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MORAL REASONING ABOUT VIOLENCE AND CONFLICT
AMONG YOUNG MOTHERS WHO WERE MALTREATED AS CHILDREN

A Dissertation Presented

by

MARCIA GAIL BLACK

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

May 1993

School of Education

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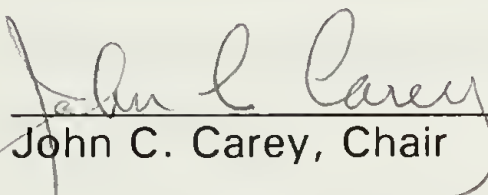
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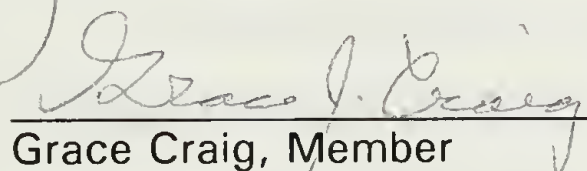
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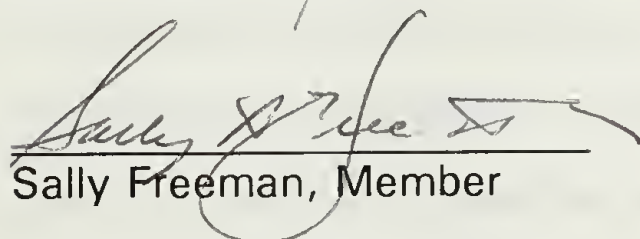
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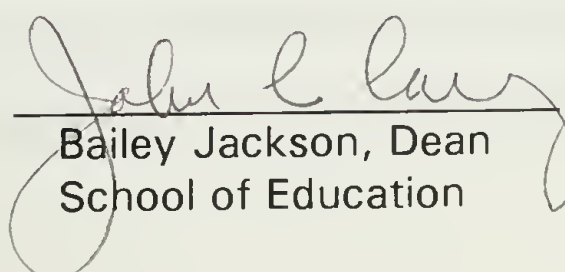
MARCIA GAIL BLACK

Approved as to style and content by:


John C. Carey, Chair


Grace Craig, Member


Sally Freeman, Member


Bailey Jackson, Dean
School of Education

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ABSTRACT

MORAL REASONING ABOUT VIOLENCE AND CONFLICT AMONG YOUNG MOTHERS WHO WERE MALTREATED AS CHILDREN

MARCIA G. BLACK, B.A., WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY

M.A., SMITH COLLEGE

M.ED., UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS

PH.D., UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS

Directed by: Professor John C. Carey

The purpose of this study was to understand how the interaction between maltreatment and attachment patterns in childhood affects moral reasoning about violence and conflict in adulthood. The ways in which attachment patterns are internalized under conditions of stress and adversity, and the ways in which these attachment patterns influence and shape moral thought and action were investigated.

Ten young mothers were given the Attachment and Abuse Interview and the Moral Reasoning about Violence Interview. These interviews were supplemented with questionnaires about childhood abuse and current child abuse potential. Using an attachment coding scheme designed for this study, the cases were organized according to the primary attachment category: anxious, avoidant, fearful/mixed anxious and avoidant, fearful/anxious, and fearful/avoidant. In each case study, attachment strategies and dilemmas were related to moral dilemmas and moral orientation. The moral orientations of care and justice were significantly related to attachment styles. Neither moral orientation nor attachment style appeared related to current potential for child abuse.

The major themes discussed in the Attachment and Abuse Interview centered around identification with the attachment figures as victim and/or aggressor, the lack of maternal protection from abuse, and a preoccupation with maternal rejection. Themes from the Moral Reasoning About Violence interview translated these attachment dilemmas into the moral domain. The women articulated how their identification with the victim motivated moral concern, how their identification with the aggressor either compelled them to repeat abusive behavior despite their wish not to do so, or, in several cases, how an identification with the aggressor was turned to moral good through learning a responsible use of power. The ways in which severe abuse can paralyze moral thought and action, and the role of maternal practice in breaking through this paralysis and aiding in the development of the self as moral agent were explored.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

This exploratory study seeks to understand how the interaction between maltreatment and attachment patterns in childhood affects moral reasoning about violence and conflict in adulthood. This study thus explores two inter-related phenomena: the ways in which attachment patterns are internalized under conditions of stress and adversity, and the ways in which these attachment patterns influence and shape moral thought and action.

Physical and sexual abuse involve the use of force and threat from a much older person towards a child; it transforms an attachment relationship of dependency and care into one of misused power. The child is always vastly more dependent, vulnerable, and powerless in relation to the adult abuser. The moral dimensions of this abuse lift the issue out of the realm of individual suffering and pathology and into the realm of shared human concern. As Gilligan notes [1988], moral concern interweaves between the twin poles of care and justice. In the case of childhood abuse, it is clear that both great damage has and continues to be inflicted, as well as grave injustice.

Background to the Problem

The intergenerational transmission of violence has recently been highlighted in both clinical and sociological studies. The National Committee for the Prevention of Child Abuse [Cohn, 1983] suggests that 1 million children are "seriously abused" annually, and that 2,000 - 5,000 children are murdered as a result of abuse each year. Given the difficulties

in recognizing, reporting, and, documenting abuse, this figure may well be low [Zigler and Hall, 1989]. This is a staggering number, with implications for each individual child's life and the adult that she will become, as well as implications about the moral values enacted and transmitted in American family life and society. As recent clinical and empirical findings have begun to illuminate, many abusing parents were themselves abused as children [Curtis, 1963; Galdston, 1965; DeLozier, 1982; Kaufman and Zigler, 1987, 1989; Zeanah and Zeanah, 1989]. In addition, studies indicate that many women who become battered were also abused as children [Roy, 1977]. The intergenerational transmission of violence is a problem of moral choice and concern as well as a problem of family dysfunction.

Several studies have suggested that attachment experiences, in childhood and throughout the lifespan, are significant mediators in the intergenerational transmission of abuse. Hunter and Kilstrom [1979] found that parents who did not go on to perpetuate abuse had more extensive support systems, were more openly angry about their earlier abuse and were able to talk about it more extensively. They were also more likely to have been abused by only one parent and to have had a more supportive relationship with the other parent. Egeland and Jacobvitz [1984] found that having one supportive relationship with a parent or foster parent, fewer current stressful life events, a current emotionally supportive relationship with a partner, a greater awareness of their own abuse history and a conscious resolution not to perpetuate the abuse were factors that differentiated the non-abusing parents from the abusing ones. Egeland, Jacobvitz, and Sroufe [1988] found that a positive attachment figure at some point during the non-abusing mother's life, either in childhood or later

in therapy differentiated abusing from non-abusing mothers. They interpreted these findings as confirming the predictions made by attachment theorists that "working models of the self, other and self-other relationships are derived from early relational histories and, carried forward, account for discontinuity in abuse" [1988, p. 1081].

Significance of the Study

There have been few studies addressing the moral dilemmas that survivors of childhood maltreatment face, the ways in which these dilemmas stem from difficulties associated with the internalization of the early self-other relationship, and how the struggle with moral issues may aid in the process of growth and recovery. This is due in part to a strong philosophical tradition that separates moral development from personality development as a whole so that theories about moral development have remained peculiarly unrelated to notions of psychological distress and/or well-being. In addition, the bias in psychological traditions toward clearly demarcating normal and pathological development has prevented inquiry into how maltreatment can both hinder and foster moral development, and the particular developmental pathways traversed by a person who has suffered from maltreatment.

Yet it is impossible to contemplate the long-range and devastating effects of violence and trauma in people's lives without entering the moral domain. For instance, how is it that some people inflict abuse on others and how does this abuse shape an understanding of interpersonal responsibility, obligation, and mutuality? How is it that some people do not inflict abuse, when they have been subjected to abuse? These are questions which address the complexity of moral understanding.

Conceptual Framework

Bowlby's [1969/1982, 1973, 1980] work on attachment, based on ethological studies of mammals as well as infant-mother dyads, described the importance of attachment as a distinct motivational system, with biological, cognitive, and socioemotional consequences. In his description, the attachment system is mutually regulated between infant and caregiver and is composed of both a motivational-behavioral control system, and the construction of "internal working models" of self in relation to attachment figures [Bowlby, 1969/82]. It is the internalization of these specific attachment figures that serves both a regulatory function physiologically, and structures what had previously been called 'ego functions' - cognitive development, impulse control, empathy, and the like.

Attachment behaviors are hypothesized to have the biological function of protecting the attached individual from physical and psychological harm. Interrupted attachment behaviors thus can be hypothesized as underlying physiological disequilibrium, separation anxiety, cognitive impairments, and violence directed towards both self and others [Bowlby, 1973, 1988]. Recent attachment theorists [Bretherton, 1985] have suggested that the attachment system is active throughout the life span, becoming more activated at times of danger and distress.

By applying attachment theory and research to the area of the intergenerational transmission of maltreatment, it becomes possible to understand the role of internal working models in the perpetuation of abuse, rather than simply focusing on observable abusive behaviors [Zeanah and Zeanah, 1989]. Bowlby proposes that "a great deal of the maladaptive violence met with in families can be understood as the

distorted and exaggerated versions of behavior that is potentially functional, especially attachment behavior on the one hand and caregiving behavior on the other" [1988, p. 81]. He maintains that the description of abusing mothers as "prone to periods of intense anxiety punctuated by outbursts of violent anger", overly dependent, immature, and socially isolated all point to highly anxious attachment experiences in their own childhoods.

In order to understand the particular ways that these attachment experiences contribute to the expression and mediation of violent behavior, it is necessary to study the particular ways that mothers who were abused as children think about moral dilemmas. Gilligan and her colleagues have argued persuasively that this is the realm of moral reasoning [Brown, 1988; Gilligan, 1988]. Their research suggests that people weave together two different moral voices: the voice of justice and the voice of care, each yielding different notions of responsibility. Gilligan traces these dilemmas back to those "experiences of inequality and of attachment that are embedded in the relationship between child and parent" [Brown, 1988, p. 5]. Vulnerability in the care orientation is associated with abandonment, while vulnerability in the justice orientation is associated with the experience of oppression .

The moral reasoning of those who have been maltreated in childhood has not yet been empirically studied. By supplementing Gilligan's methodology with an attention to how vicissitudes in attachment have created certain strategies of behavior and patterns of thought, this study illuminates some of the ways in which moral reasoning is embedded in attachment experience, and how this moral reasoning mediates violent feelings, fantasies, and behavior.

Definition of Terms

Child Abuse

Child abuse is a complex phenomenon, and is most usefully viewed as "a symptom of disturbances in a complex ecosystem with many interacting variables" [Newberger and Newberger, 1982, p. 447]. These variables include characteristics of the social milieu, family, parent, and child, and the interrelationships between them.

The definition of child abuse used in this study is a descriptive and operational one. It is based on responses to the modified Conflict Tactics Scale [Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz, 1980], and categorizes verbal and physical abuse into mild, moderate, and severe categories. Child abuse, of all intensities, is considered to be an intentional and habitual use of force [Milner, 1980].

Attachment System

The attachment system, first elucidated in Bowlby's pioneering work [1969/82, 1973, 1980] is defined as a motivational-behavioral system that is preferentially attuned to a small number of primary caregivers and which, in turn, leads to the construction of internal working models of self and other. "Working models govern how incoming interpersonal information is attended to and perceived, determine which affects are experienced, select the memories that are evoked, and mediate behavior with others in important relationships" [Zeanah and Zeanah, 1987, p. 182]. Attachment experiences in childhood are internalized and thus create an attachment style in each person which is carried throughout the lifespan. This attachment style represents the internalization of schemas about the self,

about the other, and about the self-other relation. This attachment style can be modified over time, but like all other cognitive schemas, is resistant to change [Bowlby, 1969/82, 1973, 1980].

Moral Domain

Piaget commented that "apart from our relations to other people, there can be no moral necessity" [Piaget, 1932, p. 196]. For the purpose of this study, the moral domain is defined simply as the way that people make sense of how they should act in relation to other people, at those times when they know that their actions or inaction will affect the other person, for better or for worse.

Moral Orientation

Gilligan [1988] has proposed that people make use of two different orientations in their moral reasoning. These two orientations are those of care and justice. A care orientation attends to concerns about vulnerability, attention to hurt, well-being, love, connection and disconnection. A justice orientation attends to concerns about rules, beliefs, principles, fairness, obligations, role expectations, independence [Gilligan and Rogers, 1988]. Although Gilligan proposes that these two orientations are associated with the different developmental pathways that men and women follow in this society, moral orientation is not itself viewed as a developmental variable.

Research Questions

When our understanding of moral development is not separated from our theories about psychological development, many fruitful questions for inquiry arise. The primary hypothesis guiding this study is that the

interaction of childhood maltreatment and attachment experiences will shape adult reasoning about violence.

The following questions guided the design of this study.

1. How does the internal working model of the self-other relation, as measured through attachment style, hinder or contribute to the ongoing development of moral understanding and action?

2. How do differences in childhood attachment experiences relate to the choice of justice and care orientations to moral concerns?

3. How does the interaction of maltreatment and attachment experiences in childhood shape belief systems about conflict and violence in adulthood?

4. What moral dilemmas do people grapple with as a result of childhood maltreatment?

Limitations

This is a qualitative study, and none of the methods used to code the data have undergone reliability studies. Instead, each method is designed to organize the data in the most useful way possible, and to suggest directions for future research. There are specific limitations associated with each of the measures used. The adapted Conflict Tactics Scale, measuring recollection of childhood abuse, is a self-report measure. It is therefore highly influenced by ability to recall events. The method used for coding the attachment and abuse interviews, was designed in response to the interview data, although it was shaped with theoretical considerations. The coding used to score the Moral Conflict interview was derived from Gilligan's work, but her work has never been validated with a low-income, maltreated population.

This is a qualitative study, with a small, fairly homogeneous sample. The intersubjective nature of the interview process yields rich information that cannot be gathered in a more quantitative manner. Conclusions and hypotheses generated by this research can be used to understand in more depth the experiences of maltreatment and attachment, and to generate ideas and methodologies for further research.

Ethical Considerations

The participants in the study were informed of the purposes of this study and the measures that would be taken to protect their privacy [Appendix B]. I am mandated by law to report knowledge of child abuse or neglect and informed participants of my legal obligations so that they could take this into account when they spoke with me.

As a student in the Counseling Psychology Program and a therapist-in-training for the past seven years, I have worked with many adult survivors of childhood abuse. This training prepared me well for a research project which made use of a semi-structured interview format which requires that rapport be established with the participants. Survivors of childhood abuse and current perpetrators of abuse often feel shame and self-blame; these issues were attended to sensitively and carefully throughout the research project. I kept a journal throughout the research process that aided me in my understanding of the participants, and also helped me wrestle with how I could most honestly write about these women's lives in a way that searched for and honored their commonalities as well as their differences.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

In this literature review I discuss both research articles and theoretical articles which pertain to the relationship between early childhood experiences and moral development. The theoretical sections focus first on the work of Carol Gilligan and her colleagues on moral orientation and development, and second on feminist-psychoanalytic writings which further illuminate Gilligan's 'different voices' theory. The third section reviews two other contemporary psychoanalytic theories which attempt to account for the effect of the processes of internalization and idealization on moral development. The fourth section of this review focuses on research within the attachment paradigm which sheds light on how differing attachment experiences among those who have been maltreated might affect their moral responses. The fifth section reviews research by Gilligan's colleagues on violence, maltreatment, and moral choice.

'Different Voices' Theory of Moral Orientation and Moral Development

An Overview of Gilligan's Theory

Carol Gilligan's work "re-mapping the moral domain" [Gilligan, 1988] has highlighted the role that gender has played in the methodology used to study morality and the subsequent bias of the theories that such study has generated. Theorists and researchers within the moral domain continue to discuss whether the gender-based division in the ways the social universe

is constructed really exists, and whether Gilligan's map describes the terrain called 'morality' [Puka, 1991]. Nonetheless, the work of Gilligan and her colleagues has radically and irrevocably altered the map of the moral domain.

Gilligan's [1982] landmark study, In a Different Voice, called attention to what had previously been overlooked: that women's developmental experience has been pathologized, minimized, and seen as deficient when fit into theories that view male experience as universal. Consonant with feminist and critical theories, Gilligan pointed out that any analysis of data, and hence any theory of human development, is constructed through the particular epistemological lens of the observer, and that "...the presumed neutrality of science, like that of language itself, gives way to the recognition that the categories of knowledge are human constructions" [Gilligan, 1982, p. 6].

Gilligan, as well as other feminist thinkers [e.g. Keller, 1985], note that these categories of knowledge, through their claim to be scientifically neutral and objective, masked the underlying and hidden assumptions that the separate, autonomous (male) individual, represented psychological maturity and thus the human 'ideal.' This epistemology, taken as 'truth', has undergirded the history of Western civilization, and thus has informed the study of human development. Most of the great contemporary thinkers within psychology, including Sigmund Freud [1914; 1923; 1961], Jean Piaget [1932], Erik Erikson [1950], and Lawrence Kohlberg [1969], did not question these epistemological assumptions. Instead, they used these values to structure their observations, and have taken the study of male development as paradigmatic for human development.

Drawing on Jean Baker Miller's work [1976] Gilligan describes the difficulty of recording women's moral development, when the very language and interpretative lens that are used to listen to women's voices negate, ignore, or distort these voices. Women come to question the veracity of their own experience when their experiences of interconnection are interpreted within a hierarchical framework where "all affiliations are cast in the mold of dominance and subordination" [Gilligan, 1982, p. 48] and where metaphors of interdependence such as nets and webs are "portrayed as dangerous entrapments" [1982, p. 49]. Gilligan points out that this doubt about how one constructs the world leads women to doubt their ability to act on their perceptions, which has direct implications for the ability to take responsibility for moral action.

Gilligan brings this feminist critique to the work of those who use the cognitive-structural paradigm in the Piagetian tradition, particularly Kohlberg's study of moral development. She criticized his work for assuming that a morality of rights is the most significant and defining aspect of the moral domain, that the individual rather than the relationship is emphasized, and that moral problems arise from competing rights and conflicting claims of individuals that require a mode of thinking that is formal and abstract, at its most advanced stage [1982, p. 19]. She and her colleagues pointed out that this conception of morality draws from an androcentric philosophical tradition, rooted in the Kantian world view.

In Gilligan's view, moral problems arise from conflicting responsibilities within a relational experience of the self, and in which the preferred mode of thinking is contextual and narrative [1982, p. 19]. Even at its most developed, a morality of responsibility, which she later termed a care orientation to morality, does not lead to the discovery of a universal

principle that can resolve contradictions and ambiguities in real life. She writes,

Whereas the rights conception of morality that informs Kohlberg's principled level (stages five and six) is geared to arriving at an objectively fair or just resolution to moral dilemmas upon which all rational persons could agree, the responsibility conception focuses instead on the limitations of any particular resolution and describes the conflicts that remain [1982, pp. 21-21].

By attending to the images described by girls and young women when asked to discuss moral problems, and the particular dilemmas that they construct in their reasoning, Gilligan was able to discern a line of development that had previously been screened out of Kohlberg's coding criteria. She noted that boys and girls both struggle with issues of separation and connection, but that they approach these dilemmas from different angles, and the "voice of the self" seems to be "aligned" differently.

The Developmental Roots of Moral Orientations

Gilligan and her colleagues are not merely suggesting that Kohlberg left out one voice, and that the remediation of this problem would be to trace and articulate the voice of care. They are suggesting, instead, that the very manner in which Kohlberg traced justice reasoning is based on a faulty notion of a separate self, and that norms, rules, and principles may be developed in the service of repression and defense [Gilligan and Wiggins, 1988, p. 134]. They argue that both experiences of care and justice have a basis in attachment experiences, and that moral development might well be viewed from this lens.

Drawing on feminist psychoanalytic revisions of gender development [Chodorow, 1978], Gilligan begins to account for why girls develop an

orientation to 'care.' In this view, separation from the mother and individuation is a move away from the mother, and is tied to the development of masculinity for boys. For girls, in contrast, feminine identity does not depend on the achievement of separation from the mother. Male gender identity, defined through separation from the mother, is thus threatened by attachment and intimacy, while female gender identity, defined through attachment and continued connection to the mother, is threatened by separation. Since development has traditionally been defined by measuring increasing degrees of separation, individuation, and autonomy, Gilligan argues that women's failure to separate becomes by definition a failure to develop.

Although Gilligan locates the roots of these orientations in early childhood experience, her interpretative paradigm shifts between an explanation that is primarily based on gender-mediated attachment, to one that is more ontologically formulated in terms of the inevitable paradoxes of all infant experience. She writes,

The experiences of inequality and interconnection, inherent in the relation of parent and child, then give rise to the ethics of justice and care, the ideals of human relationship - the vision that self and other will be treated as of equal worth, that despite differences in power, things will be fair; the vision that everyone will be responded to and included, that no one will be left alone or hurt. These disparate visions in their tension reflect the paradoxical truths of human experience - that we know ourselves as separate only insofar as we live in connection with others, and that we experience relationship only insofar as we differentiate other from self [1982, pp. 62-63].

The dimension of inequality is an aspect of the child's awareness of being smaller and less capable than adults and older children; the dimension of interconnection arises from the experience of having an effect on others, and experiencing others as having an effect on oneself.

Gilligan and Wiggins write that "the different dynamics of childhood inequality and attachment lay the groundwork for two moral visions - one of justice and one of care...Since everyone is vulnerable both to oppression and to abandonment, two stories about morality recur in human experience" [Gilligan, 1988, p. 115]. A justice orientation focuses on problems of inequality and oppression, and the ideals of reciprocity and equal respect. A care perspective focuses on problems of detachment and abandonment and sees the moral response to need as an ideal toward which to strive.

Gilligan and her colleagues do not fully explicate the link between this observation with Gilligan's previous theory, based in Chodorow's work, about why male children align with experiences of separation as paradigmatic and thus choose justice reasoning, while female children resonate with the experiences of connection as paradigmatic and thus align themselves with care reasoning. Are they suggesting that the very nature of gender-identity development leaves boys more vulnerable to feeling oppressed, while gender-identity development in girls leaves them more vulnerable to experiences and perceptions of abandonment? They do begin to explore this idea by hypothesizing that girls who remain closely attached to their mothers may not experience the inequality of the relationship due to the sense of efficacy that they would gain by remaining connected to someone they love, while boys who also feel attached to their mothers must give up their attachment for an identification with the father [Gilligan and Wiggins, 1988, p. 116]. Is it, then, this gender-mediated experience of inequality and oppression that has led to the male valorization of the separate, autonomous, atomized individual and the image of the baby as powerless and acted upon by the

external world? They leave this fruitful line of inquiry about the developmental implications for moral development unexplored.

Gilligan and Wiggins point out that the dimension of inequality has been studied extensively by cognitive developmental and psychoanalytic theorists. Cognitive theorists have "aligned development with the child's progress toward a position of equality and independence" [1988, p. 114] which Kohlberg described in his moral stage theory, while psychoanalytic thinkers have focused on the child's feelings of powerlessness and the deflation of an initial grandiosity as a motivation for the various processes of internalization that lead to moral development [Westen, 1988]. Gilligan and Wiggins trace the lack of attention to a theory of morality based in attachment to the previous construction of the infant as a passive object acted upon by the environment, as well as due to the notion that self-awareness becomes possible only as the infant separates and differentiates from the mother.

Including Moral Emotions In the Moral Domain

By focusing on a moral orientation that derives from experiences of attachment, the moral domain itself expands to include moral emotions as well as moral reasoning. In particular, emotions that rely on some co-mingling of feeling with another begin to take on a different meaning. Gilligan and Wiggins write:

Detachment, which is highly valued as the mark of mature moral judgment in the justice framework becomes in the care framework a sign of moral danger, a loss of connection with others...A more fluid conception of self in relation to others is tied to the growth of the affective imagination, namely, the ability to enter into and understand through taking on and experiencing the feelings of others [Gilligan and Wiggins, 1988, p. 120].

Love, sorrow, and outrage could all be considered moral emotions in this paradigm, as well as feelings of empathy, sympathy, and altruism. [cf Blum, 1980, Hoffman, 1976, Solomon, unpublished]. Shame and guilt can also be reconceptualized as responses to broken attachments [Lewis, 1987]. To include emotions in the moral domain thus moves moral reasoning from a reflective act between mind and principle, to the participatory act of knowing through "co-feeling" and connection [Gilligan and Wiggins, 1988, p. 122].

The Relationship of Moral Orientation to Violence and Aggression

Gilligan and her colleagues have begun to explore, both theoretically and empirically, the relationship of moral reasoning to a person's experience of their own and other's aggression. Gilligan [1982] began the theoretical exploration in her book, In a Different Voice. Here she links the different developmental pathways to differences in the ways that girls and boys, women and men, may experience a sense of threat or danger. Based on findings from a study of men's and women's responses to TAT cards [Pollak and Gilligan, 1982] Gilligan suggested that men and women perceive danger differently and construe dangerous situations differently. She suggests that men experience intimate relationships as potentially entrapping, while women perceive situations of competition as potentially isolating. The differences in the way that attachment and separation are negotiated may explain the differences in men's and women's violent responses.

Gilligan further proposes that since aggression, for women, seems to be tied to the rupture of human connection, then activities of care would be activities that make the social world safe. Aggression thus can

be understood relationally, rather than as a function of poorly developed impulse-control. A rule-oriented morality, in contrast, could be construed as providing a means of connection for men "that establishes clear boundaries and limits aggression, and thus appears comparatively safe" [1988, pp. 43-44].

Feminist-Psychoanalytic Accounts of Morality

Benjamin: Exploring Intersubjectivity and Domination

Jessica Benjamin [1988], in her brilliantly argued book, The Bonds of Love, Psychoanalysis, Feminism, and the Problem of Domination, extends Gilligan's argument even further, through an in-depth psychoanalytic investigation of the effects of gender-polarity on the development of personality and morality. Her theory has particular resonance for this study on the relationship between maltreatment and moral development as she focuses on the problem of domination within Western culture.

Benjamin argues that once we come to recognize that the infant does not begin as "undifferentiated" but instead begins with the capacity and motivation to actively engage with the world, then the question is no longer one of becoming separate and 'free', but instead becomes one of how to "make ourselves known in relationship to the other" [1988, p. 18].

In Benjamin's view, psychological difficulties, as well as moral problems, are understood to be a result of the lack of intersubjective experience. The intersubjective view is based on the observation that we need to be able to recognize the other subject as both alike and different, and that we need to be able to encounter the other as subject, not as object. "Recognition is that response from the other which makes

meaningful the feelings, intentions, and actions of the self. It allows the self to realize its agency and authorship in a tangible way. But such recognition can only come from an other whom we, in turn, recognize as a person in his or her own right" [1988, p. 12]. Mutual recognition between mother and infant results in affective attunement and mutual influence. Recognition is reflexive: it has to do with both the recognizing response as well as recognizing ourselves in that response [1988, p. 21]. The mother, in this view, must not be simply 'object' to her child, but must be "another subject whose independent center must be outside her child if she is to grant him the recognition he seeks" [1988, p. 24].

In the psychoanalytic view, successful experiences of separation in infancy and childhood, instead of defensive ones, are essential to creating the experience of intersubjectivity. Winnicott [1971] was the first to elaborate the process through which the child experiences rage and a desire to destroy the maternal subject as a consequence of separation, and then learns that this destructive rage does not destroy the subject. The mother does, indeed, return after separation and is able to withstand this rage without withdrawal or retaliation. It is through this process that the child comes to internalize the maternal subject as a constant and comforting presence, and is able to experience the other as real rather than as omnipotent [Benjamin, 1988, p. 213].

If the mother is seen as a source of primal oneness from whom the infant must separate to assert his autonomy and independence, then those values which come to be associated with the maternal, such as dependency, nurturance, and mutual, intersubjective recognition, will be experienced as a threat. The false sense of a separate self, well-girded by rationality, requires that the m/other be reduced to object; but,

paradoxically, this then prevents the subject himself from ever being able to truly experience recognition. The act of knowing, in this view, becomes one of possession of the object, rather than communion with and connection to that which one is knowing.

Like Gilligan, Benjamin argues that moral knowledge in this objectified world is one in which the principle of reciprocity can be accepted in the abstract, but only by constituting a general point of view, not by actually entering into the intersubjective experience of the other's point of view. She argues that the abstraction from personal needs opposes the intersubjective recognition of the particular other. This kind of moral knowledge is always, then, self-referenced, as the moral subject never really encounters the other. Benjamin argues "Without concrete knowledge, empathy, and identification with the subject - with the other's needs, feelings, circumstances, and history - the self continues to move in the realm of subject and object, untransformed by the other" [1988, p. 195].

The shadow-side of a morality based on objectification, on the inability to see the other as subject, is the need for domination. If intersubjectivity is no longer possible, because the other has come to be experienced as object, then the essential need for recognition becomes transformed into the need to identify with the aggressor, the one who dominates rather than encourages reciprocity, or is transformed into the need to submit to the aggressor, and thus to lose one's own sense of self. Benjamin writes:

For the person who takes this route to establishing his own power, there is an absence where the other should be. This void is filled with fantasy material in which the other appears so dangerous or so weak - or both - that he threatens the self and must be controlled.

A vicious cycle begins: the more the other is subjugated, the less he is experienced as a human subject and the more distance or violence the self must deploy against him. The enduring absence of recognition, indeed of an outside world, breeds more of the same...The subjugated, whose acts and integrity are granted no recognition, may, even in the very act of emancipation, remain in love with the ideal of power that has been denied to them [1988, pp. 219-220].

The fruitful tension between self and other, which makes possible intersubjectivity, becomes erased in these dynamics.

Ruddick: Mothering as an Intersubjective Experience

Sara Ruddick [1989], in her insightful book Maternal Thinking, describes the thought processes, inseparable from emotional response, that mothering requires. This view of the intertwined threads of cognition and affect is a description of intersubjective experience, from the mother's point of view. Ruddick writes that "in protecting her child, a mother is besieged by feeling, her own and her children's. She is dependent on these feelings to interpret the world. The world that mothers and children see and name, separately and together, is constructed by feeling" [1989, p. 9]. It is the mother's emotional responses - anger, fear, concern - that give her the needed cues about what actions are required in order to promote the development and protection of her child.

In Ruddick's view, then, the notion of abstract, 'pure' thought makes no sense, for it is through the registration of and reflection upon emotion that mothers know what to do. "In maternal thinking, feelings are at best complex but sturdy instruments of work. Rather than separating reason from feeling, mothering makes reflective feeling one of the most difficult attainments of reason" [1989, p. 70].

If the mother and child participate in an intersubjective reality, in which both experience the other as subject, certain developmental experiences become possible that are not available otherwise. A child can be taught by her mother to overcome shame and guilt, even when it is maternally induced. And, in Ruddick's view, "Only if children and mothers alike know how to make amends and start again will children become both moral and able to take pleasure in themselves and their friends" [1989, p. 108-109].

A child can learn not to trust their mothers absolutely, to accept that their mothers may occasionally fail them, to learn to experience their hurt and their rage. It is this experience, paradoxically, that allows children to remain closely attached, and to experience their mother as real. It is this experience which is at the heart of intersubjectivity. In contrast, if children learn that they have to deny the hurt and rage they feel in response to some of their mother's actions, then they are giving up on their mothers, and the mutuality of the developing self-other experience becomes rigidified. Only a mother who experiences herself as subject will be able to allow and encourage this struggle in her children.

