other parent?

-Was each of your parents affectionate with you?

#### Adjectives

-Now I'd like you to give me some adjectives that describe your *mother* during your childhood.

(I know this may take a bit of time, so take a few minutes to think if you need to)

-Could you give me some adjectives describing your *father*.

Probe memories and reasons for adjectives for both *mother* and *father*.

-You said she/he was \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_. Could you give me some specific memories or incidents to illustrate how she was \_\_\_\_\_

## Upset

- When you were *unhappy* or *upset* as a child, what would you do? Example.
- How did your parents respond when you were upset?
- Did you cry very often? How would your parents respond?
- Explore *emotionally* hurt or upset; *physically* hurt and *illness*. Examples to illustrate specific incidents, and what they did, and how parents reacted.
- Why do you think your parents reacted to you in the way they did?

## Separations

- Do you remember the first time you were separated from your parents for any length of time? (e.g. camp, parents' holiday, hospitalization)  
(If necessary: How about school for the first time? College?)
- How did you respond? Are there any other separations that stand out in your mind?
- As a young child, did you ever get *lost*?
- How did *you* react (feelings)? How did your *parents* react?
- Did you ever *run away* from home? How did you parents react?

## Rejection

- As a child, were you ever *afraid* of either parent?
  - Could you predict the behaviours of your parents?
- Did you ever feel *rejected* by your parents as a child? Describe.
  - How old were you when you first felt this way?
  - How did it feel? What did you do?
- Did your parent realize she/he was rejecting you?
- Why do you think your parent was like that to you?
- Did you ever feel that you disappointed your parents?
- Were your parents ever threatening with you in any way?
- How did your parents discipline you?
- Do you consider any of the discipline you received abusive?
- Did you ever feel abused by your parents? (can ask emotionally, physically sexually)
  - If yes, Explain. How old were you at the time?
  - Did it happen frequently?
  - Do you feel this experience has had an affect on you as an adult?
  - Has it influenced how you parent your own child?
- What about the opposite? Did you feel loved as a child?
- Were your parents proud of you?
- Did you feel that they understood you?

### Other Adults (if relevant)

-Were any other adults central in your upbringing? Or any other adults you were close to as a child.

### Losses

- During your childhood has anyone that you've been close to died? (could be pet)
- If so, or if previous loss mentioned, **EXPAND** upon: *Age and circumstances?*
- How did you respond at the time? How did it impact your daily life?
- Have your feelings regarding this loss changed much over time?
- If not already discussed: Were you allowed to attend the funeral, and what was that like for you.

If lost parent or sibling:

- What would you say was the effect on (other parent) household, and how did this change over the years?
- Would you say this loss had an effect on your adult personality?
- How does it affect your approach with your own child?
  
- Has anyone that you've been close to during your adolescence or adulthood died? Explore as necessary.

### Current Relationship with Parents

- Have there been any major changes in your relationship with your parents since childhood. Describe. (Do for each parent)
- What brought them about? (if appropriate)
  
- Did you ever go through a period when there was more conflict than usual between you and your parents?
  
- What is your relationship with your parents like now? (Each parent)
- How often do you talk to them? Do you talk about personal concerns?
- Are there things that it would be hard to talk to them about?
- Do you feel that they understand you?

### Effects

- Do you think you experiences growing up in your family have influenced your *adult personality*? How so?
  - Influenced your *relationships* with people outside of the family.  
How so?
  - Influenced you as a *parent*?
- (optional) Is there anything that you consider a setback to your development?

## **Changes**

-Do you have any thoughts about how your parents came to be the kinds of parents they were?

-How would you have liked your parents to be *different*?

-As necessary: Is there anything you didn't like about your parents?

-Anything that was irritating?

Or if all negative: Any positive memories with the parent?

How do you think that your parents would have liked you to be different?

## **Other**

Is there anything else about your parents that needs to be added?

Appendix C

Scoring Sheets for the FAI

SUBJECT # \_\_\_\_\_  
SEX \_\_\_\_\_  
AGE \_\_\_\_\_

INTERVIEWER \_\_\_\_\_  
CODER \_\_\_\_\_

(1-9)	Mother	Father
Acceptance	_____	_____
Rejection	_____	_____
Neglect (1-low, 9-high)	_____	_____
Consistency (1-none, 9-high)	_____	_____
Emotional Expressivity (1-extreme reserve, 5-balanced, 9-histrionic)	_____	_____
Pushed to achievement	_____	_____
Role Reversal	_____	_____
Expressed Anger Now	_____	_____
Idealization	_____	_____
Use of as secure base (1-never, 5-somewhat, 9-always)	_____	_____
Dominance (1-child, 5-ideal 9-parent),	_____	_____
Current closeness (1-9)	_____	_____
Elaboration	_____	_____
Coherence	_____	_____
Lack of resolution of mourning	_____	_____
Lack of resolution of trauma	_____	_____

SUBJECT # \_\_\_\_\_

**COUNTS**

Insistence on not remembering \_\_\_\_\_

Inappropriate Laughter \_\_\_\_\_

I don't know's \_\_\_\_\_

**OTHER**

Separation anxiety (1-9)  
(1-none, 5-average, 9-extreme) \_\_\_\_\_

"Adolescent" rebellion (1-9)  
(1-none, 5-some/unclear, 9-yes) \_\_\_\_\_

Self-confidence (1-low, 5-average,  
9-exceptionally high) \_\_\_\_\_

**STYLES (1-9)**

Secure \_\_\_\_\_

Fearful \_\_\_\_\_

Preoccupied \_\_\_\_\_

Dismissing \_\_\_\_\_

ADULT EARLY ATTACHMENT RATING SPECIFICATIONS

\* ACCEPTANCE: (by parent)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Very lacking in Love		Lacking in love		Neither unloving nor actively loving		Loving		Very Loving

\* REJECTION: (by parent)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Not at all rejecting		Slightly rejecting		Moderately rejecting		Rejecting		Very rejecting

\* INVOLVEMENT: (Neglect - physical absence/inaccessibility or psychological unresponsiveness)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Strong neglect		Neglecting		Definitely inattentive for a certain period of time		Mildly inattentive		Physically accessible & Psych. responsive

\* CONSISTENCY: (of parenting)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
None		Some		Average		Above Average		High

\* EMOTIONAL EXPRESSIVITY: (general style of parent)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Extreme Reserve		Reserved		Average		Overly Expressive		Histrionic

\* PUSHED TO ACHIEVEMENT: (by parent)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Not pushed		Slightly pushed		Moderately pushed		Pushed beyond cultural norms		Breaking point

\* ROLE REVERSAL: (responsibility for parent) (Preoccupied - High)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Parent's well-being not a concern		Slight concern		Concern;but not role reversed		Some role reversal		Reversal of roles



\* EXPRESSED ANGER NOW: (towards parent)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
None		Slight annoyance		Some anger		Thematic anger		Direct anger

\* IDEALIZATION: (their perception now)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
None		Slight		Moderate		Idealization		Strong

\* DEPTH OF PORTRAIT: <sup>how good a picture we get of parent</sup> (knowledge of parent's motives and feelings)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Low		Some		Average		Above Average		High

\* USE OF AS A SECURE BASE:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
None		Slight		Somewhat		Usually		Always

\* DOMINANCE:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Child		Mostly Child		Ideal		Mostly Parent		Parent

\* CURRENT CLOSENESS: (with parent)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
None		Some		<del>Appropriate</del>		Close		Best Friend

*Somewhat close* →

\* ELABORATION: [Preoccupied - Lots; Dismissing - Little]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Little		Some		Moderate		Significant		Lots

\* COHERENCE:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Highly incoherent		Incoherent		Average		Coherent		Highly coherent

\* LACK OF RESOLUTION OF MOURNING: [greater than 5 = D category]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Resolved		Largely resolved		Unsettled		Some speech or thought confusion		Confused thought process

\* LACK OF RESOLUTION OF TRAUMA: (extreme threats or violence)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Resolved		Largely resolved		Unsettled		Some speech or thought confusion		Confused thought process

COUNTS

\* INSISTENCE ON NOT REMEMBERING (Dismissing - Lots)

\* I DON'T KNOW'S

OTHER

\* SEPARATION ANXIETY:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
None		Some		Average		A lot of anxiety		Extreme

\* "ADOLESCENT" REBELLION: (individuating rebellion against parent)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
None		A little		Some/unclear		Rebellion		Lots of Rebellion

\* SELF-ESTEEM: (sense of vulnerability)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Very Low		Below Average		Average		Above Average		Very High

STYLES

\* SECURE:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
No evidence		Slight evidence of this style		Somewhat consistent or noticeable theme		Good fit with some exceptions		Near perfect fit