Like Benjamin, Ruddick focuses on the mother's capacity to recognize her child, and the child's responsiveness to the mother as subject. Ruddick calls this capacity 'attention', and notes that this capacity is only possible if the other is seen as different from the self while simultaneously finding the places of similarity. She writes,

Attention is akin to the capacity for empathy, the ability to suffer or celebrate with another as if in the other's experience you know and find yourself. However, the idea of empathy, as it is popularly understood, underestimates the importance of knowing another without finding yourself in her. A mother really looks at her child,

tries to see him accurately rather than herself in him.... Attention lets difference emerge without searching for comforting commonalities, dwells upon the other, and lets otherness be... [1989, pp. 121-122].

A sense of difference, of separation, within the intersubjective field, is fundamentally different from the one experienced when the other has become 'object.'

Ruddick argues for a morality based on the discipline of attentive love. Such love is part of the maternal practice in which thought and feeling must work together. "When they (mothers and children) identify proper trust as a virtue and attempt the discipline of attentive love, all that they can assure is that the work of training will not become a battlefield but a hard, uncertain, exhausting, and also often exhilarating work of conscience" [1989, p.123].

Noddings: A Morality Built On an Ethic of Care

Nel Noddings, in her two books, Women and Evil, [1989] and Caring. A Feminine Approach to Ethics and Moral Education, [1984] beautifully explicates the phenomenological basis for an ethic of care, and how such an ethic transforms how we see the world. Noddings argues that in traditional ethics, the focus has been on moral reasoning, and thus has concentrated on the establishment of logical principles and that which can be derived from them. She calls this the language of the fathers. In contrast, "The mother's voice has been silent. Human caring and the memory of caring and being cared for, which I shall argue form the foundation of ethical response, have not received attention except as outcomes of ethical behavior" [1984, p. 1].

As Gilligan, Benjamin and Ruddick have also noted, an ethic of caring is characterized in terms of responsibility and response, as well as

by descriptions of mutuality and intersubjective experience. Noddings defines ethical caring in ways that delineate it from natural caring. This distinction also points to the basis of this ethic as different from an ethic of justice. She writes:

In traditional ethics the moral or ethical point of view is somehow higher or more admirable than natural caring. From the relational perspective, however, ethical caring develops as we reflect on our experience of caring and being cared for and commit ourselves to respond to others with an attitude of caring. There are times when the plight of another triggers in us both the empathic "I must" characteristic of the caring response and a self-regarding "I do not want to." In these moments we must draw on our memories of caring and being cared for and remember what has occurred in our own best moments. We use these memories to sustain or to summon the empathic feeling - the "I must" - that activates a caring response to the other [1989, p. 185].

Thus, a relational ethic, or an ethic of care, springs from and depends on natural caring, of which maternal caring is a prototype. But an ethic of care also requires other forms of thought to render this caring moral. Ethical caring requires that we test our actions in reference to the response of a genuine other - in actuality or in imagination, in different situations, and at different times. To do so, we make use of dialogue, "we explain, elaborate, persuade, offer alternatives. We seek the understanding of the other..." [1984]. Ethical caring does not, therefore, refer to principles of universalizability; it becomes more concrete, rather than more abstract.

Noddings views relation as ontologically basic and the caring relation as ethically basic. It is our longing for caring that provides the motivation for us to be moral. "We want to be moral in order to remain in the caring relation and to enhance the ideal of ourselves as one-caring". Rather than a set of principles to guide ethical behavior, in this view it is the strength of this ethical ideal, the desire to be one who cares that "guides us as we

strive to meet the other morally" [1984, p. 5]. "It is the recognition of and longing for relatedness that form the foundation of our ethic, and the joy that accompanies fulfillment of our caring enhances our commitment to the ethical ideal that sustains us as one-caring" [1984, p. 6].

Although Noddings rejects universal principles as ethical guides, she does argue that the caring attitude, derived from our earliest memories of being cared for and of caring, is universally possible, and makes possible a universal ideal. She argues that the image of oneself as a moral person, and the formation of an internal moral ideal, is created by reflecting upon the fact that one has cared for others, as well as been cared for, and the ability to clearly acknowledge that one has felt the longing to be recognized, received, understood.

Like Ruddick, Noddings sees caring as requiring a complex interplay of memories, feelings and capacities that can only exist within an intersubjective field, in which the other's reality becomes a possibility for oneself. "When we see the other's reality as a possibility for us, we must act to eliminate the intolerable, to reduce the pain, to fill the need, to actualize the dream. When I am in this sort of relationship with another, when the other's reality becomes a real possibility for me, I care" [1984, p. 14].

This intersubjective caring is both a reflexive and reflective mode, rather than an instrumental mode. She writes "I do not 'put myself in the other's shoes,' so to speak by analyzing his reality as objective data and then asking, 'How would I feel in such a situation?' On the contrary, I set aside my temptation to analyze and to plan. I do not project; I receive the other into myself, and I see and feel with the other. I become a duality."

[1984, p. 30]. A transformation of the self becomes possible at these times.

Noddings points out that caring itself is not a virtue, but instead signifies a commitment to relation and an ethical obligation to maintain relation. It requires an ethical commitment "because the tendency to treat each other well is so fragile that we must strive so consistently to care" [1984, p. 99]. This ability to act in ethically caring ways is nurtured in children through dialogue, practice, and attribution of the best motives for self and other. The celebration of daily life also helps strengthen the ethical ideal. "Feeling joy in relatedness - whether in relation to persons, other living things, or ideas - encourages growth in the ethical ideal. Our joy enhances both the ideal and our commitment to it. We want to remain in direct contact with that which brings us joy and, somehow, with that joy itself" [1984, p. 132]. The relation between the caring-one and the cared-for is one of dependency and reciprocity. Each needs the other to feel fulfilled, not in the sense of domination, but in the sense of self-in-relation.

It follows from this description of ethical caring, that Noddings would identify the three basic forms of evil as the infliction of needless physical pain, inducing the pain of separation or neglecting relation so that the pain of separation occurs, and deliberately or carelessly causing helplessness. [1989, pp. 229-230]. These evils are all associated with ruptures in relationships.

Re-envisioning Psychoanalytic Theories of Moral Development

Freud's Views on Moral Development

Freud was one of the first theorists to link moral development with personality development itself. He thus brought the study of moral development into the field of psychology, beginning a tradition that was counter to previous philosophical discourse which had located moral development outside the psychological realm. Yet these philosophical traditions were still influential in his thinking, and in what he construed to be normative in human behavior.

Freud began to explore issues of moral development in his paper "On Narcissism" [1914] in which he introduced the idea of the 'ego ideal.' In "The Ego and the Id" [1923] he proposed the structural model of the mind in which the ego, id, and superego are each responsible for different mental processes. The superego, in this work, subsumes the concept of the ego ideal and has three primary functions: self-observation, conscience, and maintaining the ego ideal. The superego is thought to arise between the fourth and sixth year of the child's life, at the completion of the Oedipal conflict, and represents the internalization of the paternal authority. In Freud's formulation, conscience develops out of fear of the father, particularly the fear of castration at the father's hands [1923]. The superego is first the container of particular parental representations, until internalized values and ideals eventually take the place of the parental introjects. In this formulation, the superego never becomes fully developed in women since women do not experience castration anxiety.

Many psychoanalytic thinkers have been critical of Freud's formulations, although they have continued to feel that the concepts of the superego and ego ideal have utility. Eli Sagan [1988] and Drew Westen [1985] have both sought to expand the psychoanalytic understanding of how internalization and idealization contribute to moral development.

Sagan: Pre-oedipal Origins of Morality

Eli Sagan [1988] points out that Freud both neglects pre-oedipal experience and also conceptually merges the development of the superego with the development of the conscience. Due to Freud's inability to incorporate pre-oedipal experience into his theory, he overlooks the powerful influence that love, as well as the vicissitudes of love, have for the child's developing morality, and the functions that identification and idealization play in this development.

Sagan believes that the superego, far from representing the moral function within the psyche, is historically determined, is the carrier of societal beliefs, and can be immoral or amoral as well as moral. He writes, "Within a slave society, the superego legitimates slavery. Within a racist or sexist society, the superego demands racism and sexism. In a Nazi society, the superego commands one to live up to genocidal ideals" [1988, p. 9].

Sagan argues that it is the conscience that carries the moral function within the psyche, and that the conscience forms through an identification with the early nurturer. It is through the capacities of idealization and self-observation that the conscience has the ability to witness both the "beneficial and corrupt" aspects of the superego, and thus enables the person "to behave more morally than his or her parents, and provides the

capacity for society to make moral progress" [1988, p. 21]. Without a conscience, Sagan argues that human beings would be unable to resolve the inevitable conflicts between love and aggression within the psyche.

Sagan proposes that the conscience develops in three stages: in the first stage, the foundation of the conscience is laid through the basic care and nurturance given to the child; the second stage takes place through identification with the nurturer and with the comforter. Identification with the nurturer makes possible the child's desire to give back love in return for love received; identification with the comforter makes possible the capacity of empathy for and identification with the victim. The third stage of moral development takes place when the desire to give back love and nurture are generalized beyond one's own family [1988, pp. 160-161].

Identification takes three forms according to Sagan: identification with the provider or protector, with the aggressor, and with the victim. He proposes that the role of the conscience is to mediate conflicting claims between these identifications. For instance, the identification with the victim helps to transform the identification with the aggressor into an identification with the nurturer [1988, p. 180], and a well-developed conscience can help mediate conflicts between identification with the nurturer and identification with the aggressor so that the claims of love hold sway within the psyche.

Westen: Processes of Internalization

Drew Westen [1985] also modifies Freud's notion of the superego, but he does so through expanding the role of the ego ideal. He is careful not to reify structures of the mind and instead writes that he considers these psychic 'structures' to be "constellations of functionally related

processes" [1985, p.97]. He also attempts to incorporate the important structural insights from social-cognitive theory into a theory which places moral development as an integral part of personality development.

The processes which Westen ascribes to the ego ideal are those of meaning-making and the creation and provision of ideals. The ego ideal "consists of a constellation of ideal self-representations, general and specific moral rules, and values and ideals that comprise a 'meaning-system' or a way of imposing value on the existence of oneself, significant others, and one's life" [1985, p. 103]. Most importantly, the ego ideal develops values that help a person to mediate conflicting claims and desires between self and others.

Westen points out that if the child's superego is formed exclusively from the internalization of parental figures, without modification, then change in moral values would never take place. Westen points out that such a situation would indicate that children in fact never differentiated from their parents, which would represent a developmental impasse rather than healthy development [1985, p. 140].

Westen's theory of moral development rests on his very useful exploration of the process (or processes) of internalization - a concept that is used frequently in psychoanalytic writing with numerous, and often obscure, meanings. He builds on object relations theory, which describes the developmental pathways through which a person gradually moves from separate good self/bad self - good other/bad other representations to an integration of these representations. This integration allows both positive and negative affect to be experienced without splitting these multiple representations of self-other into fragmented compartments of experience [see Greenberg and Mitchell, 1983, for extended discussion of object

relations theorists]. Westen points out that by the time this integration has taken place developmentally, "significant ego development has occurred, as has the moral internalization which establishes the superego" [1985, p. 136]. Westen thus links moral development to the early development of object relations within the psyche, which are based on actual, lived experience of the child with her/his primary caretaker.

Westen calls the earliest phase of psychic development "internal narcissism" in which the psyche develops rudimentary schemas of self and others, in which others are used "as extensions, mirrors, or tools of the self" [1985, p. 156]. This phase is similar to that described by other object relations theorists [cf. Winnicott, 1965] as well as by those studying the cognitive development of the infant [cf Kegan, 1982].

As the child continues to develop cognitively, the ability to experience and perceive the other as separate from the self, with their own intentions and motivations moves the child into what Westen labels a phase of "external narcissism." During this period, "the meaning of 'the good' changes from need-satisfaction to values and standards of behavior internalized from significant others" [1985, p. 163]. The child's wishes and desires no longer are the primary basis of his morality. Instead, the morals and ideals of significant others begin to function as goals towards which the ego ideal strives. Self-esteem begins to be based on "the capacity to achieve these externally derived ideal standards" [1985, p. 163]. This is the phase which Kernberg [1976] describes as marking the consolidation of self and other representations, and which Kohut [1971] describes as the emergence of the cohesive self. The change in the ways that others are experienced in relation to the self, and hence valued, also

rests on the development of "perspective taking" [Selman, 1980], which in turn rests on development of cognitive ability.

Throughout this period, ideal standards are internalized through the internalization of parental standards. Westen points out that this internalization of ideals, although based on internalizing representations of the parental figures, goes beyond simple object representation. He suggests that there are a number of different processes of internalization. In object representation, a cognitive schema of the other is formed within the mind. In modeling, the primary activity studied by social learning theorists [cf Bandura, Adams, and Buyer, 1977], the person develops the capacity to imitate some aspect of the other. The function that the other plays in one's life can also be internalized as self-regulatory ego functions, for example, the capacity to soothe oneself or to inhibit oneself from acting on aggressive impulses . In this case, aspects of the relationship have been internalized, rather than simply a representation of the person.

The fourth process of internalization that Westen describes is that of moral internalization, in which moral injunctions become internal moral standards and values. The fifth process of internalization is that which creates ideal self-schemas, both moral and nonmoral [1985, p. 166-67].

Westen rightly points out that the relationship between these different processes of internalization has not been adequately studied and described. In order for a child to internalize a parent's attributes as an ideal, a process of identification as well as the process of forming an object representation must take place. Identification itself is composed of several processes: the child first forms a cognitive schema of the other or attribute of the other; second, this schema is established as a goal towards which the ego ideal strives; third, the child imitates the behavior,

trying to make herself more like the other; fourth, the child adjusts her self-schema to incorporate this desired ideal and behavior [1985, p. 166].

Processes of identification underlie the internalization of moral rules. Westen describes three factors which promote identificatory processes: self-esteem, security, and social learning. Self-esteem is enhanced by becoming like someone who appears all-powerful and all-valuable. Westen suggests that this can also take place simply by the child feeling like they are part of the parent's "entourage", without necessarily needing to adjust his or her behavior [1985, p. 169].

Identification and idealization of parental figures also takes place due to the need for security, which requires that the child feel that he can completely trust those on whom she is dependent. This need for security refers both to external security, as well as the creation of a benevolent inner world, in which one does not experience attack from the introjected representations of parental figures.

These identificatory processes lead to the internalization of moral concepts and the development of conscience. Westen points out that the ability to experience guilt and to develop what psychoanalysts call the 'observing ego' relies on cognitive-affective developments such as the ability to coordinate self-schemas and ideal self-schemas, and to be able to gain perspective on oneself [1985, p. 174].

Westen terms the third phase of personality and moral development 'synthetic narcissism' in which the person is able to form "an original, synthetic reconciliation of self and other....(and) upon a mutual potency of self and other" [1985, p. 176]. This phase is not about a particular content of thought, but about the structure in which these contents are individually determined. "The person who has established some degree of

synthetic narcissism is, of course, never entirely free of unconscious and more primitive injunctions and ideal self-images, though she has gained some degree of autonomy over many of these early internalizations and no longer accepts internalized and societal moral beliefs and decrees as her own simply because they were issued by seemingly omnipotent authorities" [1985, p. 177]. This phase is determined by mature object relations, in which both self and other are mutually valued as ends in themselves, not as tools to self-enhancement.

The Empirical Study of Attachment in Children and Adults

Introduction to Attachment Theory

Since Bowlby's original descriptions of attachment needs [1969/1982, 1973, 1980] the theoretical work on attachment has been interwoven with empirical studies. The following section will describe some of the premises of attachment theory, highlight some of the theoretical advances that attachment research has made possible, and explore implications of this research for understanding moral development. The specific research which has empirically defined attachment patterns will be discussed in the methodology chapter.

Bowlby's work, based on ethological studies of mammals as well as infant-mother dyads, described the importance of attachment as a distinct motivational system, with biological, cognitive, and socioemotional consequences. He described the attachment system as mutually regulated between infant and caregiver and which results in the construction of internal working models of self in relation to attachment figures. The internalization of these specific attachment figures serves a regulatory

function on both physiologically and psychological levels. Attachment behaviors are hypothesized to serve the biological function of protecting the attached individual from physical and psychological harm. Recent attachment theorists [Bretherton, 1985] have suggested that the attachment system is active throughout the lifespan, becoming more activated at times of danger and distress.

Attachment experiences help the child learn to modulate various emotional states. Parental responsiveness to the child's affective signals is key to the way in which the child learns to organize emotional experience and "regulate felt security" [Sroufe and Waters, 1977]. If the attachment figure is consistently and reliably available, and responsive to the child's signals of distress, the child learns to regulate this distress with strategies that involve actively seeking comfort, support, and security. The 'internal working model' in this case provides the child with strategies or rules for internal regulation of emotional states as well as a model for self-care and self-soothing. If the child is met with patterns of rejection, unavailability, manipulation, or frightening behavior, other strategies or rules are learned, and the child's ability to learn how to modulate his/her own affective states may be compromised.

The attachment patterns that emerge become, first, a behavioral organization that reflect the infant-caregiver interaction. The response of the caregiver to these attachment behaviors is what "imbues them with meaning" and it is this meaning that is then internalized into a set of feelings, expectations, needs, and attitudes which become organized around an "emergent self" [Sroufe and Fleeson, 1988, p. 51]. The concepts of self and other are thus inextricably intertwined, as there can be no self outside of relation. Studies have shown that the assessment of

infant attachment, as measured by Ainsworth's Strange Situation, can change with different attachment partners, i.e., attachment can be different with mother and father [Main and Westen, 1981]. These attachment patterns tend to remain stable over time, although they also can change if the caregiving responsiveness changes [Vaughn, Egeland, Waters, and Sroufe, 1979]. They tend to be carried outside of conscious awareness and are carried forward over time, and new relationships are shaped by the expectancies learned in the past. Sroufe and Fleeson [1988] suggest that the continuity of attachment expectancies over time may be due to the "motivation for maintaining coherence or consistency within the self" [1988, p. 62]. These patterns have also been shown to be transmitted through generations [Main, Kaplan, and Cassidy, 1985; Ricks, 1985].

Attachment experiences have also been shown to be related to patterns of language and structures of mind including attention, memory, and cognition [Main, Kaplan, and Cassidy, 1985]. Interrupted attachment behaviors thus can be hypothesized as underlying physiological disequilibrium, separation anxiety, cognitive impairments, and violence directed towards both self and others [Bowlby, 1973, 1988].

Relationship of Attachment Patterns to Expression of Negative Affect

The attachment system, as it develops, provides interpersonal experiences in which the child learns to regulate and organize her emotional experience. The child's emotional experiences can be responded to in a variety of ways by the caregiver: she can respond accurately and sensitively (secure attachment), she can misattune through distortion (anxious/resistant attachment), or she can misattune by tuning out

(avoidant attachment). The attachment categories are, in part, descriptions of different "rules" that the child learns for regulating distress as well as for expressing positive emotions associated with attachment such as pleasure, love, and empathy [Main, Kaplan, Cassidy, 1985].

Securely attached children, in contrast to anxiously and avoidantly attached children, have been found to display more positive affect with peers [Waters, Wippman, and Sroufe, 1979], to display less negative affect and thus be more socially competent and have more friends [Sroufe, 1983]. Research has just begun to differentiate the differences between anxiously and avoidantly attached children in terms of affect regulation. However, research does indicate that those children characterized by an avoidant attachment style tend to express hostile emotions inappropriately in social relationships and object play [Main and Stadtman, 1981; Sroufe, 1983] and will demonstrate subtle forms of non-compliance [Sroufe, 1983] while not expressing anger towards their primary caregivers.

Anxious/resistant children, on the other hand, are characterized by heightened and escalating expressions of anger towards their caregivers and more overt forms of non-compliance. With peers, they also tend to express anger "impulsively", and their aggression seems to be more a response to frustration than a systematic interpersonal strategy [Sroufe, 1983]. Because they have not internalized rules for comfort and soothing, in the absence of an attachment figure, they can become affectively overwhelmed. The links between prosocial and antisocial behaviors and varying attachment patterns have implications for the development of both moral thought and moral emotion.

Patterns of Abuse Linked to Patterns of Attachment

When maltreatment becomes part of the interactional pattern between the caregiver and her child, the attachment system is thought to be shaped in different ways. The attachment system serves the biological function of protecting those who are vulnerable from threat or attack, and the child is biologically wired to turn towards the attachment figure for security, safety, protection, and comfort [Bowlby, 1969/1982]. Yet when the attachment figure herself is the source of alarm or threat, or when the attachment figure is either passive and compliant in response to the abuse of her children, the child must develop other strategies to internally regulate the need for security and comfort.

Although it is generally acknowledged that abuse alters the developing attachment system, the definition of abuse in the empirical studies remains overly broad. Crittendon and Ainsworth [1989] attempted to make predictions about attachment patterns over time given differential patterns in abuse and neglect, but the abuse category itself has not been further delineated in the attachment literature. The assumption has been that the mother is the abuser, and paternal abuse is not mentioned. This lack of clarity about abusive dynamics within the family system may explain some of the ambiguity and paradoxical findings about the attachment patterns of maltreated infants and children.

Attachment Behaviors When Both Mother and Child Are Battered

In battering situations, the mother is often characterized by a compliant passivity characteristic of those with anxious/ambivalent attachment [Crittendon and Ainsworth, 1989]. This pattern of anxious

attachment would, most likely, characterize her interactions with her child, and would be part of a multigenerational cycle in which this preoccupying attachment anxiety would be passed on to her child [Zeanah and Zeanah, 1989]. This description of the battered mother seems complementary to Crittendon and Ainsworth's [1989] hypothesis that neglecting mothers, as opposed to abusive mothers, tend to be anxiously attached, passive and helpless, with a model of the self as being unable to elicit the help and support of others. One could hypothesize that the mother would be inconsistently available to her child; she would most likely be unavailable while the abuse was happening, while available and providing some measure of comfort and security after the abusive incident was over. The child's attachment system would be characterized, in part, by the anxious, role-reversal protection of the mother which is associated with avoidance of affiliation with strangers. Given that the mother is also characterized by anxious attachment, and therefore non-affiliative to strangers, neither mother nor child in these situations would be able to reach out for help to escape from the abuse and battering.

Attachment Behaviors When the Primary Attachment Figure Perpetrates Abuse

Crittendon and Ainsworth [1989] describe the internal working models of the abusing mother, based on inferences from mother-infant interactions, to be characterized by notions that "others will attempt to dominate them to meet the needs of the other and reject them when they press to have their own needs met. Their model of themselves will be tied to the idea that others have, and will not willingly give up, needed psychological or physical resources. Consequently, coercion and

victimization will be central to the mothers' perceptions of themselves" [1989, p. 446]. Anger will characterize these mothers' interactions.

Bowlby [1988] hypothesizes that abusive mothers' violent behavior is a consequence of her own childhood experiences of loss and abandonment which leaves her anxious and unable to provide herself with the caretaking that she needs. She thus is less able to meet her child's needs and instead looks to the child to mother her.

DeLozier [1982] tested this hypothesis in a study of 18 physically abusive mothers and a control group, and found that abusing mothers did report substantially more severe threats of abandonment and harm in childhood, greater role reversal with their own mothers, and did not expect their mothers, and other attachment figures, to be reliably available. They also reported that at the time of the birth of the child who was later abused, they were feeling lonely, unsafe, and afraid. Most appeared anxiously attached, as measured by Hansburg's Separation Anxiety Test [1980], and some seemed to be detached.

The situation where the mother herself is the perpetrator seems to activate strong conflicting desires inside the child: the desire to withdraw and avoid the caregiver/perpetrator as well as the desire to approach the caregiver/perpetrator for comfort. Main and Hesse [1990] have suggested that it is these conflicting motivations that lead to the proximity-seeking mixed with avoidance often seen in maltreated children. These children show the avoidant/ambivalent attachment organization that Crittenden described [1985], combining noncontextual hostility directed away from the mother, which is seen in avoidant attachment, with indirect and circumspect ways of maintaining proximity which is seen in children with anxious/resistant attachment [Crittenden and Ainsworth, 1989].

The other atypical movements such as freezing, stilling, dazing, interrupted and incomplete expressions, gestures, and movements that have been noted may be a result of the approach and avoidance impulses mutually inhibiting each other [Main and Solomon, 1986].

Some maltreated children with abusive mothers seem to demonstrate a type of anxious/resistant attachment characterized by passivity and compliance. If compliant and/or role-reversal behavior works to pacify the attachment figure, then the anger that has been provoked by the abuse will often be suppressed in favor of these behaviors [Bowlby, 1973;1988]. This pattern, however, can only develop with a parent whose abusive behavior is narcissistically driven and predictable enough, so that a child can develop an effective strategy for managing their caregiver's maltreating impulses. The inhibition of anger is hypothesized to be a result of accommodating the mother's needs and interference without complaint, which leads to compliant behavior, in regard to the abuse and interference, as well as becoming a general behavioral style [Crittenden, 1988; Crittenden and DiLalla, 1988].

Another subpattern of anxious/resistant behavior is the child who remains openly angry. This pattern may develop with abusive mothers where the abuse is not predictable, and therefore the child is unable to develop a strategy to pacify the parent through modulating their own behavior in response to parental needs [Crittendon and Ainsworth, 1989]. They cannot predict which behaviors will anger and which will please the parent, and it thus becomes impossible to figure out which behaviors to inhibit and which to exhibit. These children would then display the subtype of anxious attachment characterized by angry resistance, combined with fear responses.

Crittendon and Ainsworth [1989] hypothesize that those children who adopt an angry resistant attachment style, although unable to modulate parental abuse through their behaviors, also do not learn to use denial as an adaptive response. This allows these children to develop a positive self-image based on justifications of their angry behavior. These children's self-esteem may therefore, be higher than those children who have had to defensively exclude information that would maintain an angry response and negative view of the attachment figure. Crittendon and Ainsworth write, "...overtly angry children may be less likely to exclude information defensively or to systematically misinterpret it. However, the costs of such a developmental pathway are both the risk of continued abuse and the possibility that anger will pervade much of the individual's behavior" [1989, p. 454].

Anxious/resistant may become avoidant, over time. If the regulation of attachment needs that occurs with the primary caregiver is not sufficient to balance the anger generated from the abuse, then two possibilities are, hypothetically, open to a child who has developed an anxious/resistant attachment style: either develop attachment elsewhere, or learn to avoid attachment cues and needs. Since the anxious/resistant child is still in touch with attachment needs, and with the possibility that another adult may meet these needs, this child may learn to turn to other attachment figures to help maintain the necessary physiological and emotional equilibrium that the attachment system provides. These children who are able to find other surrogate attachment figures early enough in childhood seem to be those who are able to remain openly resistant and conscious of their feelings about the maltreatment, and are those who have the best prognosis for revising their internal working models of both

insecure attachment and abusive parenting [Crittendon and Ainsworth, 1989].

If this is not possible, or if this other surrogate attachment figure proves to be unreliable, or unavailable over a long enough period of time, then the child may begin to defensively exclude perception of danger in the environment which would lead to a deactivation of the attachment system itself. A previously anxious/resistant style would then turn into an avoidant attachment style. These conditions are often part of maltreated children's lives who are placed in multiple foster homes as a result of the parental abuse.

Attachment Behaviors When the Father Abuses and the Mother Is Avoidantly Complicit

Another possible scenario in which abuse can take place is one in which the father is the active perpetrator, but the mother is complicit either verbally (encouraging the abusive behaviors of her husband or boyfriend) or physically (also perpetrating abuse). This situation differs from the one where the mother is passively compliant but not actually complicit, and also differs from the one where the mother is the primary perpetrator of the abuse. It thus creates different kinds of attachment dilemmas for the child.

One could hypothesize that the mother who encourages and participates in the perpetration of abuse towards her children is avoidantly attached to her children. She is defensively screening out the attachment cues from her children, or reacting to them with overt hostility. In either case, her behavior could be expected to be both rejecting and abusive. The child in this situation would be expected to develop primarily avoidant attachment responses, as there is nowhere to turn for comfort or security,

as well as behavioral manifestations of fear responses. This child would learn that it was too dangerous to direct anger towards either parent, and would displace this anger towards other people and inanimate objects in the external world. Their awareness of their own responses may be hampered by the defensive exclusion of information, however, and their self-reports may thus be distorted.

The implications of these abusive situations on the moral development of both the child and the adults has yet to be explored. It is hoped that this present study will illuminate some of the most salient moral dilemmas that young mothers who were abused as children wrestle with in their own lives, and the relationships between these moral conflicts and the strategies that they have learned over time to meet their own attachment needs.

The Work of Gilligan's Colleagues: Problematic Attachments, Violence, and Moral Choice

The Link between Attachment and Moral Orientation

Although Gilligan's work relies heavily on theoretical notions of attachment and separation, there has only been one study, to date, that has made use of the theoretical framework generated by research into early childhood attachment patterns. Utilizing attachment theory, Salzman looked at nine of the girls interviewed as part of the Emma Willard School study [Gilligan, Lyons, and Tamner, 1990] who showed problematic attachments in order to more fully understand the predominance of justice reasoning among this subsample.

These nine girls all had parents who had been involved in high-conflict divorce. These girls spoke of their primary attachments "as

sources of pain and uncertainty" [1990,p. 111]. To explain these problematic attachments, Salzman made use of Bowlby's [1980] theoretical framework in which anxious attachment of a child is thought to later reveal itself as anxious, ambivalent dependence, characterized by a mix of longing, fear, and rage; compulsive caregiving; or false self-sufficiency. Salzman writes that these girls' stories demonstrate "the ways in which girls respond to the stress of problematic or anxious attachment, without resorting to disengagement. In their accounts of family experience, these nine students shared the assumption that connection to their mothers would survive the challenge of adolescence...yielding numerous examples of the ongoing function of primary attachment" [1990, p. 113].

Salzman described three "coping styles" among these girls: patterns of role reversal, which corresponds to Bowlby's compulsive caregiving, and serves to maintain an anxious, ambivalent attachment; hostile avoidance, which corresponds to Bowlby's false self-sufficiency, and a "third variant not envisioned by the theoretical model" in which a newly developed capacity to transform problematic attachments with the internalization of a new attachment figure is evident [1990, p. 114].

All these girls had learned that the expression of anger was either too risky as it would jeopardize already fragile relationships, or that it was futile. As a result, none of them had learned or experienced any competence in satisfactorily resolving conflict within relationships. Salzman notes that this lack of opportunity to learn how to resolve conflicts within attachments deprived these girls of exploring ways of balancing self and others, and that this lack of experience has implications for their ability to resolve moral tension. Girls in the role-reversal group

tended to judge themselves harshly using rigid, idealistic moral standards in reference to themselves, while extending care towards others. Salzman writes, "in this subgroup, it appears that reluctance to express anger at mother contributes to a general position of extreme moral relativism vis-a-vis others, an inability to include oneself in a morality of care, yet a significant moral investment in 'taking care of the world'" [1990, p. 128]. Girls in the hostile-avoidance group, in contrast, developed a self-protective stance that ignored the claims of others as an attempt to resist capitulation. These girls think that engaging "in something that makes your self-worth decline" is immoral [1990, p. 131] and rather than a predominance of moral relativism, there is instead a difficulty in incorporating the other person's perspective.