\* FEARFUL:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
No evidence		Slight evidence of this style		Somewhat consistent or noticeable theme		Good fit with some exceptions		Near perfect fit

\* PREOCCUPIED:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
No evidence		Slight evidence of this style		Somewhat consistent or noticeable theme		Good fit with some exceptions		Near perfect fit

\* DISMISSING:

---

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
No evidence		Slight evidence of this style		Somewhat consistent or noticeable theme		Good fit with some exceptions		Near perfect fit

## Appendix D

### Family Attachment Prototypes

#### Secure

- most important: coherence, ability to evaluate, realistic appraisal of past, insightful, value attachment relationships (not necessarily with parents)
- parenting dimensions: supportive parents, low idealization and role reversal, high coherence, good memory, elaboration and depth of portrait
- general tone: self-confident, thoughtful, mature, capable of feeling
- two types: a) warm, accepting parents (and believable)  
b) difficult experiences but "worked through", intellectually and emotionally

#### Fearful

- most important: desire for closeness and acceptance, but avoidance due to fear of rejection; shy; feels fundamentally unloved; blamed self for parental rejection; difficulty trusting people
- general tone: shy, vulnerable, low self-esteem, continued emotional involvement with parents
- parenting dimensions: parental rejection, overly critical or harsh or so unavailable that it appeared uncaring; not necessarily any idealization or role reversal; good memory and elaboration (unless shyness overrules)
- common experiences: rejected for attachment behaviors (i.e., crying); abusive or extremely cold parents; very shy or withdrawn as child; withdraws when upset; high separation anxiety

## **Preoccupied**

- **most important:** emotional enmeshment with parents, continued dependence, lack of coherence or resolution of separation
- **general tone:** very emotional, either positive (with idealization) or conflicted; lack of independent identity; low self-esteem; overly sensitive to others' opinions
- **parenting dimensions:** high idealization and role reversal, low coherence, good memory and elaboration
- **common experiences:** over-protective enmeshed mother; inept parents; very inconsistent parenting; high separation anxiety; go to parents if upset; divorce or complicated family history
- **two types:** a) passive, enmeshed, idealized or negative memories but in either case incoherent  
b) conflicted and ambivalent - ongoing struggle for independence, anger toward parents, maybe pseudo-analytic, egocentric

## **Dismissing**

- **most important:** emotional detachment; downplays importance of attachment relations; over-emphasis on independence, emotional control and/or achievement; lack of evaluation of early experiences; limited awareness of effects from parents
- **general tone:** cool, self-confident, overly rational, unemotional, at extreme arrogant
- **parenting dimensions:** high idealization, poor memory and elaboration, low coherence
- **types:** a) rejecting parents, but subject downplays importance of rejection or even defends parents; detachment from or inability to evaluate effects of early experiences  
b) cool unemotional parents that passed on their style; may have emphasized independence and achievement; lack of any physical or expressed affection from parents although no evidence of overt rejection
- **common experiences:** no separation anxiety; rarely upset, or if so dealt with on own; use of distancers in speech, such as "you" for "I"

Some important distinctions to keep in mind (although exceptions are rampant):

*Use of parents as a secure base*

Secure & preoccupied moderate to high.

Fearful & dismissing low.

*Self-confidence*

Secure & dismissing moderate to high.

Fearful & preoccupied low.

Note: If one had to pick two scales that best captured the group distinctions, it would be secure base and self-confidence. Use of parents as a secure base can be seen as a proxy for the "other" dimension; and self-confidence for the "self" dimension. Thus, in making the overall ratings, you can think about the degree of vulnerability & continued emotional dependence on parental acceptance (whether expressed or not) as showing a negative self model and the degree of internalized self-confidence (whether defensive or not) as showing a positive self model. On the other dimension, the degree to which individuals actively seek out parents (whether shown through genuine intimate interaction or through temper tantrums and open conflict) shows a positive other model, and the degree to which they tend to keep their distance from parents, especially under conditions of stress, (whether out of fear of rejection or claimed self-reliance) shows a negative other model.

*Separation anxiety*

Secure moderate, preoccupied high, dismissing low.

*Elaboration*

Secure at least moderate.

Preoccupied high, dismissing low.

## Appendix E

### Opinions About Child Rearing Questionnaire

This questionnaire asks for your opinions about different aspects of child-rearing. Please give your own opinions and do not worry about what others may think. There are no right or wrong answers to these questions since they are all a matter of opinion. In addition your answers will be treated with complete confidentiality.

Read each item carefully and, when you are sure you understand it, place an X in the space which best expresses your feelings about the statement. Do not spend much time on any item. Try to answer every question.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Children have to be treated differently as they grow older.	( )	( )	( )	( )
2. Parent must keep to their standards and rules no matter what their child is like.	( )	( )	( )	( )
3. It is not easy to define a good home because it is made up of many different things.	( )	( )	( )	( )
4. Fathers cannot raise their children as well as mothers.	( )	( )	( )	( )
5. The mischief that 2-year-olds get into is part of a passing stage they'll grow out of.	( )	( )	( )	( )
6. A child who isn't toilet-trained by 3 years of age must have something wrong with them.	( )	( )	( )	( )
7. Parents need to be sensitive to the needs of their children.	( )	( )	( )	( )
8. Girls tend to be easier babies to take care of than are boys.	( )	( )	( )	( )
9. Difficult babies will grow out of it.	( )	( )	( )	( )

**Please Turn Over**

	<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Strongly Agree</b>
10. There's not much anyone can do to help emotionally distured children.	( )	( )	( )	( )
11. Children's problems seldom have a single cause.	( )	( )	( )	( )
12. The father's role is to provide the discipline in the family and the mother's role is to give love and attention to the children.	( )	( )	( )	( )
13. Parents can be turned off by a fussy child so that they are unable to be as nice as they would like.	( )	( )	( )	( )
14. A child's sucess at school depends on how much their mother taught them at home.	( )	( )	( )	( )
15. There is no one right way to raise children.	( )	( )	( )	( )
16. Boy babies are less affectionate than girl babies.	( )	( )	( )	( )
17. First-born children are usually treated differently than are later-born children.	( )	( )	( )	( )
18. An easy baby will grow up to be a good child.	( )	( )	( )	( )
19. Parents change in response to their children.	( )	( )	( )	( )
20. Babies have to be taught to behave themselves or they will be bad later on.	( )	( )	( )	( )



Appendix F

1. **Child readily shares with mother or lets mother hold things if she asks to.**

*Low: Refuses*

---

2. **When child returns to mother after playing, she is sometimes fussy for no clear reason.**

*Low: Child is happy or affectionate when she returns to mother between or after play times.*

---

3. **When she is upset or injured, child will accept comforting from adults other than mother.**

*Low: Mother is the only one she allows to comfort her.*

---

4. **Child is careful and gentle with toys and pets.**
-

5. **Child is more interested in people than in things.**

*Low: More interested in things than people.*

---

6. **When child is near mother and sees something she wants to play with, she fusses or tries to drag mother over to it.**

*Low: Goes to what she wants without fussing or dragging mother along.*

-----

7. **Child laughs and smiles easily with a lot of different people.**

*Low: Mother can get child to smile or or laugh more easily than anyone else.*

-----

8. **When child cries, she cries hard.**

*Low: Weeps, sobs, doesn't cry hard or hard crying never lasts very long.*

---

9. **Child is lighthearted and playful most of the time.**

*Low: Child tends to be serious, sad, annoyed a good deal of the time.*

---

10. **Child often cries or resists when mother takes her to bed for naps or at night.**

- 
11. **Child often hugs or cuddles against mother without mother asking or inviting her to do so.**

*Low: Child doesn't hug or cuddle much, unless mother hugs her first or asks child to give her a hug.*

---

12. **Child quickly gets used to people or things that initially made her shy or frightened.**

**\*\*Middle if never shy or afraid.**

---

- 13. When the child is upset by mother's leaving, she continues to cry or even gets angry after mother is gone.**

*Low: Cry stops right after mom leaves.*

**\*\*Middle if not upset by mom leaving.**

-----

- 14. When child finds something new to play with, she carries it to mother or shows it to her from across the room.**

*Low: Plays with the new object quietly or goes where she won't be interrupted.*

-----

- 15. Child is willing to talk to new people, show them toys, or what she can do, if mother asks her to.**
- 

- 16. Child prefers toys that are modeled after living things (e.g., dolls, stuffed animals).**

*Low: Prefers balls, blocks, pots and pans, etc.*

-----

17. **Child quickly loses interest in new adults if they do anything that annoys her.**
- 

18. **Child follows mother's suggestions readily, even when they are clearly suggestions rather than orders.**