For girls in both groups justice reasoning clearly predominates, unlike other girls whose primary attachments were not problematic. "It may be, then, that girls living in a state of frequent tension between self and other (within the family) learn to consider moral issues rather differently from girls who rest assured that the family is responsive to everyone's needs, at least most of the time" [1990, p. 132].

Moral Orientations to Violence

Ward [1988] investigated how adolescents wrestle with violence in their lives. She interviewed 51 students from an urban high school, embedding questions about response to "a violent situation, or a situation in which someone was being hurt" into a larger interview protocol modeled on Gilligan's moral conflict and choice interview. 20 of these interviews were coded by two raters, with 83% interrater reliability. [1988, p. 180].

Statements about violent events were coded as 'moral' if they were of a prescriptive nature, and if enough reasons were given to support the prescriptive moral judgment. These moral judgments were then coded for moral orientation, using categories of justice, care, both, and integrated. A description was coded as justice when "a particular violent action was seen as a violation of personal rights, rules, or standards of behavior." Care was coded when statements called "attention to hurt, pain, or suffering (both psychological and physical) as intrinsically wrong and/or morally problematic." Statements were coded as both when it was a codable articulation of both justice and care. Integrated moral judgments were those in which the justice and care statements were interwoven and could not be separated into their component parts, or when the notion of setting limits on violence was articulated as arising from a combination of both justice and care reasoning [1988, p. 181-182]. Both none and uncodable were also given to some statements.

Ward found that three interrelated beliefs were prevalent among those students who used justice logic. These beliefs were that violence was justified if used to rectify or to avenge a situation of unfairness, violation of rights, or violation of rules, standards, laws, or principles; that violence erupted as a result of someone being forced to suffer undeserved punishment; and that violence will often result from people stepping outside of the boundaries of the usually sanctioned behavior. Ward also found that "an eye for an eye" philosophy was shared by many of the youths who used justice reasoning.

Students who used care reasoning, were less willing to accept the violence described and much more uncomfortable with its occurrence. These students were also concerned that suffering often affects more than

the person targeted for the violent behavior, including those who witness the event. Violence was seen as wrong because it was perceived to be unnecessary and preventable through mediation and dialogue. These students seemed just as morally concerned with episodes where psychological pain as a result of interactions was described, rather than episodes of street violence. The fracture of human connection, in families, among peers, and in neighborhoods was often described.

This study was able to demonstrate that not only are people capable of using both orientations, as Johnston [1985] had demonstrated, but that people are able to "sustain both orientations simultaneously" [Ward, 1988]. Ward found that those students who incorporated reasoning from both moral orientations had a more complex understanding of motivation for violent behavior. Those students who used care logic exclusively were unable to justify violence in any way. However, those who included justice considerations were able to justify violence if no other way was found to protect themselves or others from harm, and "when it was felt that people had reached their limit and there was no other choice" [Ward, 1988, p. 193]. This was particularly true in cases where an abused mother finally stood up to her abusing boyfriend or husband.

Both justice and care considerations were also used to describe the adolescent struggle to simultaneously stay connected and to develop one's own identity. "The threat of violence for some closes doors and subverts the process of reaching a balance between the competing needs of identity and attachment during the adolescent years" [1988, p. 192].

Ward notes that justice reasoning was prevalent among those students who described neighborhood violence, postulating that "students may have been more likely to rely on rules alone to determine what was

right and wrong when the victims and victimizers were unknown, or when they saw themselves as uninvolved witnesses" [1988, p. 196]. Likewise, care reasoning was most often used when the violence described took place within the family. "These painful and distressing stories draw our attention to the complex moral formulations that the adolescent must employ to make sense of and come to terms with the pain which loved ones inflict upon one another" [1988, p. 198].

The theoretical and empirical contributions of these researchers has provided a solid foundation for further exploration into the relationship between early attachment patterns and the development of moral reasoning. In addition, the ways in which justice and care concerns are shaped by problematic attachments and maltreatment clearly needs further investigation.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Design of the Study

In order to study the moral reasoning of young mothers who were maltreated in childhood, I set out to investigate both the particular ways that they articulate their moral dilemmas, as well as the particular influences that shape this reasoning. I felt that it was important to investigate both the unconscious structures that shape thought as well as conscious meaning-making. Each interview that I conducted thus had two parts: one that explored early attachment and abuse experiences, and one that explored moral responses to the potential for conflict and violence.

Case Study Approach

Although several procedures were used to analyze specific variables in the interviews, the heart of this study lies in the case study approach. As such, the intention of the study was to generate hypotheses rather than to test hypotheses, to expand our understanding of moral meaning-making through discovery, rather than to prove what is already known. This method has a long lineage in psychology, with Freud and Piaget providing working models of how theory is derived from intensive investigations of an individual [see Merriam, 1988, for discussion of approach].

The case study approach employed in this study made use of inductive reasoning, in which tentative working hypotheses were used to formulate the research questions. These hypotheses were modified as the interview texts themselves "spoke" - revealing new relationships and

concepts. The participation of the researcher with the individual women interviewed, and with the texts themselves, was considered to be an important part of the process of understanding, and thus included in the results chapter.

Synopsis of Methodology

The methodology of this study employed multiple narrative readings, in which I coded each interview along several dimensions. The Attachment and Abuse interview was coded with a measurement scale developed specifically for this study [Appendix D], which drew on previous measures designed to measure adult experiences of attachment. Specifically, Main and Goldwyn's [1988] Adult Attachment coding categories were adapted to fit this population with the help of Bartholemew's [1991] conceptual framework for studying attachment in adults. Both of these works are reviewed below. Each interview was coded along two dimensions: 1) each major caregiver-child relationship described in the interview was coded as predominantly secure, anxious, avoidant, or fearful, with the predominance of anxious and avoidant strategies noted; and 2) evidence of unresolved trauma was identified [Appendix E]. Severity of abuse was determined both through the use of the modified Conflict Tactics Scale [Strauss, Gelles, and Steinmatz, 1980] and from the interview itself.

The Moral Reasoning About Violence and Conflict interview was coded with the methodology developed by Carol Gilligan and her colleagues. In this method, also described below, I read the narrative to determine whether the interview demonstrated concerns of care and/or justice, whether one of these orientations dominated, was absent, or whether they were integrated. I then also 'read' these narratives with an

ear towards the particular moral dilemmas that these women described, how the moral dilemmas reflected attachment concerns, and whether the wrestling with moral dilemmas seemed facilitative of growth. Once these multiple readings were complete, I wrote the case studies, integrating the information from the attachment and moral reasoning interviews for each participant. After these case studies were complete, I scored each participant's responses on the Child Abuse Potential Inventory, to see whether attachments patterns and moral orientation were correlated with the potential for abusing one's own child.

Recruitment Procedures

In order to recruit subjects, I contacted and met with administrators and clinicians at Massachusetts Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children in Greenfield, Dial-Self in Greenfield, Corporation for Public Management-Young Parent's Group in Greenfield, Department of Social Services in Springfield, Gandra/Johnson Life Center in Springfield, Northern Educational Services - Parenting Teen Program in Springfield, and Children's Aid and Family Services in Northampton. All of these programs were enthusiastic about the study and said that they would help me find participants. I also contacted by phone and letter NELCWIT in Greenfield, Parents Anonymous in Amherst, Greenfield, Springfield, and Holyoke, the Care Center in Holyoke, Necessities/Necessidades in Northampton, Project Safe in Springfield, ARCH in Springfield, YWCA of Western Mass., New Beginnings in Westfield, Franklin County Mental Health Center in Greenfield, FHC/MHC in Northampton, and Northampton Area Mental Health Services in Northampton. All of these agencies were presented

with a written description of the project to circulate among potential subjects. I also placed an advertisement in the local paper.

From all of these contacts, I ended up with 10 complete interviews. Three subjects were recruited from Dial-Self in Greenfield, two subjects came from Children's Aid and Family Services in Northampton, one subject came from Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty in Greenfield, and four subjects responded to the advertisement. Given the difficulty of finding participants, I only screened out those people where no physical abuse or threat of physical abuse was evident. Thus, in the ten interviews that were completed, some are a mix of physical and sexual abuse, and some are predominantly threats of abuse but infrequent actual abuse.

Subjects

The ten women range in age from 18 - 25, with a mean age of 20. Their income levels ranged from less than \$5,000 to \$9,000 a year. The mean educational level for this group was 11th grade. All of the women were mothers, 7 were single, 3 were living with boyfriends, none were married. 9 of the women were white, one was Puerto Rican. The ten women were a largely homogeneous sample.

Instruments

The following instruments were utilized in this study: The Adult Attachment and Abuse Interview and Coding Protocol, developed for this study; a modification of the Conflict Tactics Scale [Straus, Gelles, and Steimetz, 1980]; a modification of the Moral Conflict and Choice Interview

and Reading Guide [Brown, 1988]; and the Child Abuse Potential Inventory [Milner, 1980].

The Measurement of Adult Attachment

The measurement of adult attachment is still in its infancy, both conceptually and methodologically. The two most advanced methods for scoring adult attachment are those developed to score Main and Goldwyn's [1988] qualitative Adult Attachment Interview (AAI), and the statistical methods used to score Bartholomew's [1991] Adult Attachment Scale (AAS). Although there is some conceptual overlap between these two methods, they also differ in important ways. Both of these instruments make use of constructs developed in the research of infant attachment, and some of the conceptual confusion within and between these two measurements of adult attachment can be traced back to the conceptual debates that currently exist in the field of infant attachment. Another area of confusion is found in the lack of conceptual clarity regarding how attachment patterns of infancy are carried forward into adult life. A third source of conceptual confusion is an inevitable result of the few studies which have thus far been conducted, and the consequent limits in the types of populations studied.

This section will cover four key areas of instrument development that pertain to the current study. First, the development of the classification of infant attachment patterns will be reviewed, as this work provides the foundation for the study of adult attachment patterns. Second, both the AAI and AAS will be reviewed, in terms of instrument development, conceptual underpinnings, and research results from the use of these instruments. Third, the strengths and limitations of these two

methods will be discussed in regards to the population of adults who were maltreated as children. Fourth, the methodology designed to study the attachment patterns of the young women in this study who were physically maltreated as children will be discussed.

Development of Caregiver-Infant Attachment Patterns

Attachment Patterns of Avoidant, Secure, and Anxious Infants

The classifications of infant attachment behaviors were initially developed by Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, and Wall [1978] in their studies of how infants, when placed in a strange situation, respond to separations from their mothers, the presence of a stranger under these conditions of separation, and then reunions with their mothers. Three patterns of infant attachment, which they labeled secure (B), anxious/avoidant (A) and anxious/resistant, sometimes called anxious/ambivalent (C) were described initially. These empirically-derived classifications were subsequently found in other studies which also employed the Strange Situation paradigm [Belsky, Rovine, and Taylor, 1984; Grossman, Grossman, Spangler, Suess, and Unzer, 1985; Egeland and Farber, 1984].

These attachment classifications are understood to be coherently organized strategies of behavior which would become activated when the infant is experiencing stress [Sroufe and Waters, 1977]. Although the attachment categories are most often used to categorize a particular infant's behavioral patterns when her attachment system is activated, it is essential to remember that these behavioral patterns reflect the caregiver-infant pattern of interaction. The following descriptions highlight this interactional nature of attachment.

A secure infant (B) is one whose mother is sensitively attuned and responsive to her child's signals, is happy to interact with her child and able to show this happiness, is available to her infant when her infant is distressed and needs to reunite, and is able to soothe, comfort, and provide reliable protection for the child. A child who knows that her mother is readily and happily available to her, will seek her mother when distressed or fatigued, will maintain proximity when stressed, and will be able to receive comforting and soothing from her mother. A child with secure attachment has thus learned "rules" that allow the internal acknowledgment of distress as well as the permission to turn to others for comfort and support.

When the attachment system is not activated due to stress or threat, the secure child will be able to explore the environment and be affiliative to strangers. Such a child, even during exploration, will occasionally signal the mother and include the mother in her activities, thus indicating the inter-relationship between what is called the attachment system and the affiliative/explorative system.

A child who is classified as avoidant (A) in the Strange Situation usually has a mother who is inaccessible and unresponsive to her cues. These mothers often will shun close physical contact with their babies, and will rebuff the child's bids for contact, especially when the baby is most distressed and seeking attachment. They are actively rejecting, neglectful, and either overtly or covertly angry.

Children whose mothers act in this avoidant, rejecting manner toward them will develop their own avoidant behaviors. Unlike infants who are distressed at the separation from their mothers, and will seek contact with her upon return, these avoidant babies do not seem to be

distressed at the separation from their mothers, nor do they seek her out upon reunion. These infants tend to turn outward toward their environment, away from his/her own attachment needs for comfort and security.

Main and Hesse [1990] suggest that this enforced need to turn away from one's own attachment signals leads to an underarousal of the attachment behavioral system itself. Main and Weston [1982] suggest that turning away from attachment concerns is a way in which the infant avoids the behavioral disorganization that would occur if the attachment system remained highly activated and frustrated due to parental rejection or abandonment. This avoidance can thus be understood as defensive, and appears to be related to the infant learning the "rules" that she is to screen out cues that would activate her attachment system (separations, danger). Since internal attachment cues are selectively screened, the child is more free to explore the environment and be affiliative to strangers. Zeanah and Zeanah [1989, p. 189] note that cross-cultural studies of the effects of parental rejection overwhelmingly point to the difficulty that rejected children have in managing aggression and hostility, in maintaining a positive and stable sense of self and others, and in negotiating attachment claims in relationships.

The child who is classified as anxious/ambivalent (C) in her attachment patterns is likely to have a mother who is inconsistent and therefore unpredictable in her availability and responsiveness. This child becomes overly vigilant about her mother's whereabouts, and will often be reluctant to explore the environment. This child is easily upset by her mother's separation from her, will seek proximity and contact upon her mother's return, but will not be easily comforted or soothed, and instead

may escalate into anger. The mother, in turn, will also escalate anxious or angry responses. This child does not explore the environment easily, as her attachment system is overly activated and this keeps her in close proximity to her attachment figure. These children are often described as helpless [Sroufe, 1983].

Attachment Patterns of Maltreated Infants

Some infants in the initial studies were impossible to classify in the three category/eight subcategory system [Main, 1973; Sroufe and Waters, 1977; Main and Weston, 1981]. Initially, investigators who studied maltreated infants continued to use the ABC categories, although some felt that they were force-fitting the infants into categories that did not quite describe their behaviors [Crittendon, 1985; Egeland and Sroufe, 1981a, 1981b; Gaensbauer and Harmon, 1982; Lyons-Ruth, Connell, and Stahl, 1987; Schneider-Rosen and Cicchetti, 1984; Schneider-Rosen, Braunwald, Carlson, and Cicchetti, 1985]. Several studies were then conducted to determine whether there were additional categories of attachment patterns that better described some of the maltreated infants behaviors in the Strange Situation. Two types of classifications emerged from these studies, with different theoretical hypotheses concerning the etiology of these patterns.

Maltreated infants are much more likely to exhibit either disorganized/disoriented, or avoidant-resistant patterns of behavior. Spieker and Booth [1988] developed a classification they labeled A-C to characterize infants who demonstrated both moderately high avoidance and moderately high resistance in the same reunion episode, or high avoidance in the first episode and high resistance in the second.

Crittenden [1985] re-analyzed videotapes of maltreated infants who had previously been classified as securely attached (B). She also found that these infants displayed moderate-to-high avoidance and moderate-to-high resistance. In addition she noted that these infants showed some stereotypic or maladaptive behaviors, such as huddling on the floor, head cocking, freezing motions, etc. She too classified these infants as A-C, with two subcategories, those who were avoidant and openly resistant, and those who were avoidant and overwhelmingly passive. She then reliably coded another group of maltreated infants using this same classification [Crittendon, 1988]. Radke-Yarrow, Cummings, Kuczynski, and Chapman [1985] also discovered this same mix of reunion behaviors among infants who had mothers with an affective disorder.

Lyons-Ruth and her colleagues [1987] described atypical attachment patterns among infants whom mothers were experiencing parenting difficulties. They described this pattern as "unstable-avoidant" to indicate that these infants demonstrated high avoidance at the first reunion and minimal avoidance during the second reunion of the Strange Situation.

Main and Solomon [1986, 1990] developed an additional classification which they labeled D for a pattern of attachment behaviors which appeared disorganized and disoriented. They developed this new classification through the re-analysis of Strange Situation video-tapes of mother-infant and father-infant interactions that had been unclassifiable. They found elements of all three major attachment patterns, in unusual combinations, and hypothesized that rather than demonstrating a coherently organized strategy for coping with attachment needs under conditions of stress, these infants were instead showing the lack of a coherent strategy. The A-C pattern that other investigators had described

was present, but they also found a mix of proximity-seeking accompanied by avoidance, a pattern first described by George and Main [1979] in their study of physically abused toddlers. The predominance of other bizarre symptoms, including stereotyped and strange postures; freezing, stilling, or slowed motions; asymmetrical, awkward and mistimed movements; and undirected, incomplete or interrupted movements and expressions, as well as direct expressions of apprehension towards their caregiver [Main and Solomon, 1990]. Interestingly, this disorganized/disoriented pattern was usually evident with just one of their caregivers (their mother or their father) but not with both.

Main, Kaplan, and Cassidy [1985] reported that children whose attachment to their mothers at 1 year had been classified as disorganized could all be distinguished, at 6 years of age, from children who were classified as secure (B) or avoidant (A). However, these children did seem to have developed a coherent strategy for their attachment behaviors at age 6: upon reunion they were controlling of their parent through either caretaking or punitive directness [Main and Cassidy, 1988].

Main and Hesse [1990] also examined interviews with parents, conducted with the Adult Attachment Interview format, whose children had been classified as disorganized/disoriented, and found that these parents had often (39%) experienced loss of a parent during childhood. They hypothesized that unresolved mourning may be one of the risk-factors that could create a D attachment pattern between themselves and their children.

Carlson, Cicchetti, Barnett, and Braunwald [1989] utilized the D classification to analyze data from families receiving protective services for issues of child abuse and/or neglect, as well as from a matched group of

families who were not receiving protective services. The majority of the infants in the maltreated group were coded as D (81.8%) while the majority in the comparison group were rated secure (52.4%).

Main and Solomon [1990] suggest that those infants who are classified as D also be classified into whichever ABC category fits them the best. Different investigators have arrived at varying percentages of infants who fall into these categories. Main and Solomon [1986] found that the "forced" classifications were mostly in the secure group, while Carlson, Cicchetti, Barnett, and Braunwald, [1989] found that the majority of "forced" classification in their study was avoidant.

Main and Solomon [1990] have tentatively suggested three different subtypes within the D classification: depressed, apprehensive, and avoidant/resistant, although some infants show combinations of these patterns. Not enough is yet known about either antecedents nor developmental outcome to definitively settle on a classification system that adequately describes the attachment patterns of maltreated infants and children.

These studies raise important methodological and theoretical questions. The effect that the type of abuse and neglect has on these categories and the stability of whichever ABC categories is found in maltreated children's behavior have yet to be investigated, and the theoretical underpinnings of using both D and ABC as coding classifications has yet to be elaborated in the literature.

Development of Adult Attachment Classifications

Recently, several measures have been developed and empirically tested which attempt to demonstrate a relationship between infant

attachment patterns and adult attachment styles. These measures have been used to study domains as varied as parental behavior, romantic partnerships, problem drinking, sexual abuse and maltreatment.

Adult Attachment Interview and Classification System

Main and Colleagues. The Adult Attachment Interview (AAI), developed by George, Kaplan, and Main [1984] was the first instrument aimed at defining and measuring internal working models of attachment in adults. Through a structured interview, mothers were asked about early attachment and separation experiences with both their mother and father, as well as questions about their responses to stressful situations that would activate the attachment system. Adult working models of attachment were then classified as "secure/autonomous," "dismissing," "preoccupied," or "unresolved." These classifications were designed to correspond to the infant classifications of secure, avoidant, resistant and disorganized/disoriented as measured by the Strange Situation. The D category in the AAI, however, is assigned only when there is evidence of lack of resolution of mourning, which does not seem to be conceptually linked to the various D classifications of infants in the Strange Situation.

Main and Goldwyn [1984] found strong parallels between the organization of infant attachment behavior as measured in the Strange Situation and the organization of language, thought and memory in adults as measured by the AAI. Other studies have confirmed the reliability of the AAI as an instrument that can be used to first classify a mother's attachment style and then predict the parallel attachment classification of her infant. Main, Kaplan and Cassidy [1985] found a 76% agreement between mothers' attachment classifications and their infant's attachment

classifications 5 years earlier, using only the first three attachment classifications (secure: secure/autonomous; avoidant: dismissing; anxious: preoccupied). Eichberg [1987] included the disorganized: unresolved classifications for infants and adults and found an 82% agreement between the mothers' classifications and their infants classifications measured 6 months to a year previously. Other studies have linked mothers' representations of her childhood experiences, as classified with the AAI, and sensitivity to their infants [Grossman, Fremmer-Bombik, Rudolf, Grossman, 1988] and infants who were failing to thrive [Benoit, Zeanah, and Barton, in press.]

Adults who are classified as secure in the Adult Attachment Interview appear to value relationships and attachment-related experience, are able to take a thoughtful perspective on their role in relationships, seem at ease in recalling attachment experiences, with primarily positive memories. They demonstrate an ability to integrate the positive and negative aspects of a person and situation, are forgiving towards their parents for any perceived mistreatment, do not idealize their parents, and have a narrative coherency in describing early experiences [Main and Goldwyn, 1988; Zeanah and Zeanah, 1989].

Adults classified as dismissing of attachment devalue attachment experiences and relationships, both in memory and in present life. These adults are not able to easily access memories of unpleasant childhood experiences, and diminish the significance of childhood experience for adult life. They tend to report idealized and global impressions of their experiences, and have difficulty recalling specific events. The memories that they do recall tend to involve examples of rejection and lack of affection which contradict the idealized picture that they have described,

although this contradiction is rarely acknowledged. These adults describe experiences of repeated rejection by the parent, leading to the child turning away from the parent and towards independence prematurely. Main and Goldwyn [1984] suggest that detached adults have thus learned to defensively maintain mental organization by turning away from attachment concerns.

Adults classified as preoccupied on the AAI still seem to be struggling to please their childhood attachment figure and still appear to be entangled in these relationships. In these interviews, the adult is able to recall childhood memories but is unable to coherently organize these thoughts and memories. Adults classified as preoccupied repeatedly describe a pattern of role reversal, in which the child is responsible for care-taking the parent, feeling that his/her needs have to be subordinated to those of his/her parents. "The child's inability to obtain responsive caregiving from the parent with any consistency leads to a working model characterized by confusion, particularly about the self, and some degree of struggle against the confusion" [Zeanah and Zeanah, 1989, p. 191]. These relationships are characterized by an over-aroused attachment system as the child/adult both seeks proximity and resists it.

Adults classified as unresolved are those suffering from a significant loss or traumatic experience, without yet having been able to integrate the event or find meaning in it. In these interviews, adults appear confused and disoriented, and may talk in a way that exhibits "invasions into thought and speech or non-sequiturs related to the loss" [Zeanah and Zeanah, 1989, p. 187]. In another subgroup of the 'unresolved' classification, the organizing theme seems to be one of fear of or about the parent [Zeanah and Zeanah, 1989]. This group also exhibits characteristic attachment

patterns from the other three classifications, with preoccupied patterns of attachment most often the alternate classification.

Results from the Adult Attachment Interview have also been correlated with other variables in personality functioning of adults. Kobak and Sceery [1988] investigated the relationship between adult working models of attachment, as measured with the AAI, and affect regulation and representation of self and other among 53 first year college students. Results showed that the secure pattern of attachment is most strongly associated with higher scores on ego-resilience and peers' lower ratings on anxiety in comparison with the dismissing and preoccupied group, and lower ratings of hostility in comparison with the dismissing group. The dismissing group was rated by peers as more hostile than the preoccupied group, and the preoccupied group was rated as more anxious than the dismissing group. The dismissing group did not differ from the secure group on self-report measures of perceived social competence and distress, even though peers rated them lower on ego-resiliency, higher anxiety, and higher hostility. This evidence supports the theoretical assumptions about the defensive purposes of avoidant behavior. The D classification was not used in this study.

Self-Report Questionnaires about Adult Attachment

Hazan and Shaver. Another paradigm exploring adult attachment behavior has been developed by Hazan and Shaver [1987; 1990], who hypothesized that an adult's relationship to both love and work will be mediated by the adult's internal working models and attachment strategies. They developed self-report questionnaires to test their hypotheses, modeling the questions on Ainsworth's initial infant classifications,

without inclusion of a D category. Whereas the AAI attempts to assess internal working models by noticing different ways in which information is processed and distorted, Hazan and Shaver attempt to assess conscious representations of self and relationships in the present.

In their 1987 study, Hazan and Shaver found that secure adults' love experiences were characterized by trust, happiness, the ability to support and accept their partner, including the partner's faults, and were more stable and enduring. The anxious/ambivalent adults describe their love experiences as obsessive, with a desire for union and reciprocation, and extreme sexual attraction and jealousy. The avoidant adults described their love experiences as characterized by fear of intimacy, jealousy, and emotional highs and lows, and were least able to be accepting of their partners. In terms of attachment history, there seemed to be no significant differences in terms of childhood separations from parents. Instead, respondents' descriptions of the quality of their relationship with each parent and the parents' relationships with each other seemed to be the best predictors of adult attachment styles of romantic love.

Hazan and Shaver also extended their research to the area of adult work experiences [1990], hypothesizing that, just as security in infancy and exploratory and affiliative behavior are linked, the internalized working models that shape love relationships would also shape work experiences. To test this hypothesis, they gave respondents the single-item attachment self-report questionnaire developed in their 1987 study plus a questionnaire on job satisfaction. Results indicated that securely attached adults valued relationships more than work, but also have the most positive orientation to work, able to work effectively and also enjoy leisure time; anxious/ambivalent adults were more likely to feel that attachment

concerns interfered with work, and that interpersonal concerns at work interfered with work performance; while avoidantly attached adults valued work over love relationships, and felt uncomfortable when they were not working.

Collins and Read. Hazan and Shaver's methodology was refined by several other researchers. Collins and Read [1990] developed a measure called the Adult Attachment Scale which broke down Hazan and Shaver's single-item descriptions into their component parts, and also added statements concerning the availability and dependability of others as well as reactions to separation from an important attachment figure.

Collins and Read factor analyzed the 21 scale items on their Adult Attachment Scale, and arrived at three factors which they labeled close, depend, and anxiety. These factors represented the extent to which subjects could depend on others to be available when needed and could trust others; anxiety in relationships such as fear of abandonment and not being loved; and comfort with closeness and intimacy. Like Hazan and Shaver, they found that responses to separation did not account for substantial variance and did not contribute to a separate factor. These results seem to contradict Main and Goldwyn's emphasis of lack of resolution of mourning on the AAI.

Cluster and discriminant analysis revealed that some people who described themselves as secure on Hazan and Shaver's [1987] measure, later appeared as anxious, with high scores on close and depend as well as on anxiety, and that some of those who classified themselves as anxious on the single-item descriptor, were later classified as avoidant with high factor scores on anxious and low scores on close and depend. Collins and

Read suggest that there may, thus, be two types of "anxious" that were not detected in Hazan and Shaver's work.

Collins and Read describe these dimensions as "guiding principles that determine how the attachment system manifests itself in adult relationships" [1990, p. 650] and note the importance of focusing on dimensions rather than categories as a way to understand the underlying features of people's attachment styles and dilemmas.

Collins and Read [1990] also studied the relationship between adult attachment styles and working models of self, the social world, and romantic love as well as the relationship between adult attachment styles and reports of attachment history in childhood. Results indicated that subjects with a more secure attachment style (high scores on close and depend and low scores on anxiety) had a more positive view of themselves than did those who were either avoidantly (low scores on close, depend, and anxiety) or anxiously attached (high scores on anxiety). Secure individuals also had higher self-esteem and expressiveness, were more trusting, more likely to believe people are altruistic, more able to stand up for their beliefs, had a stronger sense of control about the outcome of their actions, and more adaptable to situations. Anxious adults believed others to be less altruistic, had less confidence in others, conformed more to other's expectations, believed that human nature was unpredictable and complex, had lower self-esteem, lack of assertiveness or internal locus of control.

Bartholomew. Bartholomew [1990; 1991] based her study of adult attachment on the premise that internal working models concern both the self and other, and that four different prototypical self-other relationships

are thus, theoretically possible: positive self - positive other which would reflect secure attachment; negative self - positive other, which would reflect a person who felt unworthy of love but who was preoccupied with being accepted by another who was highly valued; negative self - negative other, which would represent a person who felt unlovable and was also fearful of others who would be perceived as rejecting and untrustworthy; and positive self- negative other which would represent the detached person who was dismissing of attachment and intimacy. This four category schema may be a conceptual explanation of the two categories which Collins and Read described as "anxious" in their cluster analysis, although different dimensions of attachment are tapped in each of these analyses. A syntheses of these two approaches would lead to the typology shown in Table 3.1.

Bartholomew and Horowitz [1991] tested this model by asking subjects to describe their friendship patterns in a semi-structured interview.

Table 3.1
Attachment Typology

secure	high close; high depend; low anxiety positive self-positive other
anxious/ambivalent/preoccupied anxiety	high close; high depend; high negative self - positive other
avoidant/dismissing	low close; low depend; low anxiety positive self - negative other
fearful/anxious/avoidant	low close; low depend; high anxious negative self - negative other

In Bartholomew and Horowitz' analysis, the secure group had highly coherent interviews, high intimacy in friendships, warmth, self-confidence, balance of control in friendships, and high level of involvement in romantic relationships. The dismissing group scored high on self-confidence and low on emotional expressiveness, and also scored lower than the secure and preoccupied on all scales reflecting closeness in personal relationships: self-disclosure, intimacy, level of romantic involvement, capacity to rely on others, and use of others as a secure base. They also rated low on caregiving and were seen as more in control than their friends or lovers. The preoccupied group was characterized by high self-disclosure, emotional expressiveness, frequency of crying, reliance on others, use of others as a secure base, caregiving, and romantic involvement, and low on coherence, self-confidence, and balance of control in friendships. The ratings for the fearful group were significantly lower than the secure and preoccupied on self-disclosure, intimacy, reliance on others, and use of a secure base when upset. They were also low on self-confidence, coherence and balance of control in social relations.

Female subjects were significantly more represented in the preoccupied group, and males were represented in the dismissing group. None of the subjects fit completely into one attachment prototype, and many subjects were rated as showing elements of several of the different attachment styles.

Brennan, Shaver and Tobey [1991] compared Hazan and Shaver's [1987] three-category typology with Bartholomew's [1990] four-category typology, and found that the same two dimensions underlie both models of adult attachment, and also confirmed the gender-differences found by

Bartholomew and Horowitz [1991]. They also found that the lack of a fearful alternative in Hazan and Shaver's measure forced some fearful subjects to categorize themselves as anxious/ambivalent, and some dismissing-avoidant subjects to falsely classify themselves as secure. Importantly, they also found that adult children of alcoholics belong disproportionately to the fearful-avoidant classification, and that these subjects, on Hazan and Shaver's measure, would have scored high on anxious and avoidant.

Conceptual Considerations for this Study

Main and Goldwyn's [1988] work has been instrumental in shaping the study of adult attachment, yet there are several problems with the way that they have conceptualized the D category on the AAI. Although the D category in the infant classification system is most prevalent when the child has experienced abuse and neglect, in the Adult Attachment Interview (AAI), Main and Goldwyn emphasize lack of resolution of mourning rather than trauma-related attachment patterns as the primary criteria for assigning this classification. The D subtypes of depressed and apprehensive suggested by Main and Solomon [1986] for the infant classification system, seem to have been subsumed into the "preoccupied/entangled" category in which Main and Goldwyn suggest subtypes of passive and fearfully preoccupied. The third infant D subtype of avoidant/resistant which Main and Solomon also suggested, and which has been found by other researchers seems to have disappeared from the Adult Attachment Interview.

Main and Goldwyn do acknowledge that unresolved trauma may also account for the D category. They also suggest that an alternative

classification be assigned to each research subject, if the D category is found most salient. This would suggest that another possible way to classify subject's narrative is to make use of Bartholomew's 4-category typology of secure, dismissing, preoccupied, and fearful (representing avoidant/resistant as a mixed, possibly organized, attachment strategy) and also to note whether unresolved trauma appears to be salient in any of the four categories. The distinction between the fearful category as an organized attachment pattern, and evidence of unresolved trauma will have to be described carefully, in an effort not to confound the effects of attachment patterns on cognitive structure with the sequelae of trauma.

The population of adults who were maltreated as children has not been specifically studied with any of the adult attachment interviews or self-report measures that have been designed. For this reason, both the data and the conceptual paradigm that has been applied in studies of the attachment patterns of maltreated infants has not been consistently applied to studies of adults who were maltreated as children. Because the participants in this study have all experienced serious abuse in childhood, the results of the qualitative analysis of the Attachment and Abuse Interview could yield some further information about the D category.

For conceptual purposes, the four-category typology described by Bartholomew has been utilized in this study as the paradigm for assigning classifications. The avoidant/anxious or anxious/avoidant combination of attachment strategies, which Bartholomew labeled as 'fearful' is coded as Fearful, with one strategy marked as predominant if appropriate. Figure 3.1 demonstrates this model.

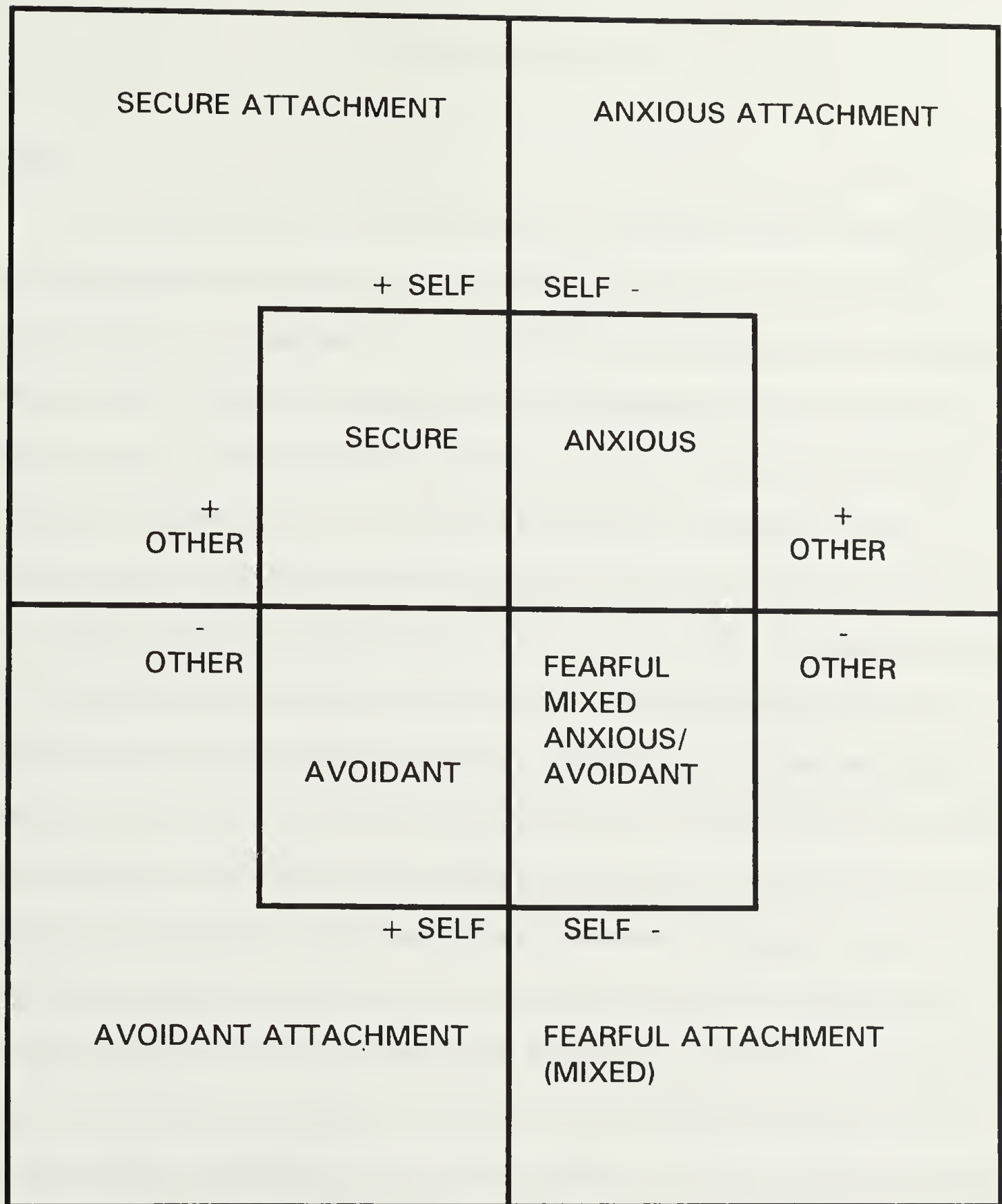


Figure 3.1

Attachment Categories

Assessing Attachment

Design

The Attachment and Abuse interview was given to each subject. It lasted approximately one and a half hours. The form was based on a clinical interview technique, with an interview protocol to guide the open-ended inquiry. Questions began with an investigation into the woman's family of origin, with a specific emphasis on who were the significant attachment figures, and who were the perpetrators of abuse. As the woman spoke about her attachments, more in-depth inquiries into where the woman turned for comfort as a child, where she felt most secure, how she responded to separations, and to whom she felt the closest were asked. If significant caregivers moved away or died, inquiries about the effects of this loss were explored. Gathering information about the abuse was interwoven into the inquiries about attachment, as abuse would heighten the needs for attachment, and attachment strategies would be heightened during these times. If the woman appeared to dissociate or become emotionally overwhelmed with the material, attention was brought back to the present situation, and the woman reminded that she did not have to answer questions that were too difficult for her. At the conclusion of the interview, the woman was asked what the experience of the interview was like for her. If she wanted additional therapeutic support, resources were provided.

Coding

In the first reading of each transcript, the reader marks those passages in the narrative which indicate organized cognitive-emotional-behavioral approaches to attachment needs, as well as attachment-related concerns, dilemmas, and themes. The transcripts are then coded according to criteria which indicate which attachment pattern(s) predominated in childhood, and evidence of unresolved trauma [Appendix D].

Assessing Child Abuse

The Modified Conflict Tactics Scale

In the initial screening of participants, I used a modification of the Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS) developed by Straus et. al. [1980] to measure abusive behavior in families on three scales - reasoning, verbal aggression, and violence. Statements increase in degree of coercion, and subjects respond to each statement by circling one of seven possible intensities ranging from "never" to "more than 20 times." This scale has been used in numerous studies and has fairly high reliability (alpha coefficients for reasoning was .50, for verbal aggression and violence, .80). The adapted version for this study asks for memories of childhood experience, rather than a rating of current experience, for which the CTS was originally designed. No claims for the validity or reliability of the scale in this study can thus be made; it is used merely to indicate the participant's subjective account of her childhood abuse.

I have devised a scoring that categorizes the verbal aggression responses into mild, moderate, and severe, and the physical abuse responses into mild, moderate, severe. For both verbal and physical abuse, mild is scored when the subject responds predominantly in the "never" to "6-10" times in one year, moderate is scored when the subject responds predominately in the "6-10" to "11-20" times in one year, and severe is scored when the subject responds predominantly in the "11-20" to "20 plus" times in one year.

Interview Data

Responses from the Modified Conflict Tactics Scale were used during the Attachment and Abuse interview to guide questions about the abuse. If new information was revealed during the interview that corroborated or expanded the information on the CTS, then this information was factored into the abuse score given for each woman. For those respondents who did not complete the CTS, a tentative abuse score was given based on the interview data.

Assessing Moral Orientation

In her work since In a Different Voice [1982], Gilligan has studied the moral development of adolescent girls, as they themselves describe their moral conflicts and choices, without an attempt to fit these narratives into a stage structure. This more phenomenological method has arisen out of several concerns: first, she believes that a phenomenological, contextual, narrative mode of thinking, rather than one that is formal and

abstract, is more likely to describe and highlight the richness of relational experience; second, she believes that a stage model privileges notions of separation and individuation rather than connection; third, by listening for "an interplay of voices" and "contrapuntal themes", it is possible to avoid the "implicit comparisons of better and worse" that can arise from measurement of stages within a hierarchical model [Rogers and Gilligan, 1988, p. 4]; fourth, by listening for voice, the relationship between the researcher and the participant, the listener and the teller, is acknowledged; and fifth, a search for alternative ways to 'hear' the voices of young and adult women highlights the particular ways that women's development has been shaped within societal conditions of oppression.

Gilligan and her colleagues propose a new way to listen to women's voices that is based within a musical metaphor. By listening for themes and counterpoint, they feel it becomes possible to hear both the interplay of voices, as well as what has become silenced or forgotten as development occurs. Brown and Gilligan write,

By voicing psychology - making clear who is speaking - we...shift away from professions of truth to a practice of relationship. We also shift away from a monotonic language of structures and stages, toward a musical language (of voices, themes, keys, and so on) that highlights the polyphony of human discourse, a shift that does away with the notion of a no-voice voice and rejects the notion of 'objectivity' in the sense of a voice or point of view that is disembodied, outside of relationship, place, and time [Brown, 1991].

Gilligan does not dispute the evidence that narratives can be understood within a stage model. Instead she argues that stage theories do not provide the most useful explanatory fit for understanding women's narratives. In a study conducted by Rogers and Gilligan [1988], they attempt to demonstrate that a narrative, musical, analysis of counterpoint and theme

in conjunction with a stage analysis based on Loevinger's stages of ego development [1979] yields insights into girls' development that are overlooked if only a stage analysis is utilized. The stage analysis describes the growth of self-consciousness and reflective thought in the adolescence years; the narrative analysis yields themes that point out losses of innocence, clarity, and confidence.

In Rogers and Gilligan's study, girls in 7th and 10th grades completed open-ended sentence stems. These were then grouped according to themes within the care melody, the justice melody, as well as new themes that emerged which seemed to represent an overlay of both justice and care. These new themes were resistance, capitulation, self-assertion, and self-abnegation. Rogers and Gilligan propose that moral maturity is evident in a narrative when justice and care voices are interwoven, rather than the narrative being dominated by one voice or another.

Gilligan and her colleagues have designed a variety of studies to determine whether both orientations are utilized by people in their moral reasoning. Originally this work was intended to articulate the growing disagreement with Kohlberg's theoretical inquiries. The first large study, designated the Rights and Responsibilities project aimed to investigate whether the justice and care orientations appear in both male and female moral reasoning throughout the lifecycle. The sample included 144 participants, evenly divided by gender and grouped according to three life cycle categories - childhood, adolescence, and adulthood. Both real-life dilemmas, as well as the hypothetical dilemmas that Kohlberg and his colleagues relied on were included. Rather than defining the moral domain a priori, as Kohlberg had done, Gilligan and her colleagues sought to

expand the way the moral domain is defined by drawing on the life experience of the participants in the studies.

Lyons [1981; 1982] empirically refined and clarified the logic behind the two moral orientations, using the real life dilemma data of the Rights and Responsibilities project. She also constructed a manual for coding both the justice and care orientations in the real-life dilemmas and a manual for coding two different modes of self-definition - separate and connected. A morality of justice was defined as "fairness resting on an understanding of relationships as reciprocity between separate individuals, grounded in the duty and obligations of their roles" and a morality of care was defined as "an understanding of relationships as response to another in their terms" [Lyons, 1983].

In contrast to Kohlberg, who only coded moral considerations that fit into the justice criteria, labeling all other statements as uncodable, Lyons identified all moral statements, and then coded them as justice or care. She made no assumption about the relationship of each orientation to the other. She also analyzed the data to explore the relationship between modes of self-definition and moral orientation. She found that those who defined themselves predominantly as "connected" were those who consistently used a care orientation, and those who defined themselves predominantly as "separate/objective" are those who consistently used a justice orientation to moral dilemmas [Lyons, 1983].

Validity for Lyons' distinction between care and justice orientations was provided by Langdale [1986] who adapted Lyons' manual for use with Kohlberg's hypothetical dilemmas as well as for the dilemmas collected for the Rights and Responsibilities project. Intercoder reliability was obtained for each dilemma. Langdale found that the hypothetical Heinz dilemma,

the abortion dilemma, and subject-generated real-life dilemmas are construed by the majority of people (84.7%) in predominantly one orientation or the other. Results thus revealed that the justice and care orientations are present consistently across all dilemmas, indicating that each orientation is a "structured whole" in terms of an underlying "form of reasoning having a consistent inner logic and coherence" [1986, p. 16]. The orientations are also consistently related to gender across the dilemmas, and both appear consistently throughout the life cycle. She also found that the two Kohlberg dilemmas "pull" for a justice orientation even in those people whose spontaneous orientation in real-life dilemmas is towards care, and that questions posed by the researcher after presenting the dilemma can influence which orientation is pulled for. This was especially true in the researcher generated dilemmas, rather than the real-life dilemmas. The percentage of uncodable responses (15.3%) fell within an expected range of measurement error. An examination of the uncodable responses did not indicate any other moral pattern heretofore unrecognized.

Gilligan and Attanucci [1988] further explored these concerns by looking for evidence of justice and care responses in subject-generated real-life moral conflict, whether one orientation predominated, and whether this orientation was related to gender. Results were coded with Lyons coding procedure [Lyons, 1983], with high intercoder reliability. In a sample of 80 educationally advantaged adolescents and adults, 69% used both care and justice reasoning, compared to 31% who used only one orientation. However, only 33% had a balance of care and justice, while 67% favored one orientation over the other. The relationship of moral orientation to gender was significant.

This study led Gilligan and Attanucci to ask questions regarding orientation "preference", as it became clear that most people have the capacity to use both forms of reasoning, but choose not to. They came to define moral maturity as "the ability to sustain concerns about justice and care" while suggesting that "the focus phenomenon indicates a tendency to lose sight of one set of concerns" [1988, pp. 84-85]. They speculated that "orientation preference may be a dimension of identity or self-definition, especially when moral decision becomes more reflective or 'post-conventional' and the choice of moral principle becomes correspondingly more self-conscious." They suggested that in future research, attention to how participants align themselves with the different orientation be investigated by asking "What is at stake for you in this dilemma?" so that information about what motivates this choice can be further explicated.

Johnston [1988] further explored this question of whether both males and females use both moral orientations by studying the responses of 11-15 year old boys to adaptations of Aesop's tales. She found that both genders use care and justice reasoning "and are capable of shifting orientations in considering conflicts in relationships" [Gilligan and Wiggins, 1988, p. 119]. The orientation used spontaneously to solve the dilemma was related to gender, with 73.3 percent of males using the justice orientation, 50% of the girls using the care orientation, 40% of girls using the justice orientation, and 10% of the girls used both orientations. All participants were given optional solutions representing the other orientation, and then asked which solution was best. 43.3% of the males used the justice orientation and 43.3% used the care orientation, while 80% of the females chose the care orientation, and 10% decided that a

solution that included both orientations was best. She had high interrater reliability in this study.

Johnston's study confirmed the preference for orientation, as all the children were able to reason with both, but many preferred one approach. Girls as a group, however, chose to use both orientations more frequently than boys. Johnston suggested that girls may learn the culturally dominant voice of morality, as well as the voice of care, and may be able to shift voices with greater flexibility than boys.

Gilligan and her colleagues have thus found that the majority of people, both adolescents and adults, make use of both justice and care reasoning. They acknowledge that at this point in their research program, they cannot generalize about their findings. "It clearly will be necessary to examine the vicissitudes of these two orientations among both men and women embedded in different socioeconomic, educational, and cultural contexts as well as across a wider range of moral problems" [Gilligan and Wiggins, 1988, p. 119].

The Moral Choice and Conflict Interview: Adaptations

The methodology developed by Gilligan and her working group [Brown, 1988] to explore moral conflict and choice is essentially an open-ended interview focusing on questions of moral choice and conflict in any real-life situation that the participant selects as entailing a moral dilemma. The basic instruction is "All people have had the experience of being in a situation where they had to make a decision, but weren't sure what they should do. Would you describe a situation when you faced a moral conflict and you had to make a decision, but weren't sure what to do?" [1988, p. 161]. Follow-up questions elicit detailed descriptions of the

situation, the conflict, the thinking process about the conflict, the decision, reflection about the decision in terms of right/wrong, what was at stake for the self and for others, feelings about it in terms of the self and in terms of others, alternative ways of viewing the situation, anything learned from the conflict, why this particular conflict seemed to be a moral problem, and, finally, "what does morality mean to you? What makes something a moral problem for you?"

This basic interview was adapted for this study. I initially explained to the participant that this study would explore how she responded in situations of conflict or violence, and that she could choose to discuss any relationships in her life. I explained that if she chose to discuss a time when she physically hurt her child, I was a mandated reporter and would have to discuss the situation with the Department of Social Services. I explained that the interview had three different parts to it: one part where she would talk about a situation where she had felt angry or violent and she thought she had "done the right thing", another time when she "didn't think she had done the right thing" and a third time when she had witnessed violence and wasn't sure what to do.

I began this section of the interview by saying "I'd like you to take a minute and think of a situation where someone did something or said something that really pushed your buttons...made you really angry...maybe even to the point of wanting to hurt that person...but you weren't sure what to do.....Would you describe a situation like this when you had to make a decision but weren't sure what to do? The remaining questions were similar to Gilligan's Moral Choice and Conflict interview. The questions were also adapted in response to each participant, as many of

them had a difficult time understanding phrases such as "what was at stake for you...".

The Reading Guide for Narratives of Conflict and Choice: Adaptations

Gilligan and her colleagues developed a Reading Guide for interpreting these moral narratives [Brown, 1988]. This guide highlights the "narrative self" as well as the choice of moral orientation that this self makes. This interpretive method emphasizes attention "to a view or definition of self as moral agent in relation to two moral voices" and "makes it possible to investigate empirically not only the understandings of justice and care that persons bring to bear on a particular problem, but also the relationships between justice and care as moral perspectives in particular narratives" [1988, p. 3].

In the Reading Guide, the reader/interpreter reads through the narrative listening for four different perspectives: listening for the story-line, the narrative self who actively chooses perspectives, the perspective of care and the perspective of justice. A simple tallying is used to determine which voice predominates. In a few of the narratives, the voices intertwine within each paragraph, and these narratives are marked as mixed, even if occasionally one voice predominates. In this study, the lack of the presence of a sense of self as moral agent was marked. I therefore did not code for "alignment of self with moral orientation" as Gilligan and her colleagues suggest, but instead simply for presence/absence/newly emergent sense of self as moral agent. The interviews were coded along the following dimensions: presence/absence/predominance of care voice; presence/absence/predominance of justice voice; integration of care and justice; self as moral agent beginning to emerge or present.

The care voice was marked if there was evidence of the following themes: attention to supporting relationships; promoting well-being; attention to hurt or suffering; connection and disconnection; responsibility toward meeting the needs of self and other; love and care for self and others. The justice voice was marked if the following themes were present; concerns with rules, beliefs, and principles; relationships mediated through rights, rules, limits, or standards; concerns for fairness, justice, equality, and freedom from oppression; concerns for independence, autonomy, or individuality; responsibilities to duties, obligations, and commitments; empathy as reciprocity [Rogers and Gilligan, 1988].

Assessing Child Abuse Potential

The Child Abuse Potential Inventory

Milner's [1980] Child Abuse Potential Inventory (CAPI) was employed in this study to measure the subject's potential for physically abusing her children. It is a self-administered instrument using an agree/disagree response format to 160 items. It has a third grade readability level and takes 15-20 minutes to complete. The abuse scale is divided into six factor scales: distress, rigidity, unhappiness, problems with child and self, problems with family, and problems from others. In addition, the CAP Inventory contains three validity scales: the lie scale, the random response scale, and the inconsistency scale. A number of validity studies have demonstrated that the CAP Inventory can discriminate between groups of physical abusers, neglectful parents, at-risk parents, and comparison subjects, can discriminate on an individual basis between

physical child abusers and matched comparison subjects, and has clinical significance [Milner, 1980, p. 4].

Several studies have utilized the CAP Inventory with individuals who reported a history of abuse during childhood, and found that they earned significantly higher abuse scores than individuals without such a history [Chan and Perry, 1981]. Robertson, Milner, and Rogers [1986] found a significant relationship between a childhood history of abusive parental behavior (e.g. whipping, slapping, kicking, poking, punching, hair-pulling), and elevated physical abuse scores also had a significant relationship between reported abuse sequelae (e.g. bruises, welts, cuts, scratches, dislocations, burns, bone fractures) and physical abuse scores. In addition, Robertson et. al. found that CAP abuse scores tended to be higher as the chronicity of childhood abuse increased.

These results were similar to Caliso's [1986] findings. In this study, Caliso found that abusive mothers who had been abused as children had the highest abuse scores on the CAP ($M = 308.2$); nonabusive mothers with a history of childhood abuse had the next highest abuse scores ($M = 162.5$) and nonabusive mothers with no reported childhood history of abuse had the lowest abuse scores ($M = 90.4$). The abuse score of $M = 162.5$ will be the one used in this study to discriminate between potentially abusing and non-abusing mothers.

High levels of both internal consistency and temporal stability forms of reliability have been found for the abuse scale of the CAP Inventory. Content and construct validity are high with cross-validation data presented, and evidence of predictive validity is also presented [Milner, 1980].

I scored these protocols after all other interview data had been coded. These scores were then correlated with attachment patterns and moral orientation.

Procedures

I met with each woman two to three different times. In the first meeting, I explained the nature of the study and asked each woman to sign a Participant Consent Form [Appendix B]. She was then asked to fill out a Background Information Form [Appendix C], the modified Conflict Tactics Scale, and the Child Abuse Potential Inventory, labeled simply "Questionnaire." I explained that each of these forms would help me get to know her better, and allow me to look at all the interviews together, once I had interviewed everyone.

During the second, and sometimes third meeting, I interviewed each woman about her attachment and abuse history, and her moral reasoning about violence. The combined interview took 2-3 hours.

The interviews took place at either the subject's home, or at the agency which referred her. The woman's children were sometimes present.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION

Introduction

The results of the study are presented in narrative form, with supplementary tables to provide summary data. The results chapter begins with a presentation of sample characteristics and severity of child abuse in tabular form. Specific characteristics of each woman are also discussed in narrative form at the beginning of each case study. The case studies comprise the second section of this chapter. They present an analysis of each woman's experience of her attachment relationships in childhood and how these attachment experiences seem to affect her moral reasoning in early adulthood. The remainder of the results chapter includes an analysis, in both tabular and narrative form, of the correlation between child abuse potential and attachment relationships in childhood, and child abuse potential and moral orientation in early adulthood. The results of the study are then summarized at the conclusion of the chapter.

Sample Characteristics

In this section, demographic information and severity of child abuse by attachment figures in childhood are presented. All information was gathered through self-report. Table 4.1 presents demographic information, and Table 4.2 presents severity of verbal and physical abuse with the primary and secondary attachment figures. Table 4.3 presents the relationship between moral orientation, presence/absence of self, and attachment patterns with primary and secondary attachment figures.

Table 4.1
Demographic Information

Name	Age	Income Level	Education	Marital Status	Ethnicity
Ina	20	Less than \$5,000	10th grade	Living with	White
Sally	21	\$5-9,000 combined	one year college	Living with	White
Allison	18	\$5-9,000	10th grade	Single	White
Ann	23	Less than \$5,000	8th grade	Single	White
Marie	25	\$5-9,000	12th grade	Single	Hispanic
Molly	20	Less than \$5,000	12th grade	Single	White
Amy	19	\$10-14,000	10th grade	Living with	White
Donna	25	Less than \$5,000	10th grade	Single	White
Miriam	19	Less than \$5,000	11th grade	Single	White
Irene	22	Less than \$5,000	second year college	Single	White

Table 4.2
Severity of Child Abuse

Name	Primary Attachment	Verbal Abuse	Physical Abuse	Secondary Attachment	Verbal Abuse	Physical Abuse
Ina	Mother	mild	none	Step-father	moderate	severe
Sally	Mother	mild	moderate	Father	mild	moderate
Allison	Father	moderate	mild	Mother	moderate?	mild?
Ann	Mother	severe	moderate	None		
Marie	Mother	severe	severe	Father	moderate	moderate
Molly	Mother	none	none	Step-father	mild	none
Amy	Mother	severe	moderate	Step-father	severe	mild
Donna	Father	severe	severe	Mother	mild	none
Miriam	Mother	severe	severe	Step-father	moderate	moderate
Irene	Mother	moderate	moderate	Step-father	severe	severe

Table 4.3
Moral Orientation, Presence of Self and Attachment Style

SUBJECT	MORAL ORIENTATION	SELF	ATTACHMENT PRIMARY	ATTACHMENT SECONDARY
Ina	Care predominant Justice present	New	Mother Anxious	Step-father Mixed
Sally	Care, with Justice Integrated	Present	Mother Anxious	Father Avoidant
Allison	Mixed Care/Justice	New	Father Anxious	Mother Anxious
Ann	Justice present Care absent	Absent	Mother Avoidant	None
Marie	Justice predominant Care present	Present	Mother Fearful/Anxious and	Father Fearful/Avoidant
Molly	Justice present Care absent	Absent	Mother Fearful/Anxious and	Step-father Avoidant
Amy	Care predominant Justice present	New	Mother Fearful/Anxious	Step-father Avoidant
Donna	Care predominant Justice present	New	Father Fearful/Anxious	Mother Avoidant
Miriam	Care predominant Justice absent	Absent	Mother Fearful/Anxious	Step-father Fearful/Avoidant
Irene	Justice, with Care Integrated	Present	Mother Fearful/Avoidant	Step-father Fearful/Avoidant

Narrative Analysis of Cases

This section is composed of case studies arranged by primary attachment patterns. These are divided into five groupings: those where the primary attachment relationship is coded as anxious, those where the primary attachment relationship is coded as avoidant, those where the primary attachment relationship is coded as fearful with both anxious and avoidant strategies present equally (fearful/anxious and avoidant), those coded as fearful with anxious predominant (fearful/anxious), and those where the primary attachment relationship is coded as fearful with avoidant predominant (fearful/avoidant).

Anxious Attachment Pattern

The anxiously attached child has, in general, a negative view of the self and attempts to maintain a positive view of the other. As the child continues to develop into adulthood, this effort to maintain or create this positive view of the other leads to a preoccupation with attachment experiences. Distortions in memory and in narrative logic which are needed to maintain this positive view can often be detected in the interview.

Unstable evaluations of the primary attachment figure, with an oscillation between positive and negative views, are also common [Main and Goldwyn, 1988, p. 100]. This can be understood as the subject's difficulty integrating the good and bad introjects, and the need to maintain the good object in order for the experience of self to remain relatively stable. The paradox of this position is that the good object is maintained in conjunction with the schema of the bad self. When the self tries to rid

itself of the bad object by locating it back within the attachment figure, the self loses its sense of interpersonal connection, and instead experiences an emptiness where self-other relation should have been [see Guntrip, 1971; Fairbairn, 1954]. This is an unbearable situation, and so the self returns to the original bad self-good other solution. The anxiously attached person often makes an attempt to integrate positive and negative aspects of her attachments, but is unable to maintain this integration. Confusion and conflictual feeling, or idealization often result [Main and Goldwyn, 1988].

Because the young adult is still anxiously preoccupied with attachment concerns, and with the primary attachment figure in particular, there is often the lack of development of a clear sense of self. This can be evident in an inability to step back from a situation and see the role of the self in relationship, a merging of identities between self and other, or an interweaving of past and present without clear differentiation [Main and Goldwyn, 1988].

The subject who maintains the good other in an idealized form, tends to express a passivity of self, and these interviews can be somewhat short and constricted. The subject who is caught up in the oscillatory good-bad dialectic tends to be more openly conflicted and preoccupied, and these interviews tend to be disorganized and lengthy, with many descriptions of entanglements between self and other.

The predominant theme in these interviews is one of role-reversal. A requirement to take care of the attachment figure is noticeable in many of these narratives. In other narratives of anxious attachment, where role reversal is not as striking, there is still a preoccupation and entanglement in the attempt to convince the attachment figure to provide comfort and security. In these narratives, the subject, although experiencing herself in

negative terms, also experiences herself as stronger than the attachment figure who is experienced as weak and ineffective.

The strong loyalty to the attachment figure, along with the preoccupying anxiety tends to make these children/young adults non-affiliative to strangers.

Three cases have been coded as anxious with the primary attachment figure: Ina, Sally, and Allison.

Ina

Ina's Abuse and Attachment History

Ina is a 20 year old white woman who completed 10 years of education. She lives on less than \$5,000 a year, and has a daughter, age 7 months, who is in foster care. She lives with her current boyfriend.

Her father was jailed when Ina was approximately 2 years old, and her mother divorced him and married another man who became Ina's step-father. Her mother had two sons with this man. Both of these men were abusive to Ina's mother, and her step-father was also physically abusive towards Ina.

Her attachment with her mother is coded as anxious. She experienced mild verbal abuse and no physical abuse from her mother. Her attachment with her step-father is coded as fearful, with both anxious and avoidant strategies present. She experienced moderate verbal abuse and severe physical abuse with her step-father. She has many indicators of unresolved trauma.

Her maternal grandparents were also important to her, as they provided occasional refuge to Ina and her mother. However, her maternal grandfather also frightened her.

Subjective Impressions. Although Ina thinks of herself as already having lived a long life, to me she appeared terribly young and vulnerable, her voice shaking, often ebbing into inaudible whispers. The questions seemed to be too much for her at times, and I found myself wanting to soothe and protect her. Yet she said she wanted to complete the interview; in fact she called me to request it. She said she couldn't remember her childhood, yet described in vivid detail her step-father's beatings and her mother's mad dashes, with her daughter, to a strange kind of safety in the night streets of the city. All these responses to the interview process itself were signs of her anxious attachment.

Familial Context: Witnessing Abuse of Her Mother. Ina's need for attachment and need to make sense of her world were shaped by witnessing the daily abuse of her mother at the hands of her step-father. This witnessing itself was located in a narrative context in which Ina was told repeatedly a story about how her father - her mother's first husband - also treated her mother as a subjugated woman. Ina recounts, "Wherever they went my mother would have to walk about five feet behind him. He'd call her 'squaw.' He said it wasn't allowed for her to walk side by side with him, that's what he'd say. I don't know if I believe it or not...."