*Low: Ignores or refuses unless ordered.*

---

19. **When mother tells child to bring or give her something, child obeys. (Do not count refusals that are playful or part of a game unless they clearly become disobedient.)**

*Low: Mother has to take the object or raise her voice to get it away from child.*

---

20. **Child ignores most bumps, falls, or startles.**

*Low: Cries after minor bumps, fall, or startles.*

---

21. **Child keeps track of mother's location when she plays around the house.**

**Calls to mother now and then.  
Notices her go from room to room.  
Notices if she changes activities.**

*Low: Doesn't keep track*

**\*\*Middle if child isn't allowed or doesn't have room to play away from mom.**

---

22. **Child acts like an affectionate parent toward dolls, pets, or infants.**

*Low: Plays with them in other ways.*

**\*\*Middle if child doesn't play with or have dolls, pets or infants around.**

---

23. **When mother sits with other family members, or is affectionate with them, child tries to get mom's affection for herself.**

*Low: Lets mother be affectionate with others. May join in, but not in a jealous way.*

---

24. **When mother speaks firmly or raises her voice at child, child becomes upset, sorry, or ashamed about displeasing her.**

**(Do not score high if child is simply upset by the raised voice or afraid of getting punished.)**

---

25. **Child is easy for mother to lose track of when she is playing out of mother's sight.**

*Low: Talks and calls when out of sight.  
Easy to find; easy to keep track  
of what child is playing with.*

**\*\*Middle if never plays out of sight.**

-----

26. **Child cries when mother leaves her at home with babysitter, father, or grandparent.**

*Low: Doesn't cry with any of these.*

-----

27. **Child laughs when mother teases her.**

*Low: Annoyed when mother teases her.*

**\*\*Middle if mother never teases child during play or conversations.**

-----

28. **Child enjoys relaxing in mother's lap.**

*Low: Prefers to relax on the floor  
or on furniture.*

**\*\*Middle if child never sits still.**

-----

- 29. At times, child attends so deeply to something that she doesn't seem to hear when people speak to her.**

*Low: Even when deeply involved in play, child notices when people speak to her.*

---

- 30. Child easily becomes angry with toys.**

- 
- 31. Child wants to be the center of mother's attention. If mom is busy or talking to someone, she interrupts.**

*Low: Doesn't notice or doesn't mind not being the center of mother's attention.*

---

- 32. When mother says "NO" or punishes child, she stops misbehaving (at least at the time). Doesn't have to be told twice.**



- 33. Child sometimes signals mother (or gives the impression) that she wants to be put down, and then fusses or wants to be picked right back up.**

*Low: Always ready to go play by the time she signals mother to put her down.*

-----

- 34. When child is upset about mother leaving her, she sits right where she is and cries. Doesn't go after mother.**

*Low: Actively goes after mother if she is upset or crying.*

**\*\*Middle if never upset by mother leaving.**

-----

- 35. Child is independent with mother. Prefers to play on her own; leaves mother easily when she wants to play.**

*Low: Prefers playing with or near mother.*

**\*\*Middle if not allowed or not enough room to play away from mother.**

-----

- 36. Child clearly shows a pattern of using mother as a base from which to explore.**

**Moves out to play;  
Returns or plays near mother;  
Moves out to play again, etc.**

*Low: Always away unless retrieved, or always stays near.*

-----

**37. Child is very active. Always moving around. Prefers active games to quiet ones.**

**38. Child is demanding and impatient with mother. Fusses and persists unless mother does what she wants right away.**

-----  
**39. Child is often serious and business like when playing away from mother or alone with her toys.**

*Low: Often silly or laughing when playing away from mother or alone with his toys*

-----  
**40. Child examines new objects or toys in great detail. Tries to use them in different ways or to take them apart.**

*Low: First look at new objects or toys is usually brief. (May return to them later however.)*

-----

41. **When mother says to follow her, child does so.**

**(Do not count refusals or delays that are playful or part of a game unless they clearly become disobedient.)**

---

42. **Child recognizes when mother is upset.**

**Child becomes quiet or upset herself.  
Tries to comfort mother.  
Asks what is wrong, etc.**

*Low: Doesn't recognize; continues play; behaves toward mother as if she were ok.*

43. **Child stays closer to mother or returns to mother more often than the simple task of keeping track of her requires.**

*Low: Doesn't keep close track of mother's location or activities.*

---

44. **Child asks for and enjoys having mother hold, hug, and cuddle her.**

*Low: Not especially eager for this. Tolerates it but doesn't seek it; or wiggles to be put down.*

---

45. **Child enjoys dancing or singing along with music.**

*Low: Neither likes nor dislikes music.*

---

46. **Child walks and runs around without bumping, dropping, or stumbling.**

*Low: Bumps, drops or stumbles happen throughout the day (even if no injuries result).*

---

47. **Child will accept and enjoy loud sounds or being bounced around in play, if mother smiles and shows that it is supposed to be fun.**

*Low: Child gets upset, even if mother indicates the sound or activity is safe or fun.*

---

48. **Child readily lets new adults hold or share things she has, if they ask to.**
-

**49. Runs to mother with a shy smile when new people visit the home.**

*Low: Even if she eventually warms up to visitors, she initially runs to mother with a fret or a cry.*

**\*\*Middle if child doesn't run to mother at all when visitors arrive.**

---

**50. Child's initial reaction when people visit the home is to ignore or avoid them, even if she eventually warms up to them.**

---

**51. Child enjoys climbing all over visitors when she plays with them.**

*Low: Doesn't seek close contact with visitors when she plays with them.*

**\*\*Middle if she won't play with visitors.**

---

**52. Child has trouble handling small objects or putting small things together.**

*Low: Very skillful with small objects, pencils, etc.*

---

- 53. Child puts her arms around mother or puts her hand on mother's shoulder when mother picks her up.**

*Low: Accepts being picked up but doesn't especially help or hold on.*

---

- 54. Child acts like she expects mother to interfere with her activities when mother is simply trying to help her with something.**

*Low: Accepts mother's help readily, unless she is in fact interfering.*

---

- 55. Child copies a number of behaviours or ways of doing things from watching mother's behaviour.**

*Low: Doesn't noticeably copy mother's behaviour.*

---

- 56. Child becomes shy or loses interest when an activity looks like it might be difficult.**

*Low: Thinks she can do difficult tasks.*

---

**57. Child is fearless.**

*Low: Child is cautious or fearful.*

-----

**58. Child largely ignores adults who visits the home. Finds her own activities more interesting.**

*Low: Finds visitors quite interesting, even if she is a bit shy at first.*

-----

**59. When child finishes with an activity or toy, she generally finds something else to do without returning to mother between activities.**

*Low: When finishes with an activity or toy, she returns to mother for play, affection or help finding more to do.*

-----

**60. If mother reassures child by saying "It's ok" or "It won't hurt you", she will approach or play with things that initially made her cautious or afraid.**

**\*\*Middle if never cautious or afraid.**

---

- 61. Plays roughly with mother. Bumps, scratches, or bites during active play.  
(Does not necessarily mean to hurt mom)**

*Low: Plays active games without injuring mother.*

**\*\*Middle if play is never very active.**

---

- 62. When child is in a happy mood, she is likely to stay that way all day.**

*Low: Happy moods are very changeable.*

---

- 63. Even before trying things herself, child tries to get someone to help her.**

- 
- 64. Child enjoys climbing all over mother when they play.**

*Low: Doesn't especially want a lot of contact when they play.*

---



**65. Child is easily upset when mother makes her change from one activity to another.**

**(Even if the new activity is something child often enjoys.)**

---

**66. Child easily grows fond of adults who visit her home and are friendly to her.**

*Low: Doesn't grow fond of new people very easily.*

---

**67. When the family has visitors, child wants them to pay a lot of attention to her.**

**68. On the average, child is a more active type person than mother.**

*Low: On the average, child is less active type person than mother.*

---

**69. Rarely asks mother for help.**

*Low: Often asks mother for help.*

**\*\*Middle if child is too young to ask.**

---

**70. Child quickly greets her mother with a big smile when mother enters the room.**

**(Shows her a toy, gestures, or says "Hi, Mommy")**

*Low: Doesn't greet mother unless she greets child first.*

---

**71. If held in mother's arms, child stops crying and quickly recovers after being frightened or upset.**

*Low: Not easily comforted.*

---

**72. If visitors laugh at or approve of something the child does, she repeats it again and again.**

*Low: Visitors' reactions don't influence child this way.*

---

- 73. Child has a cuddly toy or security blanket that she carries around, takes to bed, or holds when upset.**