This man was later arrested, and Ina's mother remarried. "She never loved him," Ina said of her step-father.

She called him up and told him she was pregnant. He told his mother, his mother called up my Meme, and they forced her to get

married. He adopted me and they had another child. They never loved each other. He was always accusing her of going out with other men, which she wasn't. She couldn't, she couldn't leave the house because she had three children...

Ina emphasized the "couldn't," painting a picture of a woman captured, entrapped at home.

Ina continued, "One time they went out together, they got a baby-sitter for us, and my father seen a woman that looked exactly like my mother. He apologized for beating the shit out of her because he thought that woman was my mother." She then said, with irony, "She got beat up because somebody else looked like her." Her step-father's inability to recognize the personhood and subjectivity of her own mother, a woman whom she loved, made a large impact on her [see Benjamin, 1988].

In response to the question, "How often did you see your mother get beat up" Ina replied that the beatings took place every day of every week for her "whole life." She described the scene:

...she got beat up, she'd grab me and we'd run and hide.... we'd run and hide behind trees, behind bushes, underneath trucks and vans. He'd never find us. I remember laying there underneath a truck, watching his car go back and forth down the streets.... Sometimes we'd end up spending the night underneath the truck or the van, waiting for him to go back to the house so we could run and go somewheres, and sometimes we'd fall asleep waiting for him... We'd go back after he'd cool off.....

This scene was repeated more times than she could count.

Ina described how her mother tried to leave him once, but couldn't afford to live on her own. She tried to manage financially by having her sister move in with her, but this woman was also beaten by her husband. In fact, "her husband was always over there beating the shit outa her, and my step-father was over there, and the two would start fighting. She was on welfare with us, her husband used to come by and steal her checks and

her food stamps, so, there was nothing she could do..." Ina and her mother moved back in with her stepfather because her aunt went back to her husband.

The message seemed clear as Ina told these stories: hers was a world where women were powerless. This powerlessness was enforced by husbands, by parents, as well as by the larger system which made it almost impossible for women to make it financially on their own.

Anxious Attachment with Mother: Identification with the Victim.

Ina would get beaten because she was her mother's daughter. Her half-brothers, who were her step-father's biological sons, were not physically abused. Ina would also get beaten because she would hit and bite her step-father in order to protect her mother. Instead of being able to seek out comfort and security in the face of threat, Ina first had to fight to protect the attachment figure herself. As a way to ensure that her mother would still be alive and available, Ina learned the side of the attachment system associated with maternal protectiveness.

Other times she would hide under the bed until her mother gave her the signal and "then I'd run to her when she was ready to go." Although these acts of maternal protection seem inadequate, Ina felt that her mother did care about her safety and would not abandon her to her step-father's violence. Her mother did not pose a threat to her, and an anxious attachment between them was able to develop.

Ina's attachment needs were organized and given meaning by her desire to provide some reparation to her mother for the suffering she has endured. Ina's wish for a safe haven, for her mother inside a safe haven, and for her mother as a safe haven are revealed in the following:

I just love her...When I was about 5 or 6 years old, we drove by this log cabin, and my Mom says, 'Well, I've always wanted to have a log cabin of my own.' And I said, I swear to God, I promise her, if I ever get rich, I was going to buy her a log cabin. I told her, no matter what I had to do, she was going to get a log cabin before she died. I'd work hard, save every single penny, I was going to buy her a log cabin. Just a few years ago, I was thinking about it... I know that's going to be the only thing to make her happy...it's what she's always wanted, her whole life. She's had such a miserable life, she deserves a little bit of happiness.

Ina can't feel safe until her mother is safe. The wish for a safe haven is for herself as well as for her mother.

Ina easily admitted that she feels many feelings towards her mother.. "I love her, hate her, feel sorry for her,sometimes I wish I could just rip her head off when I think of what she did. We went through fuckin' hell, I went through hell, she went through hell." For a moment Ina felt some anger towards her mother. "If she would have left him we would never have had to put up with everything. There were so many people, I'm sure somebody would have helped her." But upon inquiry about these other people, Ina lit another cigarette, her hands shaking, looked away and then sighed, "Sooner or later he would have found us."

This passage seemed to be both about the material circumstances of her stepfather's use of power and control, as well as a statement about Ina's struggle to dis-identify from her mother. She and her mother shared the same hell, but for a moment she entertained the wish that her mother had been able to act differently, had been able to reach out for help. For a moment she was able to separate herself from the shared reality with her mother, and see another alternative. But only for a moment. To question too deeply her mother's choices (or lack of choices) would threaten the

shared identification which formed one of the bases of their mutually attuned attachment system.

Anxious Attachment with Mother: Taking Care of Her. The role-reversal between Ina and her mother, in which she was expected to mother her own mother under the guise of "being like sisters" was an important part of their dynamics. Ina described her relationship with her mother before Ina gave birth to her daughter:

I could tell her anything. We'd share our clothes, she'd always come over to my house, steal my clothes, I'd go over to hers, steal her clothes, we went out together, like to parties, we were inseparable. One time we were hitchhiking together, and a friend of mine picked us up. And he thought that I was her mother. That really pissed me off because she started callin' me Mom, and she had my little brother, he's 6 years old now, calling me grandma. She loved it. Cause this guy thought that I was older than her, and that pissed me off. She was callin' me Ma for about a week...

For awhile after Ina gave birth to her daughter, conflict erupted between Ina and her mother and they stopped speaking for several months. The attachment system between Ina and her mother was threatened by Ina's needs to mother her child, rather than her mother.

Ina and her mother became close again, and the role reversal dynamics re-established. "She calls me all the time, tells me all of her problems." Ina felt responsible for listening to her mother, and helping her when she could. Sometimes the help her mother needed was more than she could give.

I'll sit there and talk to her because she needs somebody to talk to. Sometimes I can't make it and I feel so bad because I can't get down there. I know that she needs me. Just a couple of weeks ago she called me up. She was all hysterical because my step-father was over there pushing her around and threatening her. There was nothing I could do about it. I went down to the shop where her

boyfriend works to tell him, but he didn't care, he said it was none of his business. It was the same way when my brother was beating her up, he didn't care, it was none of his business. If my brother was hitting her he could hit her. But I don't see it that way.

Although there is little that she could do, both because of her mother's passivity, hopelessness, and compliance, as well as her own, Ina's moral sense is slowly finding voice. It is a different voice from the one she hears all around her.

The complex demands of the role-reversal in which Ina finds herself with her mother extended to the rest of the family. Her brothers treated her the way her stepfather treated her and her mother. They beat her up with impunity, and no one interfered. Yet she was also expected to take care of them when her mother was ill, to cook for them and clean for them. And her step-father, when he was giving her advice, would say, "If you were my girlfriend..."

Fearful Attachment with Step-father: Loving the Man Who Beat Her.

This role-reversal, in which she was also expected to act as a wife to her step-father and now to her mother's new boyfriend, created complex double-binds for Ina. Her feelings for her stepfather were complicated. She said, "I hate him...I'd have to say love too. Respect.... I'd like to kill him."

Although fearful, Ina was attached to her step-father. And when this attachment was threatened, as when he disowned her for a period of time, her sense of internal security, such as it was, became overwhelmed with feelings of rejection and abandonment. In order to cope with this, she tried to see him in a good light so that she could find a way "to get back together with him again" inside of herself. She explained,

When I first met my father, my biological father, T. disowned me. And I started thinkin' about everything that he had done for me, and

my mother. He adopted me, he didn't have to. He must have felt something towards me, to adopt me. He took care of me. He put food in my mouth. He didn't have to. I love him for those reasons. He didn't have to. He cared enough to adopt me. Take care of me.

I replied, "It sounds like it was hard for you to be disowned, and then you realized that he mattered to you in some way, mixed in with the hate."

She looked at me and answered clearly, ignoring my reference to hate, "Whenever I was sick he took me to the hospital."

To explain why she respected him she gave this example:

He seen me smoking one time, and he punched me in the stomach, and he did it because he was angry at me for smoking because I have asthma. And I respect the thought that he actually cared to think about me, even though he hit me, but I think he felt that he was doing it for my own good. I respect the thought that he actually thought of me, of my health...He could have gone about it in an entirely different way, but it was the thought behind it.

Ina tried hard to make sense of the abuse she suffered, to ascribe positive intentions despite the pain of the behavior. This effort seemed to be mobilized, in part, as a way to maintain her attachment to him, and to find some evidence that she was valued.

Ina's Moral Dilemmas

Ina's moral struggles centered around her desire to break the intergenerational cycle of abuse. Her wish to protect her daughter provided the motivation she needed to begin to protect and care for her self. The need to provide care for her daughter, and the need to provide care for her self were described as two separate, but interrelated, moral struggles.

Ina's moral orientation was towards care, with the justice orientation beginning to emerge. The sense of the self as a moral agent, capable of making a choice, was also just beginning to emerge.

Learning to Protect Her Child. Ina married an abusive man, and had a child. Eventually she decided to leave. This was a turning point for Ina, as it marked the time when she began to experience herself not just as a passive victim, but as someone who could make a decision and take action. She moved from being someone who felt that she had no choice to being someone who could choose and deal with the consequences. She described the dilemma:

It wasn't easy thinking that he was going to come after me. He had all kinds of weapons, knives, cross-bows, all kinds of weapons, blow-guns...he was crazy, God knows what he woulda done. I mean, he didn't do anything, but I thought he would. I didn't know. To this day he still calls me and harasses me.

Ina wanted to change the intergenerational cycle of abuse in which she found herself, and knew that she risked her life when she left him.

She described this abusive repetition:

I did everything he told me to do, and he beat me up. Until after my daughter was born you know I just couldn't take it any more. It wasn't how I thought it was going to be....I could see him doing the same thing that my stepfather did.

Ina's boyfriend would lock her in a room until she felt utterly trapped and terrified. He then began to lock her daughter in a room for hours, and prevent Ina from attending to her daughter's cries. It was this identification with her daughter's experience that compelled Ina to take action. "When I found my daughter in that situation... she would end up growing up, she would end up growing up not knowing right from wrong ...I'm sure that if he had his way she'd be locked in that room forever."

Ina seemed to use a blend of both justice and care voices when she discussed her action. She was concerned with both position and

protection. She said, "I don't have to do or say anything with my daughter that my mother did with me, taking her and running which I was starting to do, taking her and running.... I was afraid for my daughter, growing up the way I did, having to run from home." She also said that she was now "free" because she was "able to do what I want" and "able to stand up to him more." She also wanted her daughter to have this ability. "I didn't want my daughter to depend on me the way that I depended on my mother, because (my step-father) was always beating us up, hiding behind her. I didn't want her to be afraid of anything, I don't want her to grow up to be afraid of her father, afraid to stand up for herself."

Learning to protect her child was much more important to her than retribution against her boyfriend. When asked if she considered doing anything else besides leaving her boyfriend, she replied that she did think about "killing him" but didn't because "that would have made it worse, then I'd go to jail." In response to a question about whether it was this consequence that prevented her from taking direct action against him, she replied, quietly, "No matter what he's done, I can give life, but I can't take it away." This was a moral response shaped by care.

Learning to Care for Self. The voice of care also emerged when Ina spoke about how her lack of care for self hurt her daughter. Ina's child was in foster care because of Ina's involvement with drugs. She acknowledged that this use of drugs was morally wrong, because it hurt her, and also because she temporarily lost her daughter. "That's not right" she commented. "I don't want my daughter to think that I don't love her, because I do, I love my daughter all the time. I think about it, this isn't hurting me, it's hurting her...I want her out of foster care so bad."

Learning to care for herself entailed learning that she didn't "need a man to make me happy, that ...I don't need somebody else to tell me when I can eat, when I can go to the bathroom, what I can wear. I don't need somebody to tell me that. I can do that for myself." Ina learned that she had a "mind of my own" and that she didn't need a man "to teach me right from wrong, to push me in the right direction." This entailed modifying her attachment to her step-father and uncle, as well as leaving her boyfriend. These statements seemed to have a blend of both justice and care reasoning, in which care towards the self was viewed as taking a stand.

Learning how to value life was the new life-task that Ina seemed to have set for herself, and it was not an easy task. Because of drugs, she said "I degraded myself, I would do anything and everything just to get high, and I feel that was degrading myself, making myself dirt. And I know I'm not dirt. I'm a human being and I know that I don't have to have drugs to live my life and be happy. I need to have my daughter."

In order to live a life that doesn't feel degrading to her, Ina said that what she needed was "A job. A place to live. Life is what I need, something to look forward to every day. I need to go to work so that I can look forward to going home and seeing my daughter. Seeing my daughter, teaching her how to talk, and write, and read, and sew." In this simple sentence Ina gave voice to the profound recognition that it is attachment that makes exploration of the world possible, and exploration of the world that gives attachment meaning.

Emergence of Self as Moral Agent. These newly developed abilities have created some anxiety for Ina, as she now evaluates past actions in

different terms. She described the way she thinks she should have acted when her step-father was beating up her mother:

Now I know what the right thing was to do, but I just never did it then. I would yell and scream, and start hitting my father, which is probably why he started hittin' me when he was beating her up, and most of the time I just hid underneath the bed, when I should have been calling the police.

Her self-judgment seemed unduly harsh and somewhat distorted. Yet these reflections seemed important, as they marked Ina's attempt to locate the part of her that might have had a sense of agency. It was as though she felt that if she were able to locate this ability back in time, it would help her locate it and develop it within her present life.

Ina also expressed this same shift of perspective in relation to her decision to leave her husband. At the time of the decision she "felt" it was the right thing to do. Now she "knows" it was the right thing. Her self has "aligned" with this moral choice, made primarily from the care orientation [Brown, et. al. 1988]. This also marked a shift in her moral development, from someone who first felt she was powerless to act, to learning that she could act on her feelings, to now experiencing herself as someone who could also reflect on past actions.

Ina was not yet ready to claim her sense of herself as having an ability to reflect on moral choices, and backed down from the inquiry about how she thinks "growing up with that kind of abuse affected how (she) thinks about right and wrong." She replied, "I don't know. I don't really think about what's right and wrong, I just do it, I just do everything on the spur of the moment. I don't take time out to think 'Well this is wrong, I shouldn't be doing it.' I just do it, and then alot of times I regret it afterwards. After I do it, that's when I think about it, when it's too late."

Ina's disclaimer of a moral voice can be seen, in part, as an attempt not to isolate herself from the friends and family that constitute her world, again a concern based on the predominance of care in her moral reasoning. She acknowledged that none of her woman friends would make the same decision that she made, because they still think that they need a man to follow, and still think of Ina as someone whom they can boss around and tell what to do. Ina commented, "I hope they would have left, nobody deserves that, I hope they would have left, but I don't know what they would do because I can't tell what they'd do." She understood each woman's emotional bind, and was unable to articulate a universal principle that could apply.

If she doesn't claim 'thought' as a process that belongs to her, then she doesn't have to be held responsible for making choices that are different from those around her. She spoke about the difficulty of trying to think things through in her environment,

If I'm trying to figure something out, I'll write it down on paper, and if it doesn't look right, I won't do it. If I'm angry, I won't stand there and scream, I'll write it down on paper. I did that the other day, with my fiancée's mother. Me and her were having a fight. She thinks I'm immature because I won't yell at her, I'll write it down on paper instead.

In the absence of people with whom she could converse in a way that helped her figure out her moral choices and stands, she has found a way to create an internal dialogue instead.

Ina emphasized the need to protect, a moral response shaped by care. Yet the marked absence of justice language in her thinking is striking. There was no reference to what's "fair" or "unfair", what deserved punishment; only a suggestion that she thought the use of power was

wrong. This was particularly striking given the predominance of the unequal and abusive power relationships in which she has lived her life. Ina struggled to discover a justice orientation to her moral responses, one that could guide her to take an action in response to unfair treatment rather than being internally controlled by fear. And yet her responses still were guided from her concern about hurt being inflicted. The slow development of a justice orientation may have to do with her feelings of attachment for all the actors involved, including her step-father.

When asked directly about "morality" and "values", Ina didn't know the meanings of these words, didn't know how to answer the questions. When asked how she would describe her "best self" she was equally at a loss. Her vision of her life was simple: to get her daughter back and to give her a good life. Yet through the course of the interview, Ina did give voice to moral responses and moral thoughts, a voice that was barely audible at times, but nonetheless present and, it seemed, growing stronger.

Sally

Sally's Abuse and Attachment History

Sally is a 21 year old white woman, who completed one year of college after receiving her GED, and currently lives on \$5-9,000, a combined income between herself and her boyfriend. She receives welfare and also works as a seamstress. They live together in a rustic cabin in the woods, with their one year old daughter.

Sally grew up in a household that initially consisted of her mother, father, two brothers, and two foster children. Her parents often had verbal fights, and her father would periodically leave for the evening and come

back the next day. When Sally was four, he was arrested on drug charges. Her mother was also arrested, and later released. He returned to the family for a short time, and then left. Sally and her mother were constantly fighting, and her mother was often physically abusive towards her.

Sally moved in with her father and his new wife when she was 12, and then moved out, following physical fights, when she was 14. She moved in with a group of teenagers, and then was placed in a foster home.

Her attachment with her mother is coded as anxious. She experienced mild verbal abuse and moderate physical abuse from her mother. Her attachment with her father is coded as avoidant. She experienced mild verbal abuse and moderate physical abuse from her father. She has no indicators of unresolved trauma.

Subjective Impressions. Sally came across as lively, thoughtful, talkative, and intent on making something new with her life. She engaged with me in a straightforward way, and seemed genuinely interested in exploring the material. She and her boyfriend calmly negotiated childcare, and she and her infant interacted playfully.

Anxious Attachment with Mother: Always Fighting. Sally's mother worked full-time, attended school, and was a single parent much of the time. Sally described her relationship with her mother as "extremely stressful, dishonest, misguided, violent, and tense. Also, unpredictable." She commented "I wish that she'd been able to relax more, because I definitely worked as a battery off of her, and she was always stressed-out and tense and uptight and she had a very short fuse."

Sally described the feelings of anxiety that she had with her mother. "I was always holding my breath with my mom. I was always expecting to do something that would irritate her. And I was always under some kind of punishment or other for something I did." Sally felt that both she and her mother had behavior problems. Sally described herself as a "problem child", instigating arguments, lying and stealing from her parents, and said that she wasn't able to stop the compulsive stealing and lying until a few years ago. She said, "I was very angry as a child, I don't know exactly where it came from, but it guided my every movement."

Sally felt that her mother told her too much, and expected her to understand too much at a young age. "...she never really treated me as a child. She tried to treat me as an adult, or as a person that she could talk to and explain what was going on. Rather than, 'You are my child, and you are too young to understand, so I am going to take the active role here until you are old enough to understand.'" This was confusing and anxiety-producing for Sally. The anxiety and anger, the perception that her mother was unpredictable, feeling overburdened, and the oscillating assessment of her mother all are indicative of Sally's anxious attachment.

Sally was quick to point out that her mother wasn't violent with her other siblings. She said,

I was the only one that managed to get her to the point where she really wanted to hit me, and she never continued hitting me. It was usually a couple of smacks, or a kick, or a shove, and then she'd realize that she was hitting me and leave. There were a couple of occasions where she'd say, 'Look I'm gonna kill you if I don't leave you' (laughs). You know, and so she would lock me in my room until she had calmed down enough to deal with me, So I recognized that, even as a little kid, that, you know, oops, I had gone that one step too far.

Sally and her mother were mutually entangled with one another, and when Sally moved out at age 12 to live with her father her mother "felt like she had just failed in every way."

Avoidant Attachment with Father: Absent, Violent, and Fun. Sally described her relationship with her father as unpredictable, violent, fun, absent, and strained. She said, "It was very random...both my parents played more of a sibling role than a parent role." Her dad was "kinda like a stranger that I really liked."

Her father was abusing drugs when she moved in with him and his new wife. Violent episodes and his increasing paranoia occurred as a result of his addiction. Sally eventually moved out because of the escalating violence, and moved into her own apartment at age 14. When her father found out where she was, he came after her with a baseball bat, while hallucinating from drugs. The police were called. Sally was placed in a foster home, and didn't see her father again for several years. She finished high school during this time, and planned to enter college.

Sally's Moral Dilemmas

Sally's moral dilemmas centered around the question of how to respond or retaliate when one is hurt by another. Is it right to hurt someone who has hurt you? Under what conditions? When, and how, do you hold someone responsible for their actions? These questions, which Sally wrestled with during the interview, have become particularly salient for her since the birth of her daughter.

Sally's moral orientation integrated justice into a care framework. A sense of self as moral agent was present.

Hurting Others in order to Protect Loved Ones. Sally lived with a group of teenagers who became like "family" to her. One night while they were out walking, she and her friends were mugged by a local gang. She described the scene:

I'm always terrified, I get very sick whenever I feel that people are hurting each other physically, and basically a group of teenagers... jumped us, umm, with the intent of beating on us. I was horrified. One of my friends had just gone down, he was getting hit with a stick, and his girlfriend was attacking the attacker [laughs]. And I was just sitting there, very sick, thinking 'Oh, no, what do I do, what do I do? I'm in this situation, I wanna run, but I can't run, my friends are getting beaten up!'

You know, 'cause it's like, when it's just yourself, you don't have anybody else to worry about, but when people that have stuck up for you before are getting seriously injured, then you can't really . . . So, I turned around and hit the person very strongly, in the head, just with my hand...and then we ran...

Sally measured in her mind what action to take, and how much harm it would inflict. Rather than picking up a bottle "and taking the guy completely out" she decided to use her hand instead. Other people, on both sides of the fight, did use bottles and she knew she had the potential of "seriously maiming or injuring someone very badly." When asked about the internal conflict, she explained,

... I think that the internal conflict will always be, with me, weighing hurting someone else against the necessity, if there's no other way to get this person off of this other person, well then, yeah, I'm gonna hit them [laughs]. But, that, 'Oh, no, what if it's not really necessary? What if I really hurt this person permanently? What if I hurt them more than I have to?'

I did hit somebody several times, and that was revolting enough to make me physically throw up. When I got back into the house, I was just like, 'This is a horrible thing, how can humans do this to each other?'

Taking no action was not, however, an option for Sally, because her friends were at stake, as well as her personal survival. "My instinctive reaction was, 'These people are hurting my friends. I need to stick around and make sure that they don't kill them.'"

These friends were very important to Sally. She described these relationships:

...they were my support group, my family. I was very emotionally attached to them. It didn't really occur to me that I wouldn't have responsibility for them. They had responsibility for me, I had responsibility for them. They were taking care of me, in some way, even though they were my classmates, they were my, they were my comrades, so to speak, and I definitely felt a sense of, ah, responsibility.

Seeing her friends getting hurt, was "a very, very scary thing" and coming to their defense felt "instinctual" to her. This was a clear description of how attachment needs shape moral action.

Sally spontaneously described her moral stance towards violence:

I will never, ever, ever, under any circumstances, hit another human being unless my life, my physical well-being, or my daughter, or somebody that's extremely emotionally close to me depends on it. Directly. I, I hate physical violence. Absolutely abhor it, it makes me ill. But, at the same time, I'm not at all willing to let someone else--watch someone else getting hurt.

If another person attacked her or a friend, and she defended herself and her friend and hurt someone, she felt that "it's their own damned fault." To Sally, the justification for this act of violence was that it was not random, but taken in order to protect others. Also, it was an act that she would take only if there were no other option available and seemed "absolutely necessary."

Sally had an ability to articulate a moral stance towards violence. She based her moral thought and action on a care perspective, with justice

integrated. She seemed able to take this stance and generalize it towards a more universalizable principle, a capacity that Gilligan associates with justice reasoning.

How to Hold a Rapist Responsible for His Actions. The second moral dilemma that Sally recounted involved a time when she was raped at a beach party. She knew who the rapist was, and never took legal action against him. She said,

I feel frustrated that he just, he got away with it. He didn't, he didn't, umm . . . he wasn't punished in any way, he wasn't made to realize in any way that what he did was a horrible thing, that, you know, that he ruined part of somebody's life.

She never pursued it because she thought it was her fault. She was afraid that prosecuting him would expose her to blame from others.

When asked what she thinks the right thing to do would be in this situation, she described the following plan:

Now, what I would do, and which I intend on doing, 'cause I've actually plotted it out now, is, I wouldn't go public, I still wouldn't go public. I would go to the person's house, I'd wait until they were by themselves, so there wasn't anyone else to involve in the situation, and I would say, 'Why did you do this? I want to know why you did this? That's all I want to know. Now, I don't want to get you arrested, I hate police, I wouldn't want to involve the police in anything unless it meant saving someone else's life, I really hate them, I think they're unnecessary. But--if you don't sit here and tell me why you did this, I'll call them.' [Laughs.] That's what I would do now. Because, that would be self-empowering.

I want him to look at the reason why, so that he'll be a better person from it, and so that he won't do it again. Because I feel that if someone is faced with something like that, then they are forced to admit to it. See, I don't think that he's ever admitted to himself that he hurt somebody else. . . . he would be forced to admit that was another person, that it wasn't just a body.

I also want the satisfaction of seeing him squirm [laughs.] I mean, that's a big part of it, too, it's not totally this selfless thing. It's also very self-centered, I think that would be a good revenge for me, to get to see him face up to the fact that he did something that was really horrible.

Sally was articulating a care orientation to punishment. In this framework, a just punishment would be making a rapist confront the fact that his actions have hurt another human being. Making another person confront the effects of their actions also would allow Sally to feel that she had "been true to myself."

Developing a Moral Self through Maternal Practice. Becoming a mother was important in the development of Sally's moral sense. She said,

...just the whole concept of having another human being to have to take care of, another life that's completely in your hands, that you're completely responsible for, it's like having another limb, umm, except this one can run around [laughs]. I've always wanted kids, for some unknown reason, and it never occurred to me what having a child would be like,... and having one and realizing the absolutely unknowable responsibility that comes with one, is amazing. And also, wanting terribly not to make the mistakes that my parents made. ... I terribly want to have a good relationship with her. And, so, I feel that it's inspired me to go back to school, and to get my act together, and to stop smoking pot every day, and all these things that have definitely been inspired by having her.

Becoming a mother has also helped Sally understand some of the dilemmas with which her own mother had to wrestle, and this understanding has brought them closer. Sally has also found a measure of forgiveness towards her parents, which she felt is now part of her developing sense of morality.

Allison

Allison's Abuse and Attachment History

Allison is an 18 year old white woman who completed 10 years of school, and is currently working on her GED. She lives on \$5 - 9,000 a year from welfare and has no employment. She currently lives with her boyfriend, who is an alcoholic, and with her 3 month old daughter.

Allison lived with her mother and father and a half-sister (Molly, discussed in avoidant section.) Her parents fought often, mostly verbally, and would sometimes separate for a month or two at a time. After both children had left home they divorced. Allison's father is an alcoholic.

Her attachment to her father is coded as anxious. He is considered her primary attachment figure simply because she spoke about him considerably more than she spoke about her mother during the interview. Allison did not fill out the Conflict Tactics Scale completely for her father, and did not fill it out at all for her mother. The ratings of her childhood abuse are therefore drawn from her narrative. She experienced moderate verbal abuse and mild physical abuse from her father. Her attachment to her mother is coded as anxious. She experienced moderate verbal abuse and mild physical abuse from her mother. Allison has only mild indicators of unresolved trauma.

Subjective Impressions. Allison was eager to talk, and eager to make a good impression. She was dressed in shorts and a nice blouse, with her hair pulled back and up. She appeared anxious about "performing" well for me, and she spoke in long, rambling sentences.

Allison often asked, after she replied to a question, "Was that good?" or "How'd I do?" She spoke rapidly, often making little derogatory clicks with her tongue about the people or situations she was discussing. Yet she also appeared genuinely concerned, giving the impression that she wanted to be able to do the "right thing." She was the only participant who knew immediately the meaning of the word "moral."

Anxious Attachment to Father: Need to Identify. Allison told stories about trying to emulate her father, and being puzzled when he would get angry at her for copying his behavior. She told a story about a time when she was nine years old and threw the knife she was using to make a sandwich into the sink, copying her father's actions. He smacked her for it, and then later apologized. "It was just really weird, you know, how can he stand there and smack me, I just did the same thing that he did, and he's just standing there asking if he cut me like he really cared. And he had no right to smack me in the first place....because I was littler than him." This was the justice voice emerging in her attempt to disidentify with him.

Anxious Attachment to Father: Trapped into Listening. Allison's father was an alcoholic. When she described her relationship to him, questions about moral integrity were spontaneously part of her reflections. She said,

Well, my father, he was okay most of the time...but when he was drinking, he was a real jerk, not really to my sister, but to me. I dunno why, I think it was because my sister wasn't really his daughter, she was his step-daughter and I was his real daughter, so I think it was he didn't want to take anything out on her? Because that wasn't his real daughter, and I guess he was afraid that if he tried to discipline her or something, my mom would get mad at him.

'Cause he never adopted her or anything like that. So, I think, that when she did wrong and I did wrong, then he took it out on me for both of us.

Concern about her position vis-a-vis her step-sister, who was more 'real' as a daughter, and the implications of this position were prominent concerns for Allison. She felt both punished and privileged as his 'real' daughter. The price for maintaining the relationship was the requirement that she listen to him when no one else would.

Allison would often listen to her father after he had fought with her mother and her mother had left the house in anger. Again, with a moral undertone to her comments, she said,

...when there was something wrong with my dad, if he was upset about something, when he was upset about something, my mom was always so sick of him 'cause she just couldn't deal with him 'cause he was always harping and griping, harping on something that he was all mad about, or whatever, and he would try to talk with her about it, but she wouldn't want to talk with him about it, and then he would try to tell M how he felt, but she wouldn't listen to him, and he would come in my room, and try and tell me how he felt, and I would just sit there and listen to him. Even though he did all this stuff that he did to me, I would just sit there and listen to him, have the decency, since he's my father, to sit there and listen to what he had to say. And he would always say what M does wrong, and what my mom does wrong, and stuff like that, and he would come and say that to me. But it seemed that, whenever something bad happened around the house, he would take it out on me.

Allison felt both that it was the decent thing to do to listen to her father "because nobody else would pay attention to him", but also that it was not right that she was put in that position. She kept listening, and kept his secrets, because he threatened her with the loss of the relationship if she refused.

She said that "something is wrong" with her father "upstairs", which made him hit her. Otherwise, she thought of him as a decent person who

tried to teach her values. This attempt to see him in a positive light stemmed in part from her anxious identification with him: she needed to see him as good in order to feel good about herself.

Anxious Attachment to Mother: Care of Dad for Mom's Sake. In her description of the times when her father hit her, Allison also described how she would try to get to her mother "'cause all she wanted to do was comfort me and stuff." Her descriptions of comfort were, however, global and vague. Allison told stories of following her mother into the bathroom because she was afraid to be left alone with her father and because she was anxiously afraid to let her mother out of her sight. Her father would then follow her in and accuse her of not loving him, thus once again placing Allison in an intolerably anxious position where she had to choose one attachment figure over another.