**(Do not include bottle or pacifier if child is under two years old.)**

*Low: Can take such things or leave them or has none at all.*

---

- 74. When mother doesn't do what child wants right away, child behaves as if mom were not going to do it at all.**

**(Fusses, gets angry, walks off to other activities, etc.)**

*Low: Waits a reasonable time, as if child expects mother will shortly do what she asked.*

---

- 75. At home, child gets upset or cries when mother walks out of the room.**

**(May or may not follow her.)**

*Low: Notices her leaving; may follow but doesn't get upset.*

---

- 76. When given a choice, child would rather play with toys than with adults.**

*Low: Would rather play with adults than toys.*

---

**77. When mother asks child to do something child readily understands what mother wants. (May or may not obey.)**

*Low: Sometimes puzzled or slow to understand what mother wants.*

**\*\*Middle if child is too young to understand.**

---

**78. Child enjoys being hugged or held by people other than her parents and/or grandparents.**

---

**79. Child easily becomes angry at mother.**

*Low: Doesn't become angry at mother unless mother is very intrusive or child is tired.*

---

**80. Child uses mother's facial expressions as a good source of information when something looks risky or threatening.**

*Low: Makes up her own mind without checking mother's expressions first.*

---

**81. Child cries as a way of getting mother to do what she wants.**

*Low: Mainly cries because of genuine discomfort (tired, sad, afraid, etc.)*

---

**82. Child spends most of her play time with just a few favorite toys or activities.**

**83. When child is bored, she goes to mother looking for something to do.**

*Low: Wanders around or just does nothing for a while, until something comes up.*

---

**84. Child makes at least some effort to be clean and tidy around the house.**

*Low: Spills and smears things on herself and on floor all the time.*

---

85. **Child is strongly attracted to new activities and new toys.**

*Low: New things do not attract her away from familiar toys or activities.*

---

86. **Child tries to get mother to imitate her, or quickly notices and enjoys it when mom imitates child on her own.**

87. **If mother laughs at or approves of something the child has done, child repeats it again and again.**

*Low: Child is not particularly influenced this way.*

---

88. **When something upsets the child, she stays where she is and cries.**

*Low: Goes to mother when child cries. Doesn't wait for mom to come to her.*

---

**89. Child's facial expressions are strong and clear when she is playing with something.**

---

**90. If mother moves very far, child follows along and continues her play in the area mother has moved to.**

**(Doesn't have to be called or carried along; doesn't stop play or get upset.)**

**\*\*Middle if child isn't allowed or doesn't have room to be very far away.**

---

Appendix G

Simon Fraser University

**WOMEN'S THOUGHTS AND OPINIONS ABOUT THEIR VALUES, CHILD-REARING, AND THE PARENTING THEY RECEIVED AS A CHILD.**

**DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION**

I. ID #: \_\_\_\_\_

II. Age : \_\_\_\_\_

III. Relationship Status:

- 1. relationship, not living together \_\_\_\_\_
- 2. living together, not married \_\_\_\_\_
- 3. legally married \_\_\_\_\_
- 4. separated or divorced \_\_\_\_\_
- 5. no current relationship \_\_\_\_\_
- 6. widow \_\_\_\_\_
- 7. other \_\_\_\_\_

---

---

IV. Age & Sex of children in family. Indicate if living with woman or elsewhere; give birthdates; relationship to woman, i.e., birth-mother, adopted, foster, partner's child, other.  
Put \* by name of child in study.

1. \_\_\_\_\_

2. \_\_\_\_\_

3. \_\_\_\_\_

4. \_\_\_\_\_

5. \_\_\_\_\_

V. Number of adults living in home \_\_\_\_\_.  
Describe relationship to woman, i.e., woman's mother, father; partner's mother, father,.

1. \_\_\_\_\_

2. \_\_\_\_\_

3. \_\_\_\_\_

4. \_\_\_\_\_



**VI. Type of child care for child in study. Circle as many as applicable and give hours per week:**

Mother	_____	
Father	_____	in/out home
Grandparent	_____	in/out home (specify grandparent)
Relative	_____	in/out home (specify relationship)
Non-Relative	_____	in/out home (specify relationship)
Group DayCare	_____	Describe: _____
		_____
		_____

**VII. What is the longest period you have been separated from your child? Give reason(s) why?**

**VIII. Does your child have special needs? If so briefly explain.**

## Appendix H

Simon Fraser University

### WOMEN'S THOUGHTS AND OPINIONS ABOUT THEIR VALUES, CHILD-REARING, AND THE PARENTING THEY RECEIVED AS A CHILD.

#### DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PARTICIPANTS

- I. EDUCATION - Highest level of education completed by yourself and your partner/husband?

	Woman	Partner
-grade school	_____	_____
-some high school	_____	_____
-graduated high school	_____	_____
-some university	_____	_____
-graduated university	_____	_____
-technical school	_____	_____
-night school	_____	_____
-other	_____	_____

Briefly explain:

- II. Are you currently employed outside the home?  
no \_\_\_\_\_ part-time \_\_\_\_\_ full-time \_\_\_\_\_ (30 hr/wk or more)

If yes, give occupation:

- III. What is your expected gross family income for 1991?

-less than 15,000	_____
-16,000 to 25,000	_____
-26,000 to 35,000	_____
-36,000 to 45,000	_____
-46,000 to 55,000	_____
-56,000 to 75,000	_____
-76,000 to 100,000	_____
-100,000 +	_____

- IV. Where did you hear about this study?

- V. If you have any friends with children between the ages of 12 to 36 months of age who may be interested in participating in this study, please give their name and number, and tell the researcher.

## Appendix I

Simon Fraser University

### WOMEN'S THOUGHTS AND OPINIONS ABOUT THEIR VALUES, CHILD-REARING, AND THE PARENTING THEY RECEIVED AS A CHILD

#### PARTICIPANT INFORMATION

**1. INTERVIEW ABOUT VALUES:** In the first interview the researcher will talk to you about your current beliefs, attitudes and values about occupation, religion, sex roles, and marriage. The researcher will also talk to you about how you arrived at these beliefs, whether or not they are similar to your parents' or caretakers' beliefs, and how important your beliefs are to you. It is important to remember that we are interested in your opinion; there are no right or wrong answers. The interview generally lasts approximately 60 minutes.

**2. CHILD BEHAVIOUR Q-SORT:** You will also be asked to complete a Q-sort regarding your child's behaviour. The Q-sort consists of 90 cards. On each card is a statement making reference to a specific behaviour often demonstrated by toddlers and young children. Many of the statements also provide definitions of the opposite behaviour to ensure that you understand the meaning of the behaviour. For example on one card the statement is "Child laughs and smiles easily with a lot of different people", opposite is "mother can get child to smile or laugh more easily than anyone else". Your task is to read the statements on each card and to sort the cards into three piles. In one pile you put all the cards that you think are *like* your child, in a second pile you put all the cards that are *unlike* your child, and in a third pile, you put the cards that are *neither like nor unlike* your child. For the next week you observe your child keeping in mind the descriptions on the card. At the time of the second visit, one to three weeks later, you will sort the cards again, but this time you will sort the cards into nine piles ranging from *most like my child* to *very unlike my child*. Although this many sound complex it is quite easy to do. Our researchers will explain and demonstrate the process to you, as well as answer any questions you may have while you are sorting the cards. Sorting the cards will take approximately 15 to 20 minutes during the first interview, and 30 to 40 minutes during the second interview, therefore taking approximately 60 minutes of your time.

**3. PARENT-RELATIONSHIP INTERVIEW:** During this interview the researcher will talk to you about your childhood relationships with your parent(s), or parental substitute(s). You will be asked to describe your mother and father, who you were closest to, and if you were ever separated from your parent(s). You will be asked questions about your family, such as whether or not you have sisters or brothers, and the extent to which you had contact with your grandparents during your childhood. This interview usually lasts approximately 45 to 60 minutes.

**4. CHILD-REARING QUESTIONNAIRE:** This questionnaire consists of 20 statements about different aspects of child-rearing. There are no right or wrong answers to these questions, they are all a matter of opinion. We want to know whether you agree or disagree with each of the 20 statements. It will take approximately 5 to 10 minutes to complete the questionnaire.

## Appendix J

Simon Fraser University

### WOMEN'S THOUGHTS AND OPINIONS ABOUT THEIR VALUES, CHILD-REARING, AND THE PARENTING THEY RECEIVED AS A CHILD

#### INFORMED CONSENT

Taking part in this study involves meeting with our women researchers twice, in your own home at a time convenient to you. Your participation involves being interviewed, as well as completing short questionnaires, and providing information about your child. Each meeting will last approximately one to two hours, with the total procedure involving approximately two to four hours of your time.

Everything you tell us will be kept strictly confidential. Although we use tape recorders, only the people you talk to would know the voice belongs to you. We use identification numbers for everyone participating in our study and none of the information gathered from talking to you would have your name on it. This consent form and a lists of participants will be the only forms with your name on it, and they will be kept entirely separate from the rest of the information gathered in the study.

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. You may choose not to answer some questions, or you may decide to discontinue the study at any time. If you finish the study your name will be entered in a lottery for one hundred dollars. The draw will take place after one hundred women have completed the study (around Dec. 1991). If you have any concerns or complaints about the study you may address them to myself, Joanne MacKinnon, Doctoral Candidate in Clinical Psychology, or to Dr. Roger Blackman, Chair of the Psychology Department of Simon Fraser University, 291-3354. You may obtain a copy of the results of the study upon its completion by contacting Joanne MacKinnon, at the Psychology Department, Simon Fraser University. Results will be available sometime during 1992.

#### Consent

I agree to participate in the procedures as described in the above paragraphs. I understand that I may withdraw my participation in this study at any time, and I also understand that I may register any complaint I might have about the study with the researcher Joanne MacKinnon, or with Dr. Roger Blackman, Chair, Psychology Department, Simon Fraser University.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Phone #: \_\_\_\_\_

Name of person your phone is listed under: \_\_\_\_\_

If your phone number changes within the next two years contact Joanne MacKinnon at 291-3354 to have your number updated. This is to ensure that we can contact you in the event that you win the lottery.

Witness: \_\_\_\_\_

**Please keep a copy of this consent form**

Table 1

How Women Came to Participate in the Study

		N	%
<b>Non-Volunteer</b>			
	Previous study	26	24.5
	Direct contact	34	32.1
	<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>56.6</b>
<b>Volunteer</b>			
	Friend	32	30.2
	Flyer	11	10.4
	<b>Total</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>40.6</b>
Uncertain	<b>Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2.8</b>

Table 2.

Group means and Standard Deviations for Family Attachment by Identity

(A,M,F,D)

		Identity			
		Achieved	Morator	Foreclose	Diffuse
<b>Family Attachment</b>					
Secure	<u>M</u>	4.488	3.660	4.176	2.908
	<u>SD</u>	1.367	1.097	1.417	1.010
	<u>N</u>	41	5	33	13
Fear	<u>M</u>	2.902	4.760	2.797	3.769
	<u>SD</u>	1.586	1.230	1.583	1.775
	<u>N</u>	41	5	33	13
Preocc	<u>M</u>	2.756	2.760	3.442	2.885
	<u>SD</u>	1.392	1.189	1.617	1.516
	<u>N</u>	41	5	33	13
Dismiss	<u>M</u>	2.744	2.620	2.458	3.462
	<u>SD</u>	1.428	1.274	1.372	1.587
	<u>N</u>	41	5	33	13

Table 3

MANOVA for Secure, Fearful, Preoccupied and Dismissing Family Attachment grouped by Identity (A,M,F,D)

Source	SSP	df	MSP	LRatio	F	p-value
Identity	25.798		2.149			
	-17.915	24.217		-1.492	2.018	
	-0.469	-5.421	9.320	-0.039	-0.451	0.077
	-11.560	8.069	-5.092	9.471	9.471	12
					0.672	-0.424
					0.789	0.7508
					2.15	0.0152
error	156.005		0.692			
	-87.476	224.699		-0.388	0.997	
	-47.664	-8.125	-194.490	-0.211	-0.036	0.863
	-43.414	-49.770	-64.565	178.480	225.18	225.18
					-0.221	-0.286
					0.792	0.792

**Table 4**

**One-Way ANOVAs Between Identity Statuses (A,M,F,D) for Secure, Fearful, Preoccupied and Dismissing Attachment Styles**

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p-value
<b>Secure</b>					
Identity	25.7989	3	8.5996	4.85	0.0036
error	156.0057	88	1.7727		
<b>Fearful</b>					
Identity	24.2177	3	8.0725	3.16	0.0285
error	224.6991	88	2.5533		
<b>Preoccupied</b>					
Identity	9.3202	3	3.1067	1.41	0.2465
error	194.4905	88	2.2101		
<b>Dismissing</b>					
Identity	9.4712	3	3.1570	1.56	0.2056
error	178.4803	88	2.0281		

alpha level set at 0.0125 using Bonferroni correction for four variables



Table 5

Pairwise t-tests of Secure Family Attachment grouped by Identity (A,M,F,D)

Identity	t	df	p-value
<b>Achieved vs.</b>			
Moratorium	1.31	88	0.1928
Foreclosed	1.00	88	0.3190
Diffuse	3.73	88	0.0003
<b>Moratorium vs.</b>			
Foreclosed	-0.81	88	0.4217
Diffuse	1.07	88	0.2859
<b>Foreclosed</b>			
Diffuse	2.91	88	0.0046

alpha level set at 0.0125 using Fisher's procedure

Table 6

Chi Square for Identity (A,M,F,D) and Family Attachment

Family Attachment	Identity				row totals
	A	M	F	D	
Secure	22	1	15	1	39
Fearful	8	4	6	6	24
Preoccup	4	0	9	2	15
Dismiss	7	0	2	3	12
column totals	41	5	32	12	90

$\chi^2 = 22.499$

df = 9

p = 0.0074

Table 7

Group means and Standard Deviations for Family Attachment grouped by Identity Commitment(AF-MD)

		Identity	
		AF	MD
<b>Family Attachment</b>			
Secure	<u>M</u>	4.349	3.117
	<u>SD</u>	1.389	1.060
	<u>N</u>	74	18
Fear	<u>M</u>	2.855	4.044
	<u>SD</u>	1.575	1.670
	<u>N</u>	74	18
Preocc	<u>M</u>	3.062	2.850
	<u>SD</u>	1.525	1.399
	<u>N</u>	74	18
Dism	<u>M</u>	2.616	3.228
	SD	1.401	1.520
	<u>N</u>	74	18

Table 8

MANOVA for Secure, Fearful, Preoccupied and Dismissing Family Attachment grouped by Identity Commitment(AF,MD)

Source	SSP	df	MSP	TSQ	F	p-value
Identity	21.974	5.493				
	-21.208	5.302	5.117			
	3.784	0.946	-0.913	0.162		
	-10.908	-2.272	2.632	-0.469	1.353	17.008
		4			4.11	0.0042
error	159.829	1.837				
	-84.182	-0.976	2.625			
	-51.918	-0.596	-0.113	2.335		
	-44.066	-0.506	-0.600	0.779	2.098	
		87				

Table 9

One-Way ANOVAs Between Identity Commitment (AF,MD) for Secure, Fearful, Preoccupied and Dismissing Attachment Styles

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p-value
<b>Secure</b>					
Identity	21.9748	1	21.9748	12.37	0.0007
error	159.8298	90	1.7757		
<b>Fearful</b>					
Identity	20.4695	1	20.4695	8.06	0.0056
error	228.4472	90	2.5383		
<b>Preoccupied</b>					
Identity	0.6517	1	0.6517	0.29	0.5924
error	203.1590	90	2.2573		
<b>Dismissing</b>					
Identity	5.4149	1	5.4149	2.67	0.1058
error	182.5366	90	2.0281		

alpha level set at 0.0125, using Bonferroni correction for four variables

Table 10

Chi Square for Identity Commitment (AF,MD) and Family Attachment

Family Attachment	Identity		row totals
	AF	MD	
Secure	37	2	39
Fearful	14	10	24
Preoccup	13	2	15
Dismiss	9	3	12
column totals	73	17	90

$\chi^2 = 13.542$

df = 3

p = 0.0036

Table 11

Group means and Standard Deviations for Family Attachment grouped by Identity Exploration (AM-FD)

		Identity	
		AM	FD
<b>Family Attachment</b>			
Secure	<u>M</u>	4.398	3.817
	<u>SD</u>	1.355	1.426
	<u>N</u>	46	46
Fear	<u>M</u>	3.104	3.072
	<u>SD</u>	1.647	1.679
	<u>N</u>	46	46
Preocc	<u>M</u>	2.757	3.285
	<u>SD</u>	1.360	1.593
	<u>N</u>	46	46
Dism	<u>M</u>	2.730	2.741
	SD	1.399	1.489
	<u>N</u>	46	46

Table 12

MANOVA for Secure, Fearful, Preoccupied and Dismissing Family Attachment grouped by Identity Exploration (AM,FD)