Allison said of her relationship with her mother, "I think it's really good, because we can talk about just about anything, you know?" But then she explained that her father required that she listen to him because her mother would refuse. Allison seemed to feel that her mother made an implicit request that Allison play the role of the listening wife, as a way to caretake her parent's relationship. This was a sign of the role-reversal that is common in anxious attachment.

Relationship with Half-Sister: Paying a Price for Being Biological Daughter. Allison and her sister fought, though their accounts differed about the frequency. Both admitted that during the fights, statements about their relationships to their father/step-father would be used to hurt each other. Allison described this, reciting her sister's words:

. . . sometimes we'd get into an argument and say, "Your father's not my real father, he can't tell me what to do, 'cause he ain't my real father, he's only your father, my father lives somewhere else!" And she'd say, "He has no right to tell me what to do or boss me around or try to discipline me or whatever."

Allison said she and her sister only had physical fights one or two times. Her sister reported daily fights, most frequently about their father/step-father. Both girls felt that they had the worse deal, because of their position vis-a-vis this man.

Allison's Moral Dilemmas

Allison's moral dilemmas centered around her need to mediate conflicts, and her desire to meet the needs of others. These demands often placed her in situations where she experienced moral paralysis. The moral position that Allison found herself in, time and time again, was bequeathed to her by the anxious triangulation in her family of origin. Allison employed a mix of both justice and care reasoning.

Mediating Conflicts. Allison's role mediating conflicts in her family was reflected in each of the moral dilemmas that she described. When asked to describe a situation where she felt really angry, and didn't know what to do, she gave a summary of her moral position:

Well, actually, I've never gotten into a fight with anybody, and I never wanted to. 'Cause I'm the type of person, I just don't want to fight with anybody. I don't like to argue or anything like that, I just try to keep peace between everybody. I really start flippin' out if, like, my friends, or my boyfriend or my mom, if they don't get along, or if they start arguing about something, I really freak out because I really get upset, 'cause I'm so sick and tired of everybody arguing all the time, I just want people to get along and stop fighting.

She described several situations where she mediated a conflict with her mother, with her sister, and one between two friends.

In the first conflict, her anxious attachment to her mother, and the relationship between this attachment and her need to mediate conflict, was evident. A group of friends and her boyfriend were "ranking" on her mother because news had spread that her mother thought she might be pregnant by her new boyfriend. Allison felt badly that her friends were making fun of her mother, and also felt badly that her boyfriend and mother weren't getting along. She started yelling,

'Hey, I'm really getting sick and tired of this shit, I just want everybody to get along, if you guys can't get along, don't come around me, don't talk to me, 'cause I'm sick of this, I can't deal with this anymore, it's bad enough that, this year, my mom and dad, they're going through their divorce, I have to deal with that, and I have to deal with my mom's stupid boyfriend, and I'm getting sick of him, and my sister, me and M, we get along fine, but I have to deal with her stupid boyfriend, too, and I'm getting real sick and tired of his shit, and I just want all of you guys to get along.'

Her fear over the loss of relationships seemed to be a primary motivation for her to intervene in the bad-mouthing of her mother. Her protection of her sister was also evident here. She commented about the aftermath of the argument, "Ever since then, they've been getting along. I said to myself, maybe I should blow up more often!" Allison felt "strong" after the argument, perhaps because she was beginning to find her own moral voice.

Allison gave another example of a time when she intervened, at her mother's request, in her mother's relationship with her boyfriend. She felt morally torn about which was the right thing to do: to help her mother resolve an agreement with a man whom Allison herself disliked, or to "just say to myself, 'Hey, it's her life, if she really loves him, cares about this guy, if she really wants to be with him, then let her go and try

talking, but I'm not going to.'" Then she added, "I think I should go and talk to him, but I don't think it's gonna help anything." The pull to assist her mother took the stronger lead in Allison's decision about the right thing to do, but she also weighed the consequences, and wondered if it was the right thing to do if it doesn't lead to a positive outcome.

Whether or not an action "solves anything" was an important criteria for Allison in her decision about whether or not to take action.

Allison made use of both justice and care reasoning as she thought about these dilemmas, but the way that these different voices interacted inside of her often rendered her powerless. The futility in her efforts could be heard in the following response to the question, "What did you learn from these situations?" She answered, "That I have the right to stand up and tell them how I feel about them always arguing. That I just want everyone to get along, because that's just what I want." Here both justice and care voices were employed.

Another dilemma that Allison discussed was her decision about what to do when her sister called her up in the middle of a domestic dispute with her boyfriend asking for Allison's help. Allison deliberated whether the right thing to do was to call the cops, even though her sister explicitly asked her not to take this action. She explained the dilemma:

So, I just told her that, if she wanted me to, I would call the cops for her and I would tell the cops, 'Hey, look, my sister's really upset, she just called me, she's got an unwanted person at her house, she doesn't want him there anymore... could you please get rid of him?' And she didn't want me to do that...after I got off the 'phone with her, even though she told me not to, anyway, I wanted to call the cops ... and I wanted to tell them to go over there and to get rid of him, but I didn't. ... 'cause then I figured that, if I did do that, call the cops on him, then the cops would go and get rid of him, then I figured that, you know, maybe they were tryna work things out, or

something, or maybe Molly didn't wanna do that, so, if I ended up doing that, or if the cops ended up going there, that she would have ended up being mad at me 'cause I called the cops on him. That's why I didn't do it....she probably woulda called me up and she woulda been really, umm, upset with me 'cause I'd went behind her back and called the cops.

Abiding by her sister's desires, and not "going behind her back" were two principles that Allison decided were more important than helping her sister not be hurt in the present moment. Allison's reliance on principles in difficult interpersonal entanglements was most typical of justice reasoning. Yet her concern with her sister being angry at her seemed to motivate her decision not to act, and this was most typical of care reasoning.

Allison explained further why not calling the cops seemed like the right decision to her:

...if the cops did go over there, and tried to throw him out, and stuff, that would only make J very angry, and he coulda probably went out and if he had any money on him and drank some more, and then, when he came home, he woulda started on Molly 'cause I called the cops on him. So that's why I didn't do it, 'cause I didn't want him to yell at her, 'cause she didn't need it.

The more she thought about it, the more she became concerned that her sister would be hurt, and that invoking a principle of justice by calling the cops would backfire.

Yet Allison also justified her actions by creating a care-based principle upon which she could rely. She explained,

You know, that, no matter what happens, like if it's good or bad or whatever, or if I think it's good or bad, like, if someone doesn't want me to do something, and they tell me not to, that I shouldn't go and do it even though I feel like it's the best thing to do for that person, that I just won't go out there and do it.

This principle, based on care, left her in a state of moral paralysis as she often kept silent rather than intervening.

Paralysis or Development of Moral Self? Allison acknowledged that she often didn't follow what she thought was right because she was afraid that she would get hurt, that someone else would get hurt, or that she would lose an important relationship. She often "feels bad" for other people, and this empathy, nurtured in the triangulated relationships of her family, often led her to a sense of moral paralysis rather than moral action. It seemed that Allison was in the midst of a developmental transition, where a sense of her voice, her ability to "stand up for herself" and her ability to see patterns between situations, were just beginning to emerge. Perhaps it was this developmental moment that created the state of paralysis; perhaps it was the particular mix of care and justice reasoning that had been bequeathed to her from her family.

Avoidant Attachment Pattern

The avoidantly attached child typically develops a positive view of herself in conjunction with either a negative view of the other or an idealized view of the other. The avoidantly attached person devalues attachment experiences and relationships and is unable or unwilling to reflect on her role in relationships. This person is unable to integrate positive and negative aspects of a person or situation. She tends to report idealized and global impressions of attachment even though specific memories often involve rejection and lack of love. The avoidantly attached person has turned away from attachment figures and attachment related concerns and may be affiliative to others. Many of the characteristics of

the avoidant person result from what is hypothesized to be a "de-activation" of the attachment system, so that affects related to attachment concerns are no longer experienced consciously [Main and Weston, 1982].

In the narratives, the avoidance of attachment affects is noticeable through either the strong idealization of the attachment figure and the insistence that s/he would be available if needed even though no incident can be described, or through a minimization or dismissal of the effect of attachment experiences on personal development. These narratives tend to be restricted in affect and in range.

The predominant theme in these narratives is either direct rejection or neglect. Because the subject has turned away from the attachment figure, and does not feel bound by attachment needs, the self is often experienced as strong and independent.

Ann's narrative is the only one that has been coded as avoidant with her primary attachment figure.

Ann

Ann's Attachment and Abuse History

Ann is a divorced 23 year old white mother of two children: a 5 year old boy and a 3 month old girl. She lives on welfare, and receives less than \$5,000 a year. She completed 8 years of schooling.

She lived primarily with her mother, with occasional placements at foster homes and at her aunt's. The first three months of her life she was cared for by her maternal grandparents, because her mother was seriously ill following Ann's birth. Her father was only a part of her life for a short time, and she never met him. He is deceased.

Her primary attachment with her mother is coded as avoidant. She scored in the severe verbal abuse and moderate physical abuse range, and has moderate indicators of unresolved trauma.

Subjective Impressions. As I arrived for the initial screening interview, Ann was cleaning her apartment, and continued to clean after she let me in. Her home was spotless, and childlike somehow, with an abundance of little pictures and knick-knacks. It seemed clear immediately that Ann would keep herself warily on the defensive with me. During the interview Ann showed no visible signs of emotions, and almost no signs of personal responsibility while discussing the many violent episodes in which she had been involved. Ann was dismissive of my questions, and answered with short sentences and no affect. She seemed to like the attention though and was glad for the \$20 which she asked about repeatedly.

She was gentle with her baby, nursing her, patting her, looking at her. Yet when her little boy came home she barely greeted him, didn't help him off with his jacket, and sat him down in front of the TV with barely a word. She seemed to not know how to reunite with her child after the separation. I suggested that we take a little time out and play with him a bit. She said, "What for? He has the TV. He always watches it when he comes home from school." Yet she had seemed eager before he came, anticipating his arrival with me.

Later on her son was hungry and came in and asked for some pizza chips. Ann said "No, it'll ruin your dinner." He kept on pleading until she finally yelled at him and sent him to his room. "He is not going to tell me what to do, oh no." I could hear him sobbing from his room but he came

down quickly and was quiet and obedient. Soon after he came into the kitchen and asked again for some pizza chips. I said, "Maybe he's hungry, maybe there's something else?" His mom said "Do you want some grapes?" Immediately his face lit up and he said yes and ran to the refrigerator. Ann got up quickly and pulled him from the refrigerator door. "You do not go in there yourself. You let me do it for you." She ended up giving him a piece of bologna instead, which he accepted with no complaint.

Ann had told me earlier that her son had been sexually abused by his father, her ex-husband, while he was living with them. She expressed some incredulity that she hadn't been aware of this, and concern for him. Yet she seemed unable to physically interact with him. Later on, while she was filling out the last two forms, I went and sat with him while he was watching TV. He slid over on the couch next to me, almost into my lap, and said, "My back hurts." I asked, "Do you need someone to rub it?" He indicated yes. And so I rubbed his back a little, with his eyes still glued to the TV, while I was thinking, "What makes a little 5 year old child's back hurt?"

Avoidant Attachment with Mother: Threats of Abandonment. Ann's mother threatened to kill herself innumerable times because Ann was such a "bad" child, and would also threaten her that her father "was gonna come and hurt me." Her mother would physically threaten to hit her, would yell, and "constantly cried all the time."

Ann told the following story with no affect, as though it had been recited many times before.

One time, when my Mom was out working, my Dad usta run around on her and drink. He was late for his date, and had to change my diaper, and instead of changing me he took off his belt and whipped me with his belt buckle until my butt looked like shredded cheese, with blood and all this other stuff. When my mother got home, she found me like that and took me to the hospital. That's when she divorced my father for the second time. I dunno. I dunno if it's true or not. It's what my Mom told me. I do have a scar on my back from something...my Mom usta do all kinds of crazy things too, so she might've done it. She also told me he usta put cigarette butts out on my stomach.

Even if this story were true about her father, Ann felt that her mother was equally capable of such an act. She also seemed to acknowledge that this story, told repeatedly to her, was her mother's way of communicating to Ann that she was to blame for the break-up of her mother's marriage.

The first separation that Ann remembered was at age 4 when she was dropped off at a foster home without an explanation. "I was a basket case" she commented.

The people that brought me, they said that we were going out for an ice cream cone, and then we went to a farm, and then when I turned around, they were gone, my Mom and everybody, they just left me there. And then after that, I guess somebody called and they took me back and I lived with my aunts for awhile.

Ann's attachment to her mother was continually interrupted and unpredictable.

When I asked Ann how she felt about her mom in this situation, she replied, "Abandoned, but...see, I didn't know if she was alive or dead, 'cause she was always tellin' me that she was gonna kill herself.

Constantly, 'I wish I was dead,' and all this other stuff. 'It was 'cause of you that your father left' and dah-dah-dah." Although she would see her mother on Sundays during the times she was living at her grandparents or aunts, she says, "I don't really remember seeing her. My mom told me I

usta, but I don't really remember her." Ann admitted that she felt alot of hate towards her mother.

When she was upset as a child she would "pound her head into the floor, against the wall" and when she needed comfort she would run away. "It seems weird, but I would, to get my mind together, without her always bitchin' at me." Ann's recollection was sparse, with no emotion. The theme of rejection and abandonment, communicated to her through both words and actions, was predominant in her life.

Attachment to Grandparents. Ann spoke about her Meme and Pepe - especially her Pepe - as her mother and father figures.

It was Pepe who taught me about how girls and boys are different, let me pretend to shave with him....They were nice. Like, when I usta go over there - I don't know, I just - my mom usta buy things to show me her love, but I physically felt love from my Pepe and my Meme. They just took care of me better and stuff. And they made sure - I dunno - they were just very nice- and wise....But I dunno - babies know their mom, and when I was first born my mom was in the hospital 'cause she had a cesarean and it was infected, so I stayed with my Meme and Pepe until I was three to four months old. So, I just felt safe with them.

When Ann was 12, her Pepe died and her Meme moved into a nursing home. Ann began drinking and running away from home shortly after her Pepe's death. Thirteen was the worst year for her...

...because my mom, it went beyond yelling, screaming, threatening. She usta hit me and throw things at me and push me down the stairs...she usta take knives outta the drawer and try to hack up her wrists right in front of me. And she would, like, say that the reason she was tryna commit suicide was because of me, because I was so awful, and she was so lonely, and nobody cares about her...

The losses of her maternal grandparents had a major effect on Ann as well as on her mother, although Ann did not make this connection between her increasingly delinquent behavior and these events.

The Compulsion to Repeat: Becoming a Battered Woman. Ann "grew up thinkin' abuse and destruction and drinkin' and everything is fine." She married an abusive man who she says had complete control over her. Her husband almost killed her 4-5 times, and finally her mother tried to have her hospitalized, calling her "crazy." The hospital referred Ann to a local battered woman's shelter. She returned to her husband, was severely battered again, and ended up in jail for attacking him. From this involvement with the court system, Ann became a client of the Department of Social Services and lost temporary custody of her son. She said that she was glad that the Department of Social Services was teaching her how to be a better mother. She was currently involved with a man who is not violent, and she was no longer involved with cocaine and alcohol.

Ann's Moral Dilemmas

It was difficult to score Ann's Moral Thinking about Violence interview with Gilligan's coding criteria because there was so little moral language in the narrative. She could describe situations where she felt or acted in violent ways, or where she was the victim of violence, but she could rarely answer the question "what was the internal conflict for you?" and didn't understand the question "what was at stake for you?" or even a rephrase of this question to "what did you stand to lose?" When she did attempt to answer the question "was this the right thing to do" she addressed herself to the other person's actions, but was unable to answer

the question in regard to her own actions. Justice reasoning seemed to be hinted at in these dilemmas; a desire to set the record straight, to get what was due her. But these thoughts were not articulated. Her sense of self seemed absent.

Trying to Salvage a Self. The first "situation of conflict where you didn't know what to do" which Ann spoke about was a time when she started "going after" a girl, trying to beat her up, whom her husband was involved with. "And each time I did it she kicked my butt, but I just went back for more." When asked about the conflict for her about what to do, she said she had no conflict. At the time it felt like the right thing to do. "...because, I just felt that it was, I dunno. 'Cause I was very angry. I dunno, it just felt like the right thing to do." Ann spoke about how she is a very jealous person. Her fear of loss seemed to stem from her early deprivation, creating an insatiable envy in her.

Now it doesn't feel like the right thing "because it wasn't worth it, for one, and for two, she's a very nice person." The other girl was the one who was morally wrong, in Ann's opinion "cause she had no morals and he had no morals. And I was brought up pretty much with morals of my Meme and Pepe. That women should not do things that a lot of women do in the Nineties." When I pressed her about her own actions, she became confused and it seemed, embarrassed. It was not clear, however, if she was embarrassed by her inability to answer the question or by her actions. She said, "Well, morally it wasn't right, 'cause it's not right to hurt people. She made me so angry, and I hated her so much for what she did to me, I wanted to hurt her back, plus more.. It seemed perfectly right to me. I know that sounds really stupid." And then she tried to explain again, that

it just "felt" right because she was a very jealous person, and the threat of losing her husband was too much for her to bear.

The second moral dilemma that Ann offered to discuss was a time when she confronted her mother about an action she had taken. Ann felt it had been wrong for her mother to put her in the state hospital when she had come to her mother for help. "I still felt like I did the right thing by doing it....Just to make her realize because sometimes I don't think she even realizes what she's doing...just to make her aware that she wasn't as good a mother as she told everyone she was at the time. 'Cause she was a pretty crappy mother." Again, this was the 'right' thing to do because "it felt good." This seemed to be "morally right" because it helped set the record straight. As such, Ann was oriented toward justice reasoning, rather than care reasoning. Yet the articulation of moral thought was missing. Instead, this passage seemed more about an attempt to articulate a differentiated sense of self.

In the third moral dilemma, Ann was asked to describe a time when she witnessed violence. She said, "Jeez, I don't know. I've seen a lotta violence, but it was all mostly to me." And then she described one of the times when her husband almost killed her by slamming her head into the floor, over and over and over again. What was at stake? "My life. I dunno." Afterwards, she felt like committing suicide because "I just felt that was morally right. Because, because I was, just, I had a really crummy life. And I had had enough of it." What made it feel morally right? "Because it felt right." Ann seemed to be saying: How can I talk about moral thought when my 'self' is just barely alive?

Absence of Self as Moral Agent. To Ann morality meant "something that you should or shouldn't do, because it feels right, or it doesn't feel right, how you feel about things." How does she know if something's right or wrong? "I just feel it." She wasn't sure if her childhood abuse affected her sense of morality. "I dunno" she said. "I dunno if I'd be any different."

Ann's inability to formulate moral responses and actions seemed to be due, in part, to the lack of a development of a "self", and therefore the inability to have self-reflective thought. She tried to think about other people's actions as morally right or wrong, but was unable to reflect on her own.

There was so much that Ann didn't seem to know; a part of her that was aware of the gaps in her knowledge, and then so much that she didn't even know was missing. She commented that her models for learning, besides her family, have been people in the social service system, and sitcoms on TV. "Families like the Beavers - everyday, wholesome families" whom she emulated.

Her inability to reflect on the consequences of her own actions seemed to stem in part from her avoidant attachments, which prohibited access to affective states. In addition, her difficulty in developing any kind of attachment or bonding, resulted in a deficit of the internalizations necessary for the development of self and the development of moral thought.

Fearful: Mixed Attachment Patterns

The child who develops attachment strategies which mix features of both anxious and avoidant patterns tends to have a negative view of the

self and a negative view of the other. Because no unitary attachment strategy has been found to work effectively, descriptions of chaos and disorganization tend to characterize these subject's narratives. This is evident in the narrative structure as well, where an inability to stay focused, as well as an inability to move from past to present to future is evident. The interviews often seem confused, fragmented, and contradictory.

In these narratives, both role-reversal and rejection can be present to some degree, and often one predominates. Presence of frightening situations abound in most of these narratives. The need for comfort and protection for most of these women breaks through the avoidant strategies they attempt to develop. The inability to find comfort and protection contributes to the ongoing preoccupation with the abuse. Evidence of unresolved trauma is, however, coded separately.

There are three subtypes in this group: those where anxious and avoidant patterns seem equally present, those where, within a fearful pattern, an avoidant style is favored, and those where, within a fearful pattern, an anxious style is favored. The interviews are grouped according to these subtypes.

Miriam and Molly's interviews are coded as fearful, with anxious and avoidant strategies seemingly equally present. Amy, Donna, and Marie's interviews are coded as fearful/anxious with the primary attachment figure. Irene's interview is coded as fearful/avoidant for the primary attachment relationship with her mother.

Miriam

Miriam's Attachment and Abuse History

Miriam is a 19 year old single white woman who has completed 11 years of education. She lives on less than \$5,000 a year from welfare, and has two sons, one of whom lives with her while the other lives at his paternal grandparents.

Miriam's mother is her primary attachment figure. Her mother had many boyfriends, and no one man became a "father" to Miriam. She has a sister and brother, close in age, from the same father, and a half-sister who was the child of her mother and a man who became her step-father at age 7.

Miriam's attachment with her mother is coded as fearful/anxious. She experienced severe verbal and physical abuse with her mother. Her attachment with her step-father is coded as fearful/avoidant, and she experienced moderate verbal and physical abuse with him. There are many indicators of unresolved trauma in her narrative.

Miriam's relationship with her mother was characterized primarily by extreme fear, with anxious strategies predominant. Her concept of herself was negative, and her concept of her mother was also negative. In addition to abusive, she experienced her mother as neglectful and rejecting. Avoidant strategies of attachment did develop in response to this rejection. Yet like the other women who lived in familial environments of extreme abuse, the need for protection that arose from the experience of terror periodically broke through the avoidant attachment strategies, and the signals for love and comfort became all the more unbearable to feel

because of the unlikelihood of being met. Miriam remains preoccupied with this relationship with her mother.

Miriam had an attachment with her maternal grandmother, whom she turned to occasionally, and with whom she often spent her summers. This attachment contained some love, and in some ways kept Miriam's attachment system activated.

Subjective Impressions. Miriam responded to the newspaper ad that I ran in the paper. Although it was difficult making arrangements to meet because she was in the midst of a move and didn't have a phone, she was persistent and reliable in her attempts to set up the meetings. I met with her on two separate occasions in her apartment. The interview stirred up many feelings for Miriam, who appeared both anxious and driven to tell the stories of the abuse she suffered at the hands of her mother. As with many of the women interviewed, she seemed to hope that if she told the story often enough, it would begin to make some sense. She also said, repeatedly, that it would mean a great deal to her if her experience could help out some other women in the same situation.

Fearful Attachment to Mother: Mixed Strategies. Miriam experienced her mother's abuse as random and without justification. There was no way for Miriam to predict when the beatings and the humiliations would occur, as they were in response to accomplishments as often as they were in response to perceived failures. Her mother would force her children to lie to authorities when their injuries were too apparent. School counselors and nurses seem to have believed her mother rather than the evidence of her broken nose, broken ribs, broken arm, fractured skull, "fistmark" bruises and black eyes over the course of ten years.

Her mother would hit her with an open fist, and if she flinched, would hit her again until Miriam could stand without flinching. She made her eat her food on her hands and knees off the floor. She set up impossible tasks, and then would humiliate her in front of guests for not being able to accomplish the tasks. She never hugged her, or told her that she loved her.

When Miriam was ten, her mother and stepfather abused her so badly that she thought their intent was to kill her. The abuse was precipitated by her arriving home 5 minutes late from school. Neighbors heard her screams, and called the police and the Department of Social Services. Miriam was taken out of her home and placed in foster care. She never again returned home. The story of this event was told in bits and pieces throughout the narrative, until finally she could tell the whole story. She described, in a somewhat fragmented, disjointed style typical of those who have been so badly abused, the story of this pivotal moment in her life:

My mother was suffocating me with a pillow, and he was--it was really weird, I felt like they wanted to take turns?they broke everything in my bedroom 'til I had nothing left. I was barefoot and she smashed this big vase on the floor, and I had glass, like, an inch in my feet, and the neighbors heard me screaming, my window had broke, they heard me crying and my mother yelling, and they called the cops and DSS showed up. I was in, I went and hid, I was just sitting there crying and crying and crying, and the next thing I know, there was this big closet, and DSS was opening the door, and saying, 'This is DSS, we're not gonna hurt you, we're gonna take you.'

And my mother and father were fighting at the time, and my mother went and smashed every bit of glass out of the hutch because my father had admitted to doing what he did to me to the police.

...he had picked me up by the throat, off my feet, and you know, the hinge on the door of my closet, he had hit me up against it, five times. So, I mean, they were like punching me in the back, they were doing everything to hurt me. And, umm, I got taken away, and we were going to court, and I was gonna have my stepfather put in jail. At the time, I didn't know what was going on, I thought I was gonna go home? So, I was, like, "You want him put in jail?" And, I'm, like, 'No! 'Cause I'm gonna get it worse when I go home!' And they had put a restraining order against my mother, that if she was to come near me that they'd throw her right in jail.

And I just never went back home, they hid me from my mother, they put me in foster homes, and they didn't tell me, told me not to call her, they didn't tell her where I was. I ended up having nightmares, and had a concussion. I ended up with an eating disorder. Just, everything collapsed. Everything. Then, when I asked her for some of my clothes, she sent me a shirt, a pair of pants and a pair of underwear. That's all she sent me.

Although Miriam was taken away from her mother for her own protection, she was initially confused and frightened to be away from home.

Miriam's descriptions of her reaction upon leaving home were indicative of the anxious attachment underlying the fear. She wanted to believe that the abuse was her fault, and that her mother really did love her. "I figured at the time, when it first happened, I felt like, 'It's not that bad. She's my mother. I know she's sorry. She loves me.'" Even now, years late, Miriam was preoccupied with these events, and looked for ways that she could forgive her mother.

As a result of this final separation from her mother, Miriam said she began to have nightmares which went on for years. She postulated that she had these nightmares "'cause I had nobody. I didn't have anybody. I didn't think that anybody cared what happened to me." Over time Miriam realized that her mother didn't love her. "Over the years, I just knew that she didn't. I just put two and two together, and I just knew."

Yet still she struggled with her relationship with her mother, at times turning away from her entirely in her imagination, at other times longing for a reconciliation and forgiveness. This was the anxious/avoidant mix of so many fearful and abused children. In answer to the question, "What's your relationship now with your mother?" she answered, "None. She's not my mother. She's my birth mother, that's it." But later on in the narrative, when talking about her own children, she said,

She's my mother. If she had changed, I would have loved her. I probably could have forgave her, but.... I mean, I really, really, really look at her, and she's probably nuts because she's never had the help that's offered now...She ended up being a single parent for awhile, it musta drove her nuts, some people just can't handle it. And I'm wondering if I should forgive her 'cause I'm sort of understanding what made her crazy? But I can't forgive her because she hurt me. I can't explain it...

If Miriam was able to forgive her mother, her hope was that she would then feel that she had been loved. Yet the memories of the abuse overtake her, time and time again, and make forgiveness seem impossible.

Relationship with Grandmother. Miriam's description of her summers at her grandmother's gave a sense both of a more secure attachment, as well as the neglect that she experienced at home. She said,

She let me play like a kid. She took care of me, instead of me having to take care of myself. You know, she would make my bed, I wouldn't hafta make it. She would cook for me, I wouldn't hafta cook for myself. I didn't hafta worry whether she was gonna clock me over the head or hit me 'cause she just wasn't like that at all. She was fun, we played cards with her. It was fun, I had a good time over my grandmother's.

I could be a kid, where when I lived with my mother, you couldn't talk, you couldn't do anything wrong. Everything you did was wrong. You never did anything right. Ever. And if you did something--even if you did something, or even if you didn't do

something, she'd find something to get you in trouble for. She'd go outta her way.

Miriam only saw her grandmother occasionally, and her grandmother too was subject to abuse at the hands of her own daughter.

After Miriam was placed in foster care, she ran away repeatedly to her grandmother's. "At the times, there was nothing I wanted more in the world than just to be with her." She explained why she would run from the foster homes,

I just didn't want to be in foster homes. I felt like I was being punished. I didn't want any mother figure there, I didn't want any father figure there. I didn't want anybody telling me what to do. I hated the world. I hated myself. I felt like if I ran away I was just free from everything.

Her grandmother would hide her in the cellar, so that if her mother or DSS came to look they wouldn't find her. Her grandmother was still the most important person to her. "If my grandmother would die, I don't know what would happen to me. I can't even imagine what, I'd freak out, I'd feel so alone in this world. She's my best friend. She's my grandmother, she's my mother figure. She's it for me. She's my life. Without her I'd be so alone."

Abusive Adult Relationships. The first relationship that Miriam entered after she left home was with an abusive man. "I'd do anything for him," Miriam commented, "I was his slave." After five years of his physical abuse and daily threats of physical abuse, she decided to leave. She had a child at this point, and rather than take the child with her, she left him at her boyfriend's parents. She said she didn't know any better, and that her boyfriend had often threatened to arrest her on kidnapping charges if she

should leave. "I was young" Miriam commented, "I didn't know I had full custody."

Miriam's Moral Dilemmas

Now that Miriam has children, she felt she had something to live for. The moral paralysis that she had felt previously has begun to change. The primary ingredient in her ability to intervene in fights was her active identification with "the innocent one" whom she described as helpless and without blame. Her moral paralysis was also evident in her description of her suicide attempts, which she offered as an example of moral conflict. These times also indicated how the inability to feel caring towards oneself led to a sense of moral uncaring. Her sense of responsibility towards her children now prevented her from acting on her suicidal thoughts. However, her fear that she is an "awful parent" still led her towards suicidal thoughts.

Miriam had difficulty finding a conflict to discuss. This seemed to be due, in part, to her difficulty finding a situation where she felt that she had any choice, rather than just being a passive recipient of abuse. When she began to speak about the custody fight that she was contemplating in order to get her first child back, the active ways in which she was wrestling with a moral issue were revealed.

Developing Moral Self through Maternal Practice. When Miriam decided to flee from her boyfriend's abuse, she left her son at her boyfriend's parents. Somehow he filed for custody and won, although Miriam said she has never been served papers. She was in the midst of a

very difficult decision about whether or not to fight to regain custody of her son. Meanwhile he was living at his paternal grandparents.

The argument she had with herself about this situation had many different components to it. She worried that her son was being maltreated: she found photographs of "his private parts", and the entire family was involved in drugs and alcohol. She worried that they weren't teaching him any discipline: he was two and a half and his bedtime was 11 p.m. She worried that he ate junk food. She worried about the other kids he played with. One time when she went over to visit, a three year old in the neighborhood spit in her face and called her a "fuckin' asshole." She didn't think this was right. She wanted her son to be in a good school, to play with the "right kind of kids", to eat healthy foods and to go to bed on time.

On the other hand, his paternal grandparents had a lot of money, which she didn't have. They gave him toys, a tricycle, a drum set. She couldn't afford these things. She felt trapped by welfare, wanting to work but not making enough to support herself and also pay for childcare.

She also worried about the emotional burden on her son. "It's not fair for J, to be tugged on. He doesn't know - I mean, he's getting told to do one thing, and then he comes over here, and I tell him to do another thing. It's totally confusing him, so it's not fair to him." She was afraid the tug-of-war inside him would "destroy" him.