Source	SSP	df	MSP	TSQ	F	p-value
Identity	7.748	1.937				
	0.435	0.108	0.006			
	-7.052	-0.396	6.418	-1.763	1.604	
	-0.145	-0.008	0.132	0.002	4	0.002
				-0.036	0.002	0.033
				-0.002	0.000	0.000
					7.392	1.79
						0.1388
error	174.055	2.000				
	-105.826	248.892		-1.216	2.860	
	-41.082	-13.151	197.392	-0.472	-0.151	2.268
	-54.830	-41.692	-69.790	-0.630	-0.479	-0.802
			187.948		2.160	



Table 13

Chi Square for Identity Exploration (AM,FD) and Family Attachment

Family Attachment	Identity		row totals
	AM	FD	
Secure	23	16	39
Fearful	12	12	24
Preoccup	4	11	15
Dismiss	7	5	12
column totals	46	44	90

$\chi^2 = 4.814$

df = 3

p = 0.1859

Table 14

Group means and Standard Deviations for Concepts of Development by Identity  
(A.M.F.D)

		Identity			
		Achieved	Morator	Foreclose	Diffuse
CODQ					
Total	<u>M</u>	2.230	2.230	2.131	2.077
	<u>SD</u>	0.235	0.135	0.212	0.107
	<u>N</u>	44	5	32	13
Pers	<u>M</u>	2.177	2.020	2.059	1.938
	<u>SD</u>	0.261	0.277	0.270	0.189
	<u>N</u>	44	5	32	13
Cat	<u>M</u>	0.698	0.560	0.797	0.785
	<u>SD</u>	0.309	0.152	0.331	0.195
	<u>N</u>	44	5	32	13

Table 15

ANOVA for Total CODQ grouped by Identity (A,M,F,D)

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p-value
Identity	0.3318	3	0.1106	2.50	0.0645
error	3.9817	90	0.0442		

Table 16

Pairwise t-test of Total CODQ grouped by Identity (A,M,F,D)

---

Identity	t	df	p-value
<hr/>			
Achieved vs.			
Moratorium	-0.01	7	0.9950
Foreclosed	1.90	70	0.0613
Diffuse	3.30	44	0.0019
Moratorium vs.			
Foreclosed	1.39	7	0.2055
Diffuse	2.27	6	0.0630
Foreclosed			
Diffuse	1.14	40	0.2613

---

Note. Separate Variance was used since Levene's Test of Variance was significant.

alpha level set at 0.008

Table 17

MANOVA for Perspectivistic and Categorical CODQ grouped by Identity (A,M,F,D)

Source	SSP	df	MSP	LRatio	F	p-value
Identity	0.6850		0.1141			
	-0.2408	6	-0.0401	0.8612	2.30	0.0365
error	5.9332		0.0333			
	-0.5046	178	-0.0028	0.04521		

Table 18

One-Way ANOVAs Between Identity Statuses (A,M,F,D) for Perspectivistic and Categorical CODQ

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p-value
<b>Perspectivistic</b>					
Identity	0.6850	3	0.2283	3.46	0.0195
error	5.9332	90	0.0659		
<b>Categorical</b>					
Identity	0.3686	3	0.1228	1.37	0.2558
error	8.0483	90	0.0894		

alpha level set at .025 using Bonferroni correction for two variables

Table 19

Pairwise t-tests of Perspectivistic CODQ grouped by Identity (A,M,F,D)

Identity	t	df	p-value
<b>Achieved vs.</b>			
Moratorium	1.30	90	0.1976
Foreclosed	1.98	90	0.0512
Diffuse	2.95	90	0.0041
<b>Moratorium vs.</b>			
Foreclosed	-0.32	90	0.7505
Diffuse	0.60	90	0.5477
<b>Foreclosed</b>			
Diffuse	1.43	90	0.1557

alpha level set at 0.0125 using Fisher's procedure

Table 20

Group means and Standard Deviations for Concepts of Development grouped  
by Identity Commitment(AF-MD)

		Identity	
		AF	MD
CODQ			
Total	<u>M</u>	2.188	2.119
	<u>SD</u>	0.229	0.132
	<u>N</u>	76	18
Pers	<u>M</u>	2.128	1.961
	<u>SD</u>	0.270	0.212
	<u>N</u>	76	18
Cat	<u>M</u>	0.739	0.722
	<u>SD</u>	0.320	0.207
	<u>N</u>	76	18



Table 21

One way ANOVA between Identity Commitment (AF,MD) for Total CODQ

---

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p-value
Identity	0.0689	1	0.0689	1.49	0.2249
error	4.4244	92	0.0461		

---

Table 22

Group Means and Standard Deviations for Concepts of Development Grouped by Identity Exploration (AM-FD)

		Identity	
		AM	FD
CODQ			
Total	<u>M</u>	2.230	2.116
	<u>SD</u>	0.226	0.188
	<u>N</u>	49	45
Pers	<u>M</u>	2.161	2.024
	<u>SD</u>	0.264	0.253
	<u>N</u>	49	45
Cat	<u>M</u>	0.684	0.793
	<u>SD</u>	0.299	0.296
	<u>N</u>	49	45

Table 23

One way ANOVA between Identity Exploration (AM,FD) for Total CODQ

---

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p-value
Identity	0.3043	1	0.3043	6.98	0.0097
error	4.009	92	0.0436		

---

Table 24

MANOVA for Perspective and Categorical CODQ grouped by Identity Exploration (AM,FD)

Source	SSP	df	MSP	TSQ	F	p-value
Identity	0.4388		0.2194			
	-0.3518	2	-0.1759	9.2454	4.57	0.0128
error	6.1794		0.0679			
	-0.3936	91	-0.0043	.0893		

Table 25

One-Way ANOVAs Between Identity Exploration (AM,FD) for Perspectivistic and Categorical CODQ

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p-value
<b>Perspectivistic</b>					
Identity	0.4388	1	0.4388	6.53	0.0122
error	6.1794	92	0.0671		
<b>Categorical</b>					
Identity	0.2820	1	0.2820	3.19	0.0774
error	8.134	92	0.0884		

alpha level set at 0.025

Table 26

Correlation Matrix for Concepts of Development, Family Attachment, and Age

	Parental Cognition			Children's Attachment			Attachment Style				
	Tot	Pers	Cat	Qsort	Qsort	Secu	Fear	Preo	Dism	woman	child
	CODQ			FAI				Age			
Tot	1.000										
Pers	.743	1.000									
Cat	-.712	-.142	1.000								
Qsor	-.087	-.256	-.054	1.000							
Secu	.115	.235	.008	.092	1.000						
Fear	-.122	-.138	.129	-.103	-.504	1.000					
Preo	-.002	-.012	-.051	-.114	-.283	-.055	1.000				
Dism	.051	-.058	-.114	.034	-.267	-.215	-.317	1.000			
Woman	.039	.067	-.045	-.023	.137	.061	-.111	-.085	1.000		
Child	.033	-.028	-.058	-.000	.138	.080	.056	-.214	-.150	1.000	

Table 27

Group means and Standard Deviations for Total CODQ grouped by Identity (AM-FD) and Family Attachment (Secure-Insecure)

		Achievement/Moratorium		Foreclosure/Diffusion	
		Secure	Insecure	Secure	Insecure
<b>CODQ</b>					
Total	<u>M</u>	2.200	2.298	2.157	2.104
	<u>SD</u>	0.230	0.200	0.198	0.184
	<u>N</u>	23	23	16	27
Pers	<u>M</u>	2.122	2.226	2.150	1.970
	<u>SD</u>	0.241	0.288	0.239	0.238
	<u>N</u>	23	23	16	27
Cat	<u>M</u>	0.683	0.630	0.837	0.763
		0.327	0.242	0.312	0.299
	<u>N</u>	23	23	16	27

Table 28

Two Way ANOVA Between Identity (AM, FD) and Family Attachment (Secure, Insecure) for Total CODQ

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p-value
Identity	0.3025	1	0.3025	7.30	0.0083
Attachment	0.0108	1	0.0108	0.26	0.6108
I x A	0.1219	1	0.1219	2.94	0.0900
Error	3.5214	85	0.0414		



Table 29

One-Way ANOVAs Between Identity Statuses (AM,FD) at Secure Attachment for Total and Perspectivistic CODO

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p-value
<b>Total</b>					
Identity	0.0178	1	0.0178	0.37	0.5443
error	1.7543	37	0.0474		
<b>Perspectivistic</b>					
Identity	0.0075	1	0.0075	0.13	0.7201
error	2.1391	37	0.0578		

Using a Bonferroni-corrected alpha of 0.025

Table 30

One-Way ANOVA Between Identity Statuses (AM,FD) at Insecure Attachment for Total and Perspectivistic CODQ