Above all, Miriam's questioning seemed to center around whether or not she was a good enough mother, and the tug-of-war seemed to be about her own internal conflict. "I'm not an awful mother, so they have no right to keep him from me. I mean, if I was an abusive mother, or a really bad person, then I could understand, but I'm not..."

But Miriam worried that she couldn't provide adequately for her son, and her own sense of chronic deprivation was central to her conflict:

Look at me now, I don't even have a phone. My kid gets sick, I don't even have a car. What am I gonna do? I'm gonna walk for a mile, in the cold, get him more sick, to go call somebody at least half-an-hour, forty-five minutes away to come and get him?....It's awful....I can't even take him anywhere for fun! There's nothing for kids to do anymore that doesn't cost money.

Then she swung to the other side of the argument:

I just want him here. I mean, if I could just get him here, I would try my hardest, I would give him everything that I had, you know? I mean, there are different things we could do. Summer's coming, we could go on a picnic....

Miriam was afraid that if she left him at his grandparents, he would never forgive her. But she was also afraid that if she took him and either was unable to provide adequately for him, or became abusive, that he wouldn't forgive her for that either. Her inability to resolve her dilemma seemed directly linked to her own desire to forgive her mother, and her inability to do so.

She struggled with how she would be different from her mother.

...she was so strict. Her rules were unreal. I would never do that to my kid, what she did to me, I would never do that. I believe--I dunno, my mother, she never cleaned, she never did anything, she'd never cook. I wanna cook for my kids, I wanna make their beds, I wanna give them baths...

But she was also afraid that she would lose control and yell at them. She described her voice as loud and scary, and told a story of a time when her older son was forcing pickles down the throat of her infant, and she yelled at him to stop. Her voice scared him and he started to bawl, and then Miriam remembered all the times that her mother yelled at her. "I hate

being yelled at, she would be in my face, and spitting in my face, and her eyeballs would be bulging out. She was like really crazy."

When she began to have flashbacks like this, she couldn't assess whether the times that she yelled at her children were okay, or whether they meant that she was an abusive mother. But then she said, "I can't be that bad, 'cause I don't beat my kids. I mean, every mother gets frustrated..." The stories she related of times she yelled at her kids all had elements of protection in them, unlike the stories she told about her mother. Yet her mother was inside her constantly, telling her she was bad.

(I) feel so unsuccessful, and my whole life my mother's put me down and told me I was nobody, and I just, feel like she was right. It just kills me that she's right, you know! I just want to prove her wrong, if I can....I'm confused all the time. Like she overpowers me. I know, deep inside, that she was wrong, what she did to me was wrong. 'Cause it's not normal. But other times I say that it's my fault. 'Cause I was bad, or something. That I wasn't good enough, but I can't figure it out.

Miriam wanted desperately to be a different kind of mother. "I don't want to do to my kids what my mother did to me." But she was not convinced that she wouldn't, somehow, hurt her children, and it was this moral dilemma that she hadn't yet been able to resolve.

Although Miriam occasionally made use of justice reasoning in her deliberations, saying she deserved to have her child back because of her position as his natural mother, the majority of her reasoning was oriented to the concerns of care. She had a difficult time finding moral language at all. The justice voice was only minimally present, and it was this lack that may have contributed to her state of moral indecision. Although she said she didn't deserve to be hurt by her mother, she was not able to hold on to this notion firmly. There seemed to be a part of her that felt that she

did deserve to be punished, and that she didn't deserve to get her son back. These notions most likely stemmed from an unconscious belief about her inferiority. If the justice voice could become more conscious, then she might be able to begin to contemplate what her 'rights' were in this situation, and what she did 'deserve.' The lack of a justice voice, and the minimal amount of moral language throughout the narrative, pointed to the lack of development of a sense of self as moral agent.

Molly

Molly's Attachment and Abuse History

Molly is a petite white single 20 year old, who has completed 12 years of education. She lives on less than \$5,000 a year from welfare. She was a 2 year old son who lives with her.

Molly's descriptions of her relationship with her mother were often contradictory. She described a close, but anxious, relationship with her mother, whom she sometimes thinks of as a friend. This is typical of anxious attachment. Her narrative style was fragmentary, and at times incoherent, which is more suggestive of someone with fearful attachment strategies. Yet all the other characteristics of Molly's interview, and her relationship with me as the interviewer, suggested an avoidantly attached child. She described herself in positive terms and her mother in idealized terms, she devalued attachment experiences and relationships, was unable or unwilling to reflect on her role in relationships, and kept positive and negative images and memories of her mother split apart. Many of her memories also seemed to involve rejection and lack of love, though this was often inferred rather than explicitly stated. Her relationship with her

mother has been coded as fearful/anxious and avoidant. She admitted to no verbal or physical abuse, although her Conflict Tactics Scale form has many crossed-out answers. Her relationship with her step-father was more clearly avoidant. She experienced mild verbal abuse, and no physical abuse. There were no indicators of unresolved trauma in her narrative.

Subjective Impressions. For the interview, Molly was wearing clothes with flowers and lace that somehow looked like children's clothes. She was nervous, shaky, and her voice quavered as she spoke. Her words were full of a tough bravado that didn't at all match her appearance. She volunteered for this study, knowing that I was looking for young mothers who had been abused as children. During the interview she stated that she had not been abused, although both mother and step-father threatened violence often, and physical fights between herself and her half-sister were frequent and violent. She attributed her difficulties growing up to the fact that she did not know who her real father was, and that she detested her step-father.

Avoidant and Anxious Attachment with Mother: Idealization and Contradiction. Molly's descriptions had the idealized, global, non-specific style typical of avoidantly attached children. She said of her mother,

Umm, we . . . were . . . very close, until I moved out of the house, if I had a problem I could go to my Mom, if there was . . . something that was buggin' me at the time, she'll--we'll talk about it an' everything. Umm, every time me and my sister would get in a fight, my mother usta take me into another room and tell me to cool down. Uhh, shhhhhh--she knew that my sister started more than half the fights, an' she would have me calm down, she was . . . with me and with R, my boyfriends and with, umm, when I was having T (her son). She was there, she was always there when I need her, and all I had to do was pick up the 'phone, if she had a

phone at the time, or call her up, an', "Mom, I'm goin' crazy," or go down to her house an' talk with her, an' stuff, when she weren't workin'. Me and her are pretty close.

Yet she left home at age 17 because she and her mom were fighting "about boyfriends and stuff". Once she left home she "practically went out of my mind...My nerves were shot, I just didn't know which way to go, 'cause my mom wasn't there to help me to figure out which way to, that's why I was goin' outta my mind. [Small laugh.] There was no mom there, I was on my own. So. . . ." Although she was clearly able to state her need for her mother, indicative of anxious attachment, she also was unable to clearly describe the ways that her mother was available to her, indicating the idealized, global descriptions of avoidant attachment.

Her high degree of separation anxiety was also characteristic of anxious attachment. She said, "all I know is, my mom--like, if my mom ever died, I'd go . . . up the wall like . . . anybody messes with me after my mom dies, might as well forget it, 'cause my mom is my mom [quaver], and that's all I know, is her."

Confusion of Identities. There is sometimes a confusion of identities between mother and daughter, and a merging of the past with the present, in narratives of anxiously-attached children. This was evident in Molly's narrative. In the following passage, Molly described how she and her mother both became pregnant at the same age, although the way she recounted this phenomenon, it sounded as if they were both pregnant at the same time.

Umm, we both got pregnant at an early age, we looked alike when we were kids . . . umm, we physically have the same attitude-- Umm, like, when we get mad, we get mad an' that's it, we start throwin' things, umm, we scream at the top of our lungs when we're mad, we like pickin' on everybody, we're . . . so much alike, it

isn't funny [small chuckle]. ...Yeah, when we grew up, we were both skinny after our first pregnancies.

I asked her to explain this further. She said, "When we were pregnant--me, an' my mom, I was pregnant, and my mom was pregnant, after we had our first kid, we went back to the size we were before we got pregnant." I asked, "So, you both had children around the same time?" wondering if they really did! She responded,

Yeah. Basically the same. She--I got pregnant eighteen, seventeen... my mom was nineteen, twenty, when she had me. We both had them real early. So, my mom understands me about certain things, an' I understand my mom on certain things. 'Cause we are basically the same.

Along with this confusion of identities, there was some role reversal between Molly and her mother, with the sharing of confidences, and a mutual advise-giving about boyfriends, an important part of their relationship.

Me an' her can . . . when she has a problem, like, with my dad, my step-dad, when we're together, we talk about it. Now she's got a new boyfriend, we talk about that . . . She figures, since . . . I've been through a lot, that she did, umm, just like her, in so many ways, she can come to me rather than my sister. Because my sister's got the biggest mouth on this whole earth, I think, she'll go an' blab it to somebody else, an' we, I won't go about an' say anything that's between me an' my mom.

This aspect of their relationship became even more important to Molly because it was a way that she secured her mother to her, and took her away from her sister.

As part of this need to keep her mother close to her, and not acknowledge anything that might indicate that they were separate people, Molly vaguely idealized her mother, in ways which were contradicted by the actual narrative. She said, "We never had a negative side." Her

relationship with her mother was "fun," "close," "good," "understanding." This is typical of the avoidant child.

Molly's mother seemed to resort to verbal threats, rather than physical fights. This, too, was something that Molly emulated. She said, "she won't hit or nothing, she just . . . screams at the top of her lungs, says, 'You . . . kids, you're driving me nuts. I feel like killing you.' She just says that stuff, she'd never kill us. Even though we drive her up the wall she will not kill us. She won't even touch us."

Her step-father would threaten physical violence, although it was unclear if he actually was physically violent with either the children or his wife. Molly said, "My mother will never let him touch me. My mother would never let him touch me or my sister, she would not. If he would go to try to hit us, you have to deal with her. And my mom is a pretty big woman [laughs], and if he threatened to hit us. . . my mom with one swing, knocked him on his rear end! So, he won't. . . ."

Implicit Feelings of Rejection by Both Mother and Step-father. Molly was put into foster care during her first three months of infancy, until her mother got a job, married the man who was to be Molly's step-father, and was able to take her back. Molly always felt that "something was missing" but wasn't sure what it was. When she was told, at age 10, that the man whom she considered to be her father wasn't really her father, "it was kinda like the end of the world, but it wasn't." She tore up her bedroom and "every time someone tried to come in I would throw things at them." She said that she understood why she had always felt confused, had never been able to think straight, and had always felt like she had missed out on

having a father to play baseball with her, or help her climb trees. "I usta do all the boy stuff, and, umm, I didn't have a father to do it with."

Although she didn't speak openly about feeling rejected by her step-father, she clearly implied that she didn't feel that she had a relationship with him that met her needs. She said, "We never liked each other since I was growing up." She was "rebellious against him, wouldn't do what he said, umm, did the complete opposite, the complete opposite of what he says, if he says 'Go do the dishes' I won't, if he says 'Don't do the dishes' I'll do it. That's the way I was, always did the opposite of what he told me. Ever since I could remember."

Molly was openly derogatory towards her step-father, making fun of him for being an alcoholic, and proud of the fact that she felt she has one up on him. She seemed to revel in her open rejection of him. All these characteristics are those of the child who is avoidantly attached.

Molly's Moral Dilemmas

Molly's moral dilemmas centered around themes of position and power, superiority and inferiority. Although she has similar concerns to some of the other women discussed in terms of the desire to protect her child, her concerns were primarily framed in the language of power and powerlessness. She thus made predominant use of a justice orientation in her moral reasoning.

The care voice seemed absent throughout Molly's Moral Reasoning about Violence interview. A sense of self also was rudimentary in Molly's narrative, and so a clear alignment of self with moral voice was impossible to ascertain.

Is It Wrong to Beat Up Someone You Hate?. Molly's relationship with her sister was openly hostile. She resented her sister for having a father, and for an attitude which Molly interpreted as "I'm better than you." For these reasons, she hated her sister, and when she was living at home, said that she beat up on her daily. She described this with relish,

...my mom said, 'You shouldn't beat up your sister, you're bigger than she is.' An' she'd go on, that, 'One of these days your sister, she's gonna kick the livin' dogmeat out of you.' And, to this day, she can't beat me. She cannot . . . whatsoever . . . she cannot beat me, she fought back, but she hasn't beaten me yet. Been fightin' back, but [chuckles] she still hasn't beaten me yet. I'm still waitin' for that day.

Molly related a fight that they had, following her sister telling her, in the midst of a verbal argument, that she "was no good, I was a spoiled brat, that I don't know who my dad is." This reference to her father pushed Molly into hitting, biting, and pulling her sister's hair.

When her mother separated them, she punished Molly by putting her in another room, and didn't punish her sister. This, to Molly, was unfair, because she felt they should have been punished equally. This theme of inequality was also evident in her description of why she hated her sister. "My sister is a real b-i-t-c-h (chuckles). And, ah, she thinks she knows everything. Yeah, she thinks she knows everything. I hate that with a passion, when somebody thinks they know everything."

Molly's experience of herself as inadequate, and in an unequal position, seemed to govern her moral sense. Fighting, to her, was justifiable, to 'right' the imbalance of power. This was justice reasoning.

In a Predator/Prey World, Being a Better Predator Is Morally Right.

The second moral dilemma that Molly related was when she decided to

take out a restraining order against her boyfriend because of one time when he threw their infant son into the crib. The description of this event was vague, and it was not clear whether the boyfriend was really violent, or whether Molly was so caught up in the compulsion to repeat her mother's life, that she had to get rid of the boy's father. The theme of unfair and unequal positions in life again predominated in her thinking.

She answered the question "What was at stake for you in this situation?" in the following way:

He's just a little guy still, you know? Why pick on a little person, they don't know no better, it wasn't his fault that I ended up, we ended up, I ended up gettin' pregnant, it's not his fault... And I'm glad I didn't give him up for adoption --'cause I get to watch him grow up an' be a kid, see some good things come out of life.

When asked what she considered in making her decision, she said, "I considered what would be best for both me and T....I'll end up finding him a daddy, and when he's old enough to start talking and stuff, and understanding thing, I'm gonna tell him, "Hey, this isn't your real daddy, your real daddy was such-an-such."

When asked how she thought about this in terms of her boyfriend, she replied, "every day I think about it and I get mad and when I see him, I jump all over his case." She wanted to beat him up for what he did to their son (even though the son wasn't hurt), and only stopped herself by saying to herself "You're not worth it, you're not worth it." Again, degrees of relative worth and merit governed her moral system. In addition, her justice reasoning was evident when she said that knowing that there would be legal consequences, and that she could possibly lose her son if she beat up her ex-boyfriend, were the reasons she stopped herself from acting on her impulses. These same consequences did not

exist when she beat her sister, which was why she gave herself the liberty to do so.

In another moral dilemma that Molly recounted, she told of a time when she was holding her son and another boy pulled her hair and then hit her because of something she said to him. She felt that she should have pulled his hair and hit him back, and thought it was morally "wrong" that she didn't retaliate. By not retaliating, she wasn't standing up for herself. This, too, seemed to represent a rudimentary form of justice reasoning.

Amy

Amy's Attachment and Abuse History

Amy is a 19 year old white woman who has completed 10 years of education and is currently working on her GED. She lives on \$10-14,000 a year, which is her boyfriend's income. She has two children. One of them is in her mother's custody, the other is in her boyfriend's mother's custody.

Amy lived with her mother for the first four years of her life, and then with her mother, step-father, and younger sister. Her attachment with her mother is coded as fearful/anxious. She experienced severe verbal abuse and moderate physical abuse from her mother. Her attachment with her step-father is coded as avoidant, and she experienced severe verbal abuse, and mild physical abuse from him. There were mild indicators of unresolved trauma in her narrative.

Subjective Impressions. Amy came to the interview dressed in leather, with a studded necklace and rings on every finger. Despite this tough appearance, and her use of a tough vernacular, when she talked

about the people who mattered to her - her boyfriend's mother and her "real" father whom she had just recently met, her gap-toothed smile and brazen smile became suddenly shy and vulnerable.

Mixed Attachment with Mother: Inability to Deactivate Attachment Needs. Both anxious entanglement and attempts to dismiss attachment concerns were interwoven throughout Amy's narrative, along with descriptions of chronic family violence. Although she used avoidant strategies to manage her anger and fear, her need and desire for her mother's attention cried out from underneath the tough words. She said she was afraid of nothing, and yet her bravado more often failed her when confronted with truly violent situations. Amy's narrative was an example of how a child can learn to settle for an unstable strategy of multiple attachment behaviors in order to manage threatening and continually destabilizing situations.

Preoccupation with Maternal Rejection. Amy described her experience of maternal rejection. "I remember my mom usta always leave me and go out and drink and stuff. I'd be stuck at home with the kid that lived downstairs... Or I'd get left with my aunt, or my grandmother." She explained that she and her mother were never really close, "we weren't friends I guess. She was just my mother and that was it." Yet Amy clearly longed for a closer relationship.

Amy felt that she lost a relationship with her mom when her step-father moved in. "Me and my step-father would start gettin' in a fight, and my mother would jump right in the middle of it. So, that like made it so where me and my mom weren't really friends anymore. We just lived in

the same house." She also felt that her mom manipulated her attachment needs, hoping Amy would accept her step-father. She explained,

When I was four, my mother got married and kinda conned me into calling my stepfather 'dad,' 'cause I usta call him J all the time. He wasn't my dad, so I wasn't gonna call him dad. So, she conned me into it, she conned me into changing my last name from F to C--she was wicked with the head games. She was just, you know, 'you wanna be just like me?' And it was like when I was little, of course I wanted to be just like my mother. And so I was 'Yeah, yeah, I want to be just like you.' So then she was like, 'We're gonna change your last name,' and I was, like, 'To what?' 'Cause I figured, if my last name wasn't that, somebody was gonna rip me outta my house [laughs]. I didn't know.

Her identification with her mother was an important but tentative aspect of her identity, thus making more painful her experience of maternal rejection.

As the story progressed, Amy told of numerous episodes when she walked out of the house after a fight, or ran away, because she felt her mother had kicked her out of the house. Her mother would send the police after her, and physical fights would follow. She described one incident,

When I was fifteen, thirteen, my mother kicked me outta the house. I moved in with one of my friends, and half an hour after I left she called the cops to come out looking for me, and the cops couldn't find me. This was on Halloween night. Finally the cops found me, brought me back. When I walked back in the door, I was high, because I didn't want to deal with it. I walked in the door, my mother's, like, 'where you been, and this-and-that.' I was like, 'I went to a party, you booted me, I didn't feel like I belonged here anymore, so I left.' She grabbed me, started screamin' at me, an' I said, 'Fuck you, I don't need this shit from you.' So she slapped me, and I punched her. And then, she, like, and she kept pushing me and pushing me, and I didn't want to hit her because I already felt bad that I had hit her. And she kept pushing me and pushing me, and I was at the top of the stairs, and she pushed, and I fell, and I came back up the stairs and I knocked her on her ass. I was like, 'Don't fuck with me, mom, because I don't want to hurt you' and I went downstairs. Spent the rest of my high in my room.

The excessive narrative speech that is characteristic of a child who is entangled and preoccupied with her mother was evident in Amy's descriptions of her fights with her mother

Amy was also preoccupied with the concern that she was capable of hurting her mother. She managed this fear and rage by attempting to distance herself from her attachment needs, to pretend that her mother didn't matter to her and that she didn't matter to her mother. Amy commented that she didn't mind fighting with her step-father because he was stronger, but with her mother "if I wanted to I could beat the shit outta her, and so instead I'd just not think about it right now and just go out and party, and that'd be it." In her fantasy, her rage overpowered her mother, thus destroying them both. This was tormenting for Amy "because I still loved her and I didn't wanna hurt her." In contrast, "with my father there was no feeling. I could fight with him till I was blue in the face and not even feel bad about it." Unconsciously, Amy held her mother more responsible for the interrupted attachment and it was the experience of early abandonment that fueled the rage. Amy could allow herself to imagine beating her step-father because he wasn't the real target. The rage at her mother, on the other hand, was unbearable, and so she attempted to use avoidant strategies to modulate the intensity of affect.

Amy's attachment needs, which she was unable to deactivate, motivated her to seek contact elsewhere. Her boyfriend's mother was very important to her. She said,

She's like my best friend... it's like, she'll sit down and listen? She won't say anything unless you, you know, you ask her for her opinion? But she's really, like, straightforward? Like the other day I wore a miniskirt down to her house, and she looks at me, and she goes, 'Where you goin'? Cause your skirt's too short!' And, I'm,

like, 'No, it ain't.' And, she's, like, 'Yes, it is.' We just talk like that, and she's just, like wicked cool, an' she said, like, 'Please take that off and put something else on.' And I respect her for that, 'cause it's her house. You know. So she's just wicked cool.

Amy's Moral Dilemmas

Amy actively wrestled with her desire to hurt others. She was able to articulate her knowledge that it was morally wrong to want to hurt another, and made use of a care orientation in her moral reasoning. Yet her powerful experience of rejection by her mother, and subsequent feelings of worthlessness and rage, led to an angry preoccupation with situations of unjust violence. Amy's narrative was striking for her choice of dilemmas that exemplified concern with issues of power and abuse, and her use of a care orientation in her exploration of these dilemmas.

Wanting to Hurt Her Mother. When Amy would get "really, really, really pissed, where I thought I might kill somebody or something, I would run downstairs and I would punch the wall." One time her mother made her so pissed that she punched the wall and made a large hole in it, which she tried to cover up with a poster. When her mother found it, she asked Amy to pay for the repair. Amy said,

No, I'm not payin' for anything, you got me so pissed that I went downstairs and punched the hole in the wall, that's not good.' And she--we got into a real big screaming match, she pushed me and I pushed her back. Just like all the anger from the other day, the day that I punched the wall, came flying out, and I grabbed my mother and I threw her up into the wall. And I just started screamin' at her and telling her that I was gonna kill her, I was gonna kill her, and then I just let go because, I dunno, I guess I just heard myself tellin' myself that I was gonna kill my mother? And I stood there and I looked at her, and then I just walked outta the house.

The moral dilemma for Amy here was twofold: One, it seemed unfair to her that she should have to pay (justice reasoning) and two, it frightened her that she wanted to kill her mother, and felt that wasn't right because she also loved her (care reasoning).

The interweaving of care and justice reasoning here seemed to mirror the interweaving of angry preoccupation and avoidance as attachment strategies. She explained,

'Cause I guess I didn't really wanna kill her, but I was just so pissed that I wanted to hurt her, I was mad, to let her know that, inside, I hurt wicked bad, that she made me feel like shit, and I wanted her to know that.

She was seeking recognition of her attachment needs, of her own sense of moral right, of her self. "For a split second I thought, 'If you kill her you're never going to see her again. And I was like, 'Fuck this' and then I just dissed (split)." This was the mixed voice of anxious and avoidant attachment speaking.

Amy ruminated about these episodes, laying on her bed and thinking about them over and over again (preoccupied entanglement). She wished that avoidance worked better; she wished she could walk away from arguments more often. She was disappointed in herself for hitting her mother, feelings that an anxiously attached child has more often than an avoidantly attached child. Yet she rationalized to herself that she didn't really care because her mother "deserved it. She was the one who put me in this position, so whatever I do I'm not liable." This was the justice voice re-emerging, serving an avoidant defensive function.

Morally Ambivalent about the Use of Force. In another moral dilemma, Amy described a time when she called her "real" father to come

and beat up a boy who had abused her while she was pregnant. The conflict, again, seemed to be multi-layered: she deliberated about whether calling her father, who was a violent man, was the right thing to do, or whether she should have called the police and taken out a restraining order.

He told me, 'I'm going to kill him, I'm going to kill him.' I was like, 'No, just hurt him, don't kill him, Dad.' He was screaming at the top of his lungs, 'I'll fuckin' kill you the next time you set foot outta this house, you dogshit!' I dunno, I probably coulda just called my Mom or called the cops, but I called my old man--that was probably a bad move on my part.

On the one hand, she was glad that someone stronger than her - her father - was helping her out; on the other hand, it seemed excessive to her, and not quite right. "I dunno, it just wasn't, it just wasn't...cool. I dunno." And she both admitted to being scared for her boyfriend, and said that she didn't care. Again, her moral ambivalence seemed to parallel her approach/avoidance to her attachment needs.

The third moral dilemma that Amy related was a time when she was at her aunt and uncle's, and her uncle came home drunk. Amy said something rude and her uncle lunged at her cousin, thinking the words had come from her. Amy panicked and ran upstairs to get her other cousin. "I didn't - I dunno, I could've if I wanted to, gotten him offa W. but that just didn't register in my head at that point." Amy's dilemma was whether or not she did the wrong thing by getting her cousin rather than fighting with her uncle herself, since she felt responsible for his attack. She wanted to think of herself as someone who "would have jumped on him and beaten the shit outa him...but I'm glad she was up there (laughs) 'cause I didn't wanna do that." She emphasized that it wasn't that she was scared of

him, it was that she was scared because he was hurting her cousin. She "felt shitty 'cause I was the one said it and she was the one got punched." The care voice seemed to motivate her actions, even though the outcome was sometimes violent.

Finding Her Self: Finding Her Own Moral Voice. Amy commented that since she left her mother's house "I can finally think for myself" and that this had helped her think about what's right and wrong. Also, she had other people to help her now - her therapist, her boyfriend's mother, and friends. Her needs for attachment to her mother were still painfully a part of who she was, but she was beginning to be able to reach out to others instead. Yet the advice of many of her friends seemed to be spoken in a justice voice, advocating distance and a balancing of power. She related an incident where her mother hurt her feelings, and her boyfriend's mother gave her advice:

I called my mother last weekend, at a friend's house. When I got off the 'phone, I was in tears. My friend just goes, 'Do you want to talk about it,' and I told her the story, and she called C (boyfriend's mother) and C called back and she was, well, like, 'What you gotta do is not let your mom know that she's hurtin' you inside, and I'm not sayin' don't cry, or anything, just don't yell at her, and don't let her take your power away. Just give it back to her, give her everything she's giving you, give it back to her, with spades.'

In Amy's world, it was not culturally permissible to show that you weren't tough. Amy's dilemma was how she could have her attachment needs met, and act from the voice of care, without looking like she was soft.

Donna

Donna's Attachment and Abuse History

Donna is a 25 year old single white woman who completed 10 years of education. She lives on less than \$5,000 a year from welfare, and has a son, age 4.

Donna lived with both parents when she was a child. Her father was a violent man, abusing her mother as well as getting into brawls around town. He was in jail for a part of her childhood, and when he was out of jail Donna and her brother would live either with her mother, with him, or with her maternal grandmother. When she was 13, her father married another woman and Donna was forced to go live with him and her step-siblings in another town. She was angry about this because her brother was allowed to stay with her mother, and the separation from both her mother and brother was very difficult for her. "I felt really lost...it was totally devastating." She was told that she was separated from her mother and brother because she was the troublemaker.

Her father is coded as her primary attachment, as she spoke about him considerably more than her mother during the narrative, and felt closest to him. Her attachment to him is coded as fearful/anxious. She experienced severe verbal and physical abuse with him. Her attachment to her mother is coded as avoidant. She experienced mild verbal abuse and reports no physical abuse with her. There were many indicators of unresolved trauma in her narrative.

Subjective Impressions. Donna was talkative, energetic, big-boned, big-mouthed. She appeared tall, strong, open, friendly, generous, and

alive. She talked a mile a minute, her mind seeming to run in a million directions at once. Above all, there was a sense of internal chaos that she was fervently trying to order. "I'm always thinking, thinking, thinking" she said, "it's all up here" pointing to her head.

Donna's narrative is a description of what it is like to grow up in an amoral world - a world without structure, without values, seemingly without thought. How does one begin to think about violence, in a world where only the most primitive of responses seem possible?

Fearful Attachment with Father: Ambivalence. Donna spent much of her childhood in bars with her father, and learned the survival rules of this amoral world. She described these scenes,

So, I'm in bars where there's "No BROADS Allowed" signs, and y'know, these chauvinist males, "We don't want you women in here" and they'd lie, and cover up for the wives, and the husbands-- "Oh, no, they're not here!" You know, it was just--I've seen fights in the bar, my father'd be in--my father's a very big gambler, he likes to drink, he's alcoholic. He's a person who always thinks he's right. Umm . . . he's very stubborn, he's very pigheaded, he acts like a maniac when he gets mad, his eyes flare out. When he drinks more or less he always gets in a fight. He'll get in a fight, or he'll get pissed an' he'll come home an' kick the shit outta somebody.

She moved from a description of the bar room brawls to the way her father would tyrannize his family at home:

Or, if we did something wrong, he got home from work, he was angry enough--I mean, there was always some kind of--there was either always some kind of abuse with him, it was either physical or he made you totally in fear of him by his face. I mean, he was the kind of person where he'd yell at you, an' just from knowing that hitting was coming, you're already, like, [whimpering sounds, like a little child in fear of being hit and breathing fast to keep from crying]. You know, you know, you'd just know that pain was coming, an' he was getting that angry, or just, that he would take the fear, it would take life right out of you. It was just, you were

just, like, waiting for it, you know? And, then if he didn't hit you, an' just screamed at you, you were just that worked up, an' it was like he was beating you, you know. I mean, your heart's goin', you couldn't control yourself, you pee your pants.

Donna lived in a world where fear was constant and overwhelming.

Donna vacillated in her description of whether, and how much, her father beat her mother, although she was able to recall seeing him beat his other wives, and insisting that he was the boss. "I mean, it's just, to him, it's just women, you know, to be bossin' around. He'll tell 'em 'Shut up!' He'll be talkin' or something, poke 'em really hard, tell 'em, 'Hey! I'm talkin'! You shut up!' ...He's very obnoxious, he's very rude . . . he just thinks he has to be in control of everything. That his way is always right."

She was also perplexed because despite the fear, she also loved her father. "I mean he can be the most lovable person you'd ever want to see, and then he's just, just, he's just, just like the devil. I mean his face goes red, his eyes light up, he's just, he's just, he's just somebody you wouldn't want to know." Donna had heard countless stories about her father's violence from other people in town, and yet still struggled to reconcile these stories with the times when he appeared generous and full of humor. Her stories about him went on and on, as though she hoped that if she talked long enough, it would all begin to make some sense. She felt distant from him, in part because she knew him so little in childhood, because he was either at the bars or in jail, but also "there's that hold back, you now? 'Cause of all the hate."

Attachment Dilemma with Father: Identification with the Aggressor.

Donna felt that everyone else in the family "kisses ass" to her father. She, on the other hand, stood up and challenged him. "I'll tell him where to

go, and I'll challenge him," she said. "I won't let him scare me, where I will literally challenge him to a fight...We haven't been in a fight for awhile, but I mean what he usually does is he says, 'I'll snap your neck, I'll rip your head off.' And I'll say, 'Yeah? Try it, cause it will be the last time you'll ever do it. I won't back down from you anymore.'" She described how her responses to him have changed. "I've learned that I can use my words to get his face red, now, an' then I can walk out an' leave. I have enough control to where I can say, 'Yeah, right. Fine.' And I've walked out, and I leave."

Donna also struggled with her identification with him. "I am his daughter, and I am like him in a lotta ways. Sometimes when I get drunk, if somebody sets me off, and they push my limits, I turn into that person and I have no control either. I'll just go after them..." When she lived with him, her step-mother, and her four step-siblings, she felt that her father beat her up more because she was "his blood."

...y'know, I was his blood, his child, so if he really got frustrated he would hit them, but he'd really beat the livin' shit outta me and get it outta him. You know? Oh God, I hated him, wanted to kill him, I had nightmares literally. I usta have dreams that I was just stabbing him to death. Literally--yeah, yeah, I could see the blood, they were in color, I also remember screaming, "I love you daddy, I love you daddy, I love you daddy, I love you daddy, I love you daddy, don't do this, don't do this, don't do this!"

The love mixed in with the hate she felt for her father made it difficult for her to change the ways in which she has identified with him. It therefore was hard for her to modify the compulsion to repeat his violence. In this chaotic world, where no security existed, Donna said that "anger's been my only comfort."

Avoidant Attachment with Mother: Lack of Maternal Protection.

Donna described her mother as "an angel" and her father as "the devil."

She said,

I, I, I think that she's, she's scared that, umm, that we would think that she failed. I think she still is scared that we would think that she failed. Because she never stood up for herself, an', you know, allowed him to take over, an' that's why she's never got remarried or anything, she's never been with another man since I was six years old, I'm gonna be twenty-six. I dunno know. I've--I've, I've tried to ask her, "Mom, why do you stick up for him? Why do you do this?"

Donna struggled with feeling that her mother did nothing to protect her and her brother from her father.

I mean, it was, just, like, treatin' her like shit, she sat home, he went out. You know if he called her, said 'You send my kids down here, I want my kids here with me,' she'd put us in a taxi and send us, ah, to the bar.

Not only did her mother fail to protect her, but repeatedly sacrificed her children to the whims of her violent husband. Whenever he would ask for Donna, she was his.

The first memory of abuse that Donna related was a time when her dog bit her on the lip and her mother yelled at her and then her father "beat the shit outta me 'cause I didn't listen to my mother." Or another time, "I remember her sittin' in a chair, you know, and he's there beatin' the livin' shit outta me, and telling' me not to get outta the corner tryin' to get to her. And she would not get up to hold me. It was like 'Jesus Christ!' You know? It was just..."

Donna wanted her mother to take some responsibility for the lack of protection, and how it has affected her, and was angry and frustrated that her mother was unable, or unwilling, to do this. This inability of her

mother to take responsibility was one of the reasons that Donna felt that they weren't close. "I've always tried to talk to her, 'So mom, why did you let him do this to us? Why didn't you do this?" Her mother answered by blaming Donna for making her life miserable. Donna wished her mother could be different. "She won't face it, you know? And I guess we'll never be close 'cause she's not a strong person, and I am. It's like I love my mom, we get along, I call up...but it's, it's just sometimes..." Her voice trailed off.

Mixed Attachment: External and Internal Chaos. This lack of protection created confusion for Donna about what to expect from a mother. She said,

I mean, it was like, like, me and my mother never have been friends, but it was like she was an escape for me. On the weekends I could escape to her house, 'cause I could get away with everything with her. She couldn't chase me, she was too heavy, and she never hit us...I don't even know what the relationship is. you know what I'm saying? I mean, right now, I feel, still, right now, I could not describe it, I mean, it's all chaotic! You know, everything's very chaotic, it's just, it's all chaos, you know? It's like it's one minute I'm talking to her and we get along fine and for some reason my mother and me are not huggy-huggy. You know, I mean....I can't hug her, love her, and if I do, it's, you know, 'I love you mom' and put my arms around her real quick. ..But there are other days on the phone, "You stupid sonofabitch! What the fuck mom? What the fuck is your problem? You're always such an asshole, you know..."

The avoidant strategy is clear in this passage. Yet Donna also wanted to love her mother. She said, "I guess, in a way, my mother, I wish I was somewhat more like her, where I was more ladylike like her. And you know, I just, you know, I just didn't want to go through this stuff and I guess I blame her for, for letting him do this to our family."

Donna had unstable attachment strategies, because none worked in predictable, consistent ways. The overall tenor of her attachment relationships was one of fearful, disorganizing chaos, where rules and security were unknown, boundaries non-existent.

Donna's Moral Dilemmas

Donna struggled in this interview to find ways to turn the identification with the aggressor toward an identification with the victim, the powerless, the innocent. There was, amidst the profusion of violence and chaos, a capacity to nurture, to seek out and to use the 'ideal.' She struggled with her desire to break the cycle of abuse, and seemed to know that she needed other mirrors in which to witness her self, besides the grotesque caricature of self that her father held up to her in the mirror of his own face. She looked for herself in many places - in her son's responses, her boyfriend's actions. Some of this seemed to be projective identification, but some of it seemed to be a search for the lost self, the mother that never was, the moral possibilities that she somehow was able to imagine although they had never been experienced.

The care orientation to moral reasoning is predominant in Donna's narrative, although the justice orientation is also present. She struggled with a sense of herself as a moral agent.

Transforming the Identification with the Aggressor Through Identification with the Victim. Donna commented that she had always known what to do when she was witnessing violence: try to stop it. "You just hope you do the right thing so the outcome's okay and no one gets hurt and you can stop what's going on. Mostly you want to stop the

violence, you want to stop it so nobody gets hurt." She related several incidents where she either intervened herself, or called the cops, when either her mother or her step-sisters were being beaten by her father. She tried to stop him because "I can't bear to see it." She purposely diverted her father's attention from others towards herself.

...it bothers me, it bothers me to see him. You know, I mean, it's like, I can't imagine how many times I've jumped in front of my sisters through all of my times growing up. You know? It's just. . . They say it's just the same way where people are molested? There's an older sister, she's been molested for years, and they think he's gonna start going to the little sister's room, "Uh, uh, Daddy!", You know, it's just to protect that baby sister, you know? It's like, 'cause you can numb yourself, but I don't think anyone can get numb--I think you can numb yourself but you can't get numb from watching something happening to somebody else. It's, like, 'No.'

I still do it, in stores, I mean, I get my mouth in trouble in stores, I mean, I'll see some lady beatin' her kid, and I'm, 'What the hell, you don't hafta hit your kid like that, you don't slap the kid in the face! You know, he's only two years old, he doesn't want the damn pizza!' You know? It does, it bothers me, you know, to see a person hit anyone, I just say something, right away, you know?

Donna interceded because the other is smaller, and also because she could see the fear in their eyes and she felt their hurt. This was a description of both justice and care concerns motivating action,

Donna nurtured her identification with vulnerable ones through her love of animals. Loving animals, and identifying with them, was one way that Donna met some of her attachment needs. She commented,

I think a lot of my gentle side when I was younger was with animals. That was the only way I could show my love and affection. I really hugged them and kissed them - I always had animals.....I had wild squirrels, I had a wild rabbit, I had two other rabbits, when I was ten I had thirty-three cats...they lived in the house with me, they slept in my bed. I fed them. They were just, I put my care into them. I

think it was a way of feeling loved back. You know? Even my animals now, I have animals, they lay in bed with me, they nurse on my ear, they wrap around in my hair. You know, they kiss me, they put their arms around me....

Donna was looking for a way to love and feel loved, and often her relationship with animals provided the only safety and security she could find.

Developing a Moral Self through Maternal Practice. Becoming a mother allowed her to nurture an identification with her son, and to learn from him what she needed as a child. She credited having a child with her ability now to walk away from violent situations. She didn't want her child to be in the midst of fights, and would often leave family get-togethers when violence was brewing in order to protect him.

As a mother she also was able to witness her son having a temper tantrum, and learned what he needed to calm down. This allowed her to see a little bit more clearly what it was she needed. She described this process.

I really think (my son's) helped me out a lot, I really do. I mean, he might not be old enough, but he's teaching me, too, as he gets older. He's still got a lot of compassion. They're little, and they need love, and you take care of them, and just some of the things they come out with sometimes, you know, [laughs] you know? They're wonderful.

When her son spontaneously cried, got angry, or just expressed emotion, this amazed Donna because of his "openness." When she saw this, she felt that her numbness inside may begin to melt.

The Struggle Not to Be Violent. Yet it was her need to protect her son that led her into violent disputes with her boyfriend. Often the fights were about differences in opinion about how to raise her son; she didn't

want her boyfriend calling her son names. Other times they fought about Donna's desire to have an orderly life and about her boyfriend's chaotic negativity. Sometimes Donna was able to stop herself from violence, other times she was not. She didn't understand what made the difference from one situation to another, yet it was clear that she wanted to change this pattern of response.

Donna made use of a mix of justice and care reasoning in her explanation of how she accounted for one of the fights with her boyfriend. She said,

He deserved it. I shouldn'ta done it. I mean, that's no way to handle anger, by hitting somebody. There's no reason to hit somebody, and hurt them. But, I mean, it's like, you know, you can only ask somebody to leave your house so many times, before they won't and they start arguing with you and call you names, and I mean, it's just--the way I look at it is, he knows my past, and he throws it in my face. I mean, he will literally say, 'C'mon, Donna gonna act like your father?' I mean, he'll make me build up, he'll make me scale that ladder, and sometimes I can turn-- but sometimes, if he makes me scale that ladder, there's no turning around.

The notion of 'deserve' belongs to the justice voice. Yet Donna also called in a notion of justice based on mutual hurt, mutual harm, and mutual responsibility to try to do it a different way. She would always apologize after she fought, because "I can't stand people getting hurt!" This was the voice of care.

Often Donna's explanation for why her boyfriend "deserves" to be hit by her was because she felt used by him; she felt that what each gave to the relationship was unbalanced. She gave him food, an apartment to stay in, money, and felt that he owed her something in return. This was justice speaking.

She also felt sorry for him, because they have both had such "rotten lives." Her attempt to make his life a little easier was part of her struggle to transform her identification with the aggressor with an identification with the victim, for whom she could then care. This act of care was because "I always wanted it to be done for me so I'm trying to do it for others....I'm always doin' stuff for other people, it's just, just that nothing ever gets done for me."

Although this began to sound like the justice notion of wanting a balanced reciprocity, Donna reframed it into a quest for mutual respect and recognition. She said,

I said to him, '... you know, I am so sorry,' I says, 'I just wanna be with a man that is at least gonna go half-an'-half.' I don't need some man to, you know, pay for me, or protect me, or covet me, I want somebody to go half-an'-half with emotions, half-an'-half with the bills, you know, half-an'-half with the love, you know, understanding, you know...

I know there's gonna be trials, you know, and I know there's gonna be hurdles to overcome, but, I mean, you really hafta try, I mean, you can both help support, so, maybe one doesn't have money for rent this month, so, fine! You cover for him the next month. You're supposed to share, not 'This is mine, this is mine, this is mine, this is mine!' when they're leaving, or, 'I bought you this, an' I bought you that!' ...Nobody knows what a perfect relationship is, there's no such thing as perfect. The world's not perfect you know, it's never flawless.

In this passage, Donna seemed to be refuting justice reasoning, with an attempt to define a different kind of sharing.

Donna at first commented that she didn't know what the word moral meant. But then she answered, "Is it good that we fight? No. Because a relationship shouldn't be like that. A relationship shouldn't go so bad." She talked about a time when they went to court over a "domestic dispute." A

clear sense of morality came through in this passage, even though Donna didn't know the definition of the word:

We went to court over this, and even his lawyer told us, when she gets frustrated at her husband, she smacks her husband, and she's scared he's gonna pick up one of her valuable vases and throw it at her! She goes, 'Everybody does it!' I, well, I don't think everybody should do it! You know, I don't think the relationship should be to where, where people rank on each other, and, and, that's not loving somebody... eating them away!

The amorality of the world didn't seem adequate to Donna, as she tried to fashion her own sense of morality.

Donna spoke of times when she had been able to restrain herself from violence, both with her boyfriend and her father. Sometimes, she said, "I can step outside the situation and look at it. I can see him, and sometimes I can see me." When she was able to stay in touch with the hurt inside, and the knowledge that she didn't deserve to be abused, then she was able to walk away from a situation rather than fighting. She felt proud of herself when she was able to do this, but admitted that the fantasy of "just being my brother for five minutes so I could kick the shit outta my father" was still strong inside her. She said that she thought this fantasy still had so much power over her because she didn't have feelings at all for so long, except the thought of revenge. "It's kinda morbid to say that you can't have any feelings, but I mean I really didn't have any feelings for a while. You can really lose feelings!"

This ability to see herself and the situation, allowed her to sometimes modulate her violent impulses, and find a different way to resolve disputes. This took great effort, as it counteracted the family myth about her violent nature, and required her to dis-identify with the aggressor.

Marie

Marie's Attachment and Abuse History

Marie is a 25, single, Puerto Rican mother of a 6 year old boy, and pregnant with another child. She finished high school and was enrolled in her first semester at a Community College. She lived on \$5-9,000 a year from welfare.

Marie had multiple attachment figures. She lived with her mother and father for the first 2 years of her life. She then lived with her maternal grandparents from ages 2-5. After that, she lived with her mother and step-father, father and step-mother, an aunt, and then back with her mother and step-father. She had one sister.

Her attachment with her mother is coded as fearful/with anxious and avoidant equally present. She experienced severe verbal abuse and severe physical abuse with her. Her attachment with her father is coded as fearful/avoidant. She experienced moderate verbal abuse and moderate physical abuse with him. There were many indicators of unresolved trauma in her narrative.

Subjective Impressions. Marie answered a newspaper classified ad seeking participants for this study. She was initially wary on the phone, as she did not want her ex-boyfriend, father of her child, to know where she was living. Yet she was very eager to talk. When I met her at her apartment, she was waiting expectantly, her apartment spotless. She apologized for the lack of furniture, and her inability to offer me tea or coffee. She offered me water instead, and we sat down to begin. She

had many stories to tell, and showed me letters and photographs to accompany the stories. Some of the letters were in Spanish, which she translated for me.

When her son came home she greeted him lovingly, and spent some time playing with him before settling back down. She was apologetic that she did not have more toys for him, but together they took the little parakeet out of its cage, and the child's delight seemed beyond question.

At the end of the second interview, Marie asked if she could see me for counseling; she felt that I understood that she wasn't a bad person. We talked a bit about how she could find someone to work with, and the difficulties that she would have initially believing that she wouldn't be rejected.

Multiple Attachment Figures; Mixed Attachment Strategies. Marie's attachment needs were met by a variety of different people. Her inner world thus seemed to be peopled by multiple introjects, with a comingling of numerous attachment patterns. Her narrative style rambled, as though there were no clear beginning or end, no one to whom she could address her story. This is characteristic of those with mixed attachment strategies, and did not seem to be solely related to her bilingualism. Marie's anxious attachment is evident in her preoccupation with attachment concerns. However, her overriding concern centered around her experiences of multiple rejections. This theme is more characteristic of those with avoidant attachments, and shaped her moral reasoning in a way more similar to those who are avoidantly attached.

The memory with which Marie began seemed to be a significant descriptor of the foundation of her encoded logic regarding attachment. She explained,

My earliest memory with my mother, and this is the basis for everything our relationship ever was, up to now, although it has changed a little bit later. But my mother wasn't a very demonstrative person, at all. My earliest memory of my mother, I was three or something, and I was living with my grandparents at the time, and she came over, for one of her weekends, or sometimes she didn't come every weekend, but instead came every two weeks. And I remember she was sitting in the balcony, on a metal rocking chair, and I went over to her, and I started doing this to her (stroking her) and she was probably in a a bad mood or something and she said 'Leave me alone, leave me alone, I don't like it that way when you rub me.' You know, and that, really, I never got over that I guess. I still remember, even though I was really little...(It felt) bad. Like rejection. I never again tried to get close to my mother physically, never. We never hug her, never kiss her, at all. Not because I hated her, because I...it was, like, a barrier. My mother wasn't for cuddling or anything stupid and sweet and syrupy like that, you know? I just never did again. If I was away for a month or two weeks or something, I would come up and (makes quick kiss sound) you know, quick and not emotional. She never hugged me or anything, not ever anything physical at all.

Marie was here describing the avoidant attachment strategies she learned with her mother. Her relationship with her grandmother, on the other hand, had a measure of love in it.

She loved us (Marie and her sister), in a certain kind of way. But also we were too much for her, you know, she was older....She wasn't very cuddly either, but she wasn't very uncuddly either. I used to sleep with her. I guess that's physical contact. I don't remember her being with me the way I am with my son.

Marie's mother would visit on the weekends, so Marie was required to accommodate herself to different attachment styles.

Marie seemed to have internalized both attachment strategies from an early age: with her mother she felt rejected, and thus would act in

avoidant ways; with her grandmother it seemed she was sometimes secure, sometimes anxious. When she returned to her mother's care at age 5 1/2 due to the deaths of her grandparents, she brought with her a mix of attachment strategies, and a mix of encoded meanings about her self-worth and the worth of the other.

All of a sudden I was living with a mother who didn't really know me or love me or something, and all of a sudden my grandparents weren't there anymore, and my mother had to take responsibility that she had been -how do you say it - putting away on somebody else, her parents. She married a man, was pregnant at the time. At first we lived in my grandparents house, but my step-father was from a neighboring town, and was used to his own circle of friends, so he made my mother sell her house, her parents' house, and they moved to this new house. And they couldn't cope with me, I guess, I was too much, I was too tough to handle. I was what my son would have been like if I hadn't taken him out of the bad situation that we were in. Because there's no difference, except that I was worse than my son was.

It is possible to read beneath the lines of the text, and to sense the inner conflict that this created for Marie as a young child, as she had to learn avoidant strategies of attachment.

Marie did not entirely blame herself for how badly she behaved after losing her grandparents, and the home where she had lived for three years of her early life. She understood that her behavior was, in part, a result of her environment, and that there were actions that could have been taken to help her. In the above statement, she demonstrated a positive regard for her self, a capacity that seems to indicate that she has internalized some positive object relations from her relationship with her grandmother.

This ability to understand the cause of her suffering was interwoven, in sometimes contradictory ways, with an overwhelming degree of negative self-regard. "I was really a terrible child," she said. "It was a

response to never being totally loved I guess. I was never told that I was pretty. I was never told that I was this or that. Any kind of compliment that came my way was bad!"

A mix of avoidant and anxious attachment patterns can also result from a chaotic household. Marie commented that although her step-father was a "brute" and that she was spanked so many times that "it doesn't stand out because it was so common," "mostly I just craved stability..." For Marie, the chaos in the household was composed of "their lack of discipline in all aspects," terrible housekeeping, and constant fighting.

The fighting was difficult for Marie both because of the chaos it generated, and because she saw her mother apologize and make up after fighting with Marie's step-father, an action she would never take with Marie.

I went to sleep with a fight, I woke up with a fight. They would make up, it was disgusting. I hated them. My mother - I guess I'm really passionate about this because my mother will hug this man and kiss him and sit with him and you know pull his gray hairs out of his head. I mean, she wouldn't kiss me, she wouldn't hug me, I was her daughter but she would do this to this man. Who to me was so unworthy of anything because he was such a brute and stupid and everything that I hated, you know?

Marie's feeling of rejection was acute.

The constant fighting along with the erratic nature of all household activities, including cooking and cleaning, created a longing in Marie. She would compare her household to the households of her friends.

A lot of my schoolmates back then had moms who were home, you know? And they came home, and their mothers were there, and their houses were neat and clean, and dinner was ready, and mom was there, and they had their routine where they came from school; they put up their clothes, and changed, and went to their rooms, and

their rooms were neat, and they did their homework. I wanted that. My house was crazy.

She even wished that her mother would take the time and the effort to discipline her and her sister, and to show them how to help with the chores. But "she didn't have that discipline in herself."

Attachment feelings remained accessible to Marie however, and fed her longings. Such access is possible for a child who was once securely attached, or who is anxiously attached. The avoidant dismissal of attachment affects is not evident here.

Marie's anxious attachment to her mother was also evident at those times when she talked about her guilt for acting badly, and for the times when she hurt her mother. Although she described her relationship with her mother as distant and angry, she also said "I love her too I guess. I always wanted things to be different with her.... Oh please, I'm starting to cry. I guess I always wanted her to love me, accept me."

Experience of Malevolence from Step-Mother. Marie was not able to settle into developing a set of attachment strategies that would work at her mother and step-father's home. When she was eight she was sent to her father's and step-mother's because, according to Marie, her mother knew that her step-mother "would be a person who could handle me through fear." Marie described her step-mother as "very cold, and very controlled, very perfect." She would be punished often for rules that she felt were too strict, and impossible to figure out. Punishment was first isolation and then later a belting from her father. She would be prohibited from playing for days at a time, and would be required to sit in her room after school for hour after hour.

...when I came from school, I couldn't play. I would just go to the bathroom, change my clothes, do my homework, and then sit on a chair in my room until supper-time. After supper-time go back to my room, sit on the chair until it was bedtime, and then go to bed. It was like being a statue. I had no...it was like being an old person. I wasn't a person, I was stripped of my rights.

Marie felt that her step-mother was "cold and calculating" and that she had no love. The abuse was "like a ritual, icy cold."

The rejection here had a different quality than with her mother. The rejection from her mother was felt to be simply a result of chaos, and underneath it Marie seemed to have sensed a dimension of care. With her step-father, she felt he was "unfeeling, unpredictable, unaccepting." But her step-mother she experienced as sadistic and malevolent, with her father as a partner to the "mental torture."

Hopelessness about Attachment. Eventually her step-mother sent her back to her mother's home for a short period of time, and from there Marie was sent to her aunt's. She spoke of her longing to be taken in and cherished, and found herself jealous of her niece who had the security that she wished was hers. She didn't stay at this household for long before she moved back to her mother's. She described the depression that descended on her, a hopelessness rooted in her inability to have her attachment needs met, and inability to turn away from a recognition of these needs.

I wasn't happy anymore with anyone, by this time I couldn't just adjust to anybody....I think I went crazy. I didn't talk to my mother for a whole year, And I'm not talking about just talking to her sometimes or being angry at her a lot. I'm talking about I broke off all talking with my mother. I took over a room. I was dead even though I was there.

Marie's attachment strategies had been stymied in each new household, and yet because of her continued attempts to meet her attachment needs

through an angry, conflicted style, she was unable to use an avoidant strategy to "turn off" her attachment needs.

Marie recognized that her anger turned others away, and wished that someone could see beneath this angry style, to the vulnerable child underneath.

I always wanted someone to think I was special. What I wanted most most most in my childhood, and I would dream about this, was somebody who would say, 'Gee Marie, everybody says that you're a bad girl and stuff. But I think that's because you're angry, and that beneath all that anger there's a nice girl. I would like to work with you to show everybody that they're wrong.'

This longing kept Marie searching for someone who would "recognize" her.

Marie had several capacities that seemed to be derived from the internalization of a good-self good-other object relation with her grandmother. Her affiliation with strangers allowed her to "find people to talk to." She also developed a capacity for self-reflection, a sense of personal responsibility, the ability to move on from her past, and the ability to find a measure of forgiveness towards others.

Marie's Moral Dilemmas

The first three moral dilemmas that Marie described had to do with a friendship, a romantic relationship, and her relationship with a Department of Social Services caseworker. In all three cases, she felt taken advantage of, as though the other person was trying to wield power over her. She resented the fact that she felt the other person was more powerful, and that she was more dependent.

Marie used predominantly a justice orientation to her moral reasoning, and the care orientation is present. A sense of her self as moral agent was also present.

Always Feeling Exploited. Marie most often used justice reasoning to negotiate her moral dilemmas. She described her philosophy. "I don't let anybody - how can I say this? No matter how much I like somebody, if that person is being unfair, or I feel that I'm being taken advantage of, I will not allow it." Marie had some understanding of how these patterns repeat themselves in her life. She said,

... the patterns of my childhood haven't just stayed in my childhood. They have continued with me all through my life, and my relationships with other people. This pattern of if you're mad at somebody you go to your room and you're quiet, and you don't talk to anybody, this pattern of moving on every so often. Not only from residence to residence, but from people to people, not being able to continue these relationships with anybody. ...How can I explain this? Mentally, intellectually, I know that I wasn't wrong in the sense that I was doing this right thing because I felt taken advantage of, with my girlfriend, and the boyfriend who got me pregnant, and other persons in my life...In each individual situation, I feel that I was right, and that I did the right decision in taking the stand that I did. But as a whole, as I look at my life, as I see all these patterns of relationship, I doubt myself, and I say, 'Gosh Marie, is it really them, or is it you? Is there some flaw in you that you cannot keep a good relationship with anybody?' I feel that there must be something that is not likable or something.

Underneath her concern with being exploited was the feeling that she was inferior. She described an interaction with her social worker,

She was taking the position of being a superior person telling an inferior person what to do. It's like she was telling me I wasn't being a - I wasn't a full person. I'm some sort of irresponsible person that the system has a right to tell what to do.

Marie's self-respect was at stake with this woman, "the fact that even if I'm poor I still have the right to have control of my life." This was the voice of justice speaking, concerned with position and power.

Marie's mix of avoidant and anxious patterns of attachment played themselves out here in these dilemmas. She turned away from the other person because she felt inferior and subordinate - this is avoidance. Yet this turning away was motivated by her feelings of dependence which long to be met - this is anxious attachment. The predominant voice she used was that of justice; yet the motivation for asking the question about the repetition was the recognition of the importance of friendship, and the cost of loneliness. This was the care voice speaking to the justice voice, saying, 'something is missing in the way you construct right and wrong.'

Developing a Moral Self through Maternal Practice. In the fourth dilemma, Marie discussed her decision to leave her home when she discovered that her little boy was being sexually abused by her ex-boyfriend, the boy's father. She said,

I thought about fighting, I thought about confronting his father, I thought about going through the system again. But I felt very powerless. I had to leave because I was so powerless, nobody there was going to help me. Powerless because I would have needed time off from work, lawyers. You know it's not that easy when you don't have money...

She left with her young child, and fled to another state where she lived in shelters for the homeless. After months had gone by, she became determined to find her way to a different situation. Through the help of the battered women's shelter network, she moved to yet again a different state and started a new life.

Marie was taking courses at a community college, and was determined to provide her son with a good life.

I felt determined. I felt like I had to do something. I think that making that decision has a lot to do with how I feel about myself

today. Two years ago, when all this was happening, I didn't feel this way about myself. I think the fact that I took matters into my own hands, and that I did things for myself, and I made decisions, and I stood up for what I believe, and I succeeded in a way, to a certain degree, I feel that it has made me a stronger person, and more determined. ...I learned that I can take charge of my life and succeed I guess, that I don't have to be the victim of circumstances, that I can make things better despite the odds.

Marie was not sure yet whether she has succeeded in creating a new pattern to her life, in part because she was so lonely. She took the step to remove herself and her son from an abusive situation, despite the difficulties of making a new life with little money and no friends. She explained why she did this.

I wanted to do better for my child than what I had. I feel very responsible for this child. I feel that I am completely responsible for his happiness, and his well-being, and his everything. If he does not turn out to be a happy person or a good person, I will not forgive myself. I sort of screwed up already, he's already gone through a lot already. But I am determined not to let this become a pattern. I know that the most important thing for children is to know that their parents love them.

Marie had a spontaneous moral language that she used to guide her thinking. It was a moral language spoken primarily in the voice of justice, in the service of relationships. She was able to apply this reasoning to her current situations, as well as use it to reflect on the past. "I don't blame my parents as I used to" she says. "I think that I have gotten to know them. And to realize that there were circumstances in their lives too." Her ability to step back and reflect upon her life signaled that she was moving out of the preoccupied entanglement with her past. It seemed that taking a moral action was key to this growth, and to the current changes taking place in her ability to make attachments.

Irene

Irene's Attachment and Abuse History

Irene is a 22 year old single white woman who completed high school, and is in her second year of community college. She lives on \$5-9,000 a year from SSI disability. She has an eight year old daughter whom her half-sister is raising.

Irene's step-father physically and sexually abused her and her siblings, and her mother colluded in the abuse. For the most part, Irene manifests the pattern typical of those who live within a context of fear, in which many different attachment strategies are used in a fluid, changing way, and in which affiliation to strangers allows some attachment needs to be met. Irene was also physically ill for much of her childhood, and her relationship with the primary nurse at the hospital gave her a taste of security. Her intense protectiveness towards her siblings also provided her with a pattern of anxious attachment.

Her attachment with her mother is coded as fearful/avoidant. She experienced moderate verbal and physical abuse from her mother. Her attachment with her step-father is coded as fearful/avoidant. She experienced severe verbal and physical abuse from him, as well as sexual abuse. There were many indicators of unresolved trauma in her narrative.

Subjective Impressions. During our first telephone conversation, Irene started talking immediately about her step-father who was in jail for 30 years because of having sexually and physically abused herself and her siblings; and about her daughter, whom she gave birth to as a result of the incest, and who is now living abroad with her step-sister to protect her

from her "father." The stories poured out of her during our initial phone contact, and then again during the first screening meeting and the interview. She was highly affiliative to me, a stranger, turning to me immediately for some comfort in my role as listener.

During our first meeting Irene showed me a videotape of a ceremony in which she was given an "Independent Spirit" award by Channel 57 for her volunteer work with homeless children. She explained that her work with these children keeps her going, and is what her life is now about. It seemed important to her that I see immediately her best, ideal self.

As we were chatting, before the actual interview began, she spoke about growing up in South Boston during the bus riots. She described how she and her siblings would go into the laundromat and find cats in the dryers. I said, spontaneously, "Oh, how awful." She looked at me with an almost blank expression, and replied, after a pause, "It wasn't awful, it was funny." This caught me up short, as I realized I had already begun to make assumptions about her capacity for care that might not be valid. She added, "They were never hurt because we'd go in every ten minutes to check to see if there were any in there." There seemed to be both concern and a sadistic kind of amusement in her communication to me. I realized that she has shown me both her best and her worst self within a matter of ten minutes, and that she had both drawn me in and pushed me away.

During the first part of the interview, she needed to talk and talk, in detail, and chronologically, about the abuse. I could find no way to intervene and shorten her descriptions. A few times I would ask a question and she would respond that the answer to that would come later (for example, why she called her mother by her first name). It seemed that the need to tell the story in an ordered, chronological narrative helped her

feel more in control of the story, without being overwhelmed by feelings, and that it also minimized our intersubjective connection. Occasionally, as she told the story, she would lose her thread, wrap her arms more tightly around herself, and a glazed look would flit across her face. Sometimes I found myself having to call her back from a dissociated state and then she would pick up the thread by locating herself firmly in time, often by exact date. These dates seemed to serve as anchors for her, bulwarks against dissolution. Irene distanced herself from her feelings, saying often during the interview that she "didn't care", that "nothing mattered", that telling the stories now was far worse than living through them, because at the time she didn't register her own feelings. Although this sounded like the avoidant pattern of turning away from affect, it seemed more likely that this distancing was a product of a dissociation induced by fear.

As Irene described her childhood relationships, I listened with an ear attuned to discern attachment dynamics and dilemmas. At first what I heard sounded contradictory, patchwork, paradoxical. It was this patchwork nature of her attachments that seemed most critical to me in my attempt to understand Irene's attachment patterns and moral choices.

Irene developed attachment strategies that could be altered depending on the situation, as no one strategy was sufficient, or safe, within her family. Thus, her narrative contained elements of both avoidant and anxious attachment patterns, all within the context of fear.

Avoidant Attachment with Mother: Maternal Rejection within a Context of Paternal Sadism. Two themes predominated throughout Irene's story: the deeply felt rejection, dismissal, and abandonment by her mother, and the sexual and physical abuse - that can only accurately be called

sadistic - by her step-father. Irene's mother was a witness