SS	df	MS	F	p-value	
<b>Total</b>					
Identity	0.4680	1	0.4680	12.71	.0008
error	1.7670	48	0.0368		
<b>Perspectivistic</b>					
Identity	0.8122	1	0.8122	11.81	0.0012
error	3.3006	48	0.0688		

Using a Bonferroni-corrected alpha of 0.025

Two Way MANOVA Between Identity (AM, FD) and Attachment (Secure, Insecure) for Perspectivistic and Categorical CODQ

Source	SSP	df	MSP	TSQ	F	p-value
Identity	0.2774		0.1387			
	-0.3505	2	-0.1752	9.1365	4.51	0.0137
Attachment	0.0303		0.0151			
	0.0511	2	0.0255	1.5028	0.74	0.4790
1 x A	0.4324		0.2162			
	0.0340	2	0.0170	6.8207	3.37	0.0391
error	5.439		2.7198			
	-0.1891	84	-0.0945	3.7111		

Table 32

Two Way ANOVAs Between Identity (AM, FD) and Family Attachment (Secure, Insecure) for Perspectivistic and Categorical CODQ

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p-value
<b>Perspectivistic CODQ</b>					
Identity	0.2774	1	0.2774	4.33	0.0403
Attachment	0.0303	1	0.0303	0.47	0.4926
I x A	0.4324	1	0.4324	6.76	0.0110
error	5.4397	85	0.0639		
<b>Categorical CODQ</b>					
Identity	0.4429	1	0.4429	5.07	0.0269
Attachment	0.0860	1	0.0860	0.99	0.3236
I x A	0.0026	1	0.0026	0.03	0.8613
error	7.422	85	0.0873		

alpha level set at 0.025

Table 33

Group means and Standard Deviations for Perspectivistic CODQ grouped by Identity (A-F) and Family Attachment (Secure-Insecure)

		Achievement		Foreclosure	
		Secure	Insecure	Secure	Insecure
CODQ					
Pers	<u>M</u>	2.132	2.263	2.173	1.975
	<u>SD</u>	0.242	0.277	0.228	0.270
	<u>N</u>	22	19	15	16

Table 34

Two Way ANOVA Between Identity (A-F) and Family Attachment (Secure-Insecure) for Perspectivistic CODQ

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p-value
Identity	0.2677	1	0.2677	4.11	0.0466
Attachment	0.0197	1	0.0197	0.30	0.5838
I x A	0.4783	1	0.4783	7.43	0.0085
Error	4.4313	68	0.0652		

Table 35

One-Way ANOVA Between Identity Statuses (A,F) at Secure Attachment for Perspectivistic CODO

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Source	SS	df	MS	F	p-value
<b>Perspectivistic</b>					
Identity	0.0154	1	0.0154	0.27	0.6034
error	1.9571	35	0.0559		

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Using a Bonferroni-corrected alpha of 0.025

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Table 36

One-Way ANOVA Between Identity Statuses (A,F) at Insecure Attachment for Perspectivistic CODQ

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p-value
Perspectivistic					
Identity	0.7212	1	0.7212	9.62	0.0039
error	2.4742	33	0.0750		

Using a Bonferroni-corrected alpha of 0.025



Table 37

Chi Square for Women's Age and Identity

Age	Identity				row totals
	A	M	F	D	
-25	2	0	2	3	7
26-30	9	2	10	6	27
31-35	12	3	16	1	32
36-40	17	0	4	3	24
40+	4	0	1	0	5
column totals	44	5	33	13	95

$\chi^2 = 23.434$

df = 12

p = 0.0243

Table 38

Chi Square for Education and Identity

Education	Identity				row totals
	A	M	F	D	
never graduated high school	0	0	2	5	17
graduated high school	4	0	6	3	13
post secondary	15	2	14	5	36
university	13	3	10	0	26
graduate school	12	0	1	0	13
column totals	44	5	33	13	95

$$\chi^2 = 40.607$$

$$df = 12$$

$$p = 0.0001$$

Table 39

Chi Square for Education and Family Attachment

Education	Attachment				row totals
	S	F	P	D	
never graduated high school	0	4	2	1	7
graduated high school	6	3	3	1	13
post secondary	14	11	6	5	36
university	19	5	3	3	30
graduate school	8	1	2	2	13
column totals	47	24	16	12	99

$\chi^2 = 14.244$

df = 12

p = 0.2854

Table 40

Chi Square for Education and Total CODQ

Education	Total CODQ		row totals
	low	high	
never graduated high school	6	0	6
graduated high school	9	4	13
post secondary	17	16	33
university	14	14	28
graduate school	4	9	13
column totals	50	43	93

$\chi^2 = 9.403$

df = 4

p = 0.0518

Table 41

Chi Square for Education and Perspectivistic CODQ

Education	Perspectivistic		row totals
	low	high	
never graduated high school	3	3	6
graduated high school	8	5	13
post secondary	15	18	33
university	15	13	28
graduate school	4	9	13
column totals	45	48	93

$\chi^2 = 2.937$

df = 4

p = 0.5684

Table 42

Chi Square for Education and Categorical CODQ

Education	Categorical		row totals
	low	high	
never graduated high school	1	5	6
graduated high school	4	9	13
post secondary	20	17	37
university	16	12	28
graduate school	8	5	13
column totals	49	48	97

$\chi^2 = 6.087$

df = 4

p = 0.1927

Table 43

Chi Square for Employment Status and Identity Status

Family Income	Identity				row totals
	Achieved	Morator	Foreclose	Diffuse	
at home	17	0	14	7	38
part-time	15	2	12	3	32
full-time	9	3	4	3	19
column totals	41	5	30	13	89

$\chi^2 = 7.829$

df = 6

p = 0.2509

Table 44

Chi Square for Employment and Family Attachment

Employment Status	Secure				row totals
	Secure	Fear	Preo	Dism	
at home	19	9	7	6	41
part-time	16	6	6	4	32
full-time	9	7	1	3	20
column totals	44	22	14	13	93

$\chi^2 = 3.366$        $df = 6$        $p = 0.7618$



Table 45

Chi Square for Family Income and Identity Status

Family Income	Identity				row totals
	Achieved	Morator	Foreclose	Diffuse	
-\$25,000	12	3	4	5	24
\$25-55,000	18	2	22	7	49
+\$56,000	11	0	7	1	19
column totals	41	5	33	13	92

$\chi^2 = 10.400$        $df = 6$        $p = 0.1088$

Table 46

Chi Square for Family Income and Family Attachment

Family Income	Attachment				row totals
	Secure	Fear	Preo	Dism	
-\$25,000	3	13	3	5	24
\$25-55,000	25	8	10	5	48
+\$56,000	14	3	1	2	20
column totals	42	24	14	12	92

$\chi^2 = 22.635$        $df = 6$        $p = 0.0009$

Table 47

Chi Square for Family Income and Total CODQ

Family Income	Total CODQ		row totals
	low	high	
-\$25,000	12	12	24
\$26,000-55,000	27	24	51
+\$26,000	12	7	19
column totals	51	43	94

$\chi^2$  0.817

df = 2

p = 0.6645

Table 48

Chi Square for Family Income and Perspectivistic CODQ

Family Income	Perspectivistic CODQ		row totals
	low	high	
-\$25,000	10	14	24
\$26,000-55,000	25	26	51
+\$26,000	10	9	19
column totals	45	49	94

$\chi^2$  0.570

df = 2

p = 0.7521

Table 49

Chi Square for Relationship Status and Identity Status

Relationship Status	Identity				row totals
	Achieved	Morator	Foreclose	Diffuse	
live together	5	1	4	3	13
married	33	2	26	6	67
no relationship	5	1	2	3	11
colum totals	43	4	32	12	91

$\chi^2 = 6.209$

df = 6

p = 0.4002

Table 50

Chi Square for Relationship Status Family Attachment

Relationship Status	Attachment				row totals
	Secure	Fear	Preocc	Dismiss	
live together	3	6	3	2	14
married	40	11	11	9	71
no relationship	2	5	2	2	11
colum totals	45	22	16	13	96

$\chi^2 = 12.281$        $df = 6$        $p = 0.0560$

Table 51

Chi Square for How Women Became Involved with the Study and Identity Status

How Involved	Identity				row totals
	Achieved	Morator	Foreclosed	Diffuse	
Previous Study	6	0	11	1	18
Friend	12	3	11	6	32
Flyer	7	1	1	2	11
Researcher	19	1	10	4	34
colum totals	44	5	33	13	95

$\chi^2 = 12.896$

df = 9

p = 0.1674

Table 52

Chi Square for How Women Became Involved with the Study and Family Attachment

How Involved	Attachment				row totals
	Secure	Fear	Preocc	Dismiss	
Previous Study	10	4	9	2	25
Friend	17	11	0	3	31
Flyer	3	6	1	1	11
Researcher	17	3	7	7	34
column totals	47	24	17	13	101

$\chi^2 = 25.413$  df = 9 p = 0.0025



Figure 1.

Bartholomew's Model of Attachment

		Model of Self	
		+	-
Model of Other	+	Secure	Preoccupied
	-	Dismissing	Fearful



Figure 3

Marcia's Model of Identity

		Commitment	
		high	low
Explor- ation	high	Achievement	Moratorium
	low	Foreclosure	Diffusion

Figure 4.

Identity (AM, FD) by Attachment Interaction for Total CODQ

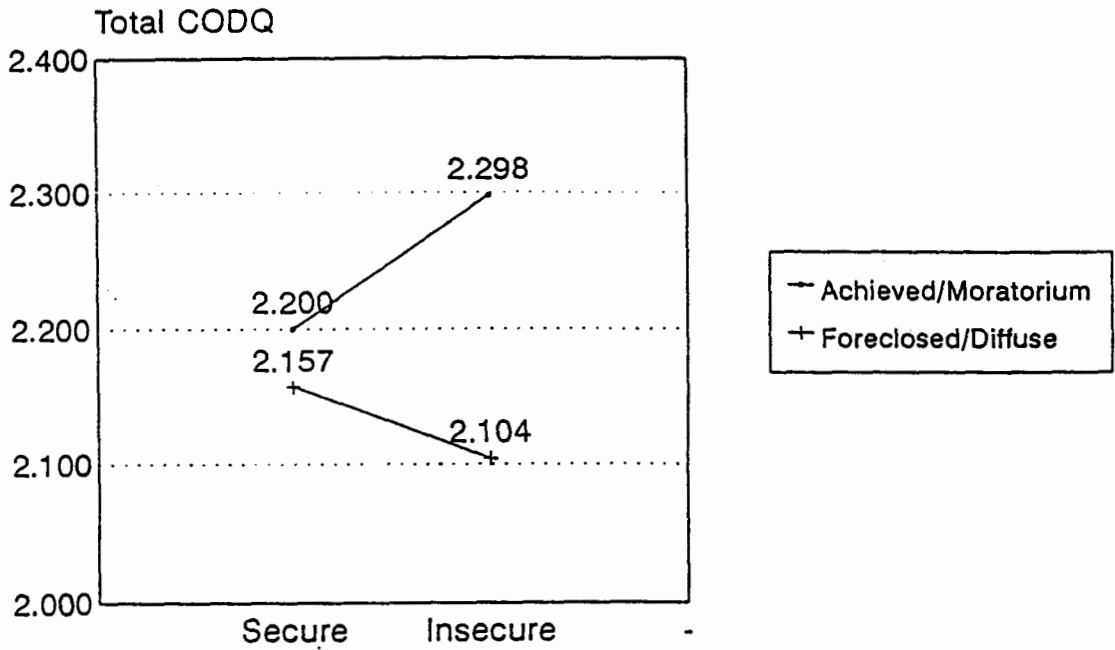


Figure 5

Identity (AM, FD) by Attachment Interaction for Perspectivistic CODQ

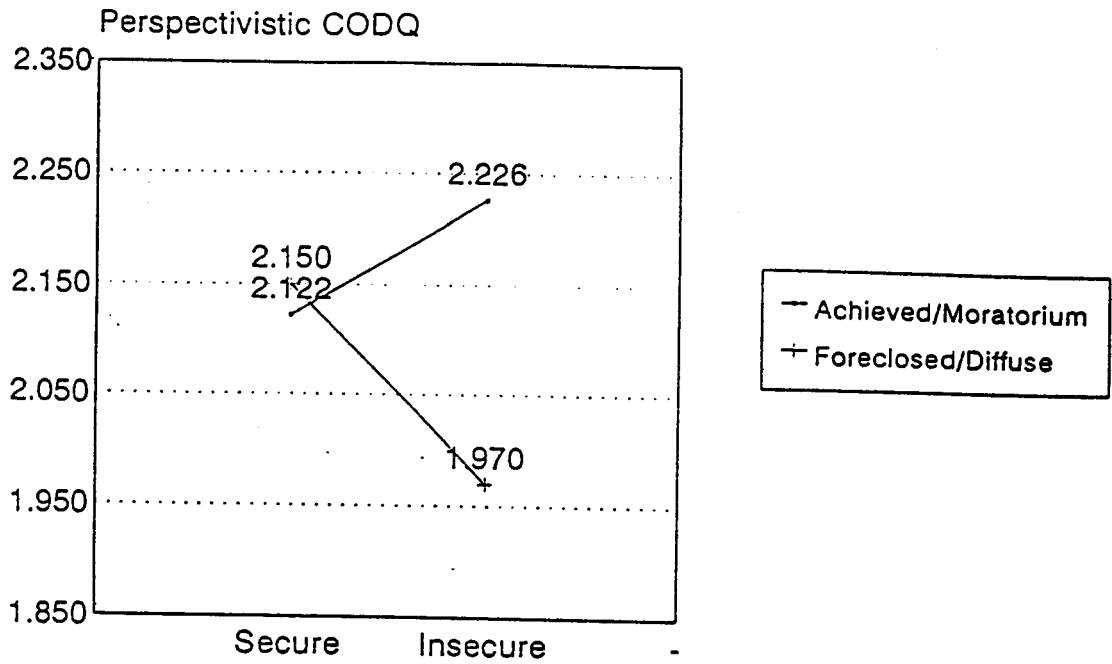


Figure 6

Identity (A, F) by Attachment Interaction for Perspectivistic CODQ

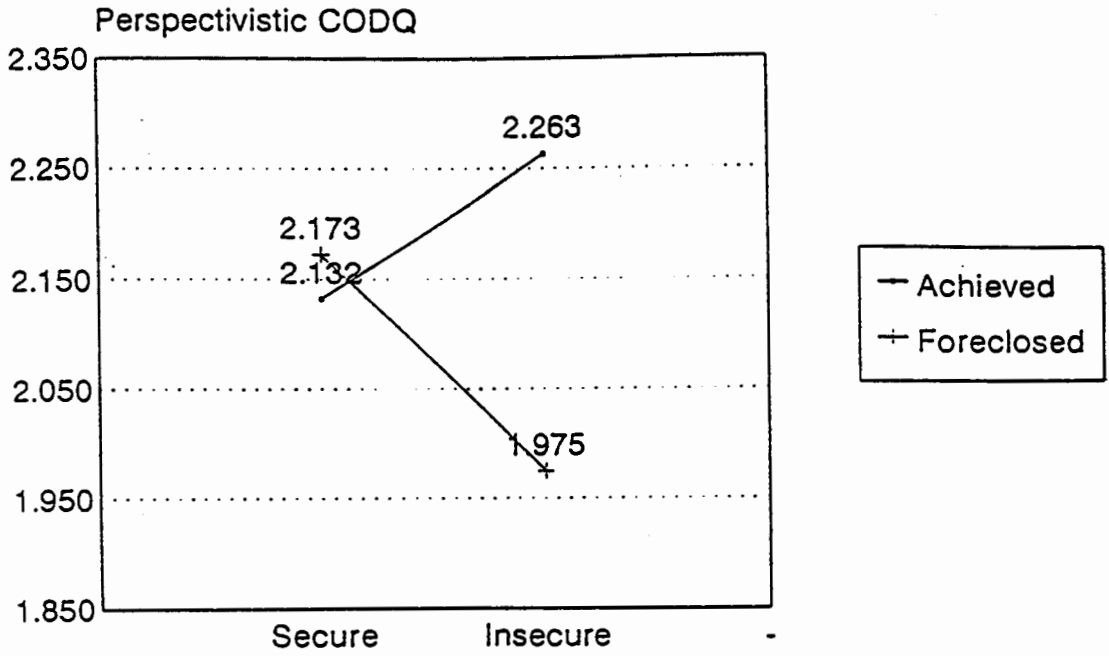


Figure 7

Patterns in Women's Development

	Attachment	Identity	Cognitive Sophistication
I.	SECURE	STRUCTURE	COGNITIVELY SOPHISTICATED
		1. Exploration (Achieved) N = 22	
		2. Low Exploration (Foreclosed) N = 15	
II.	INSECURE	EXPLORATION	COGNITIVELY SOPHISTICATED
		3. Structure (Achieved) N = 19	
		4. No Structure (Moratorium) N = 4	
III.	INSECURE	LOW EXPLORATION	COGNITIVELY UNSOPHISTICATED
		5. Structure (Foreclosed) N = 17	
		6. No Structure (Diffuse) N = 11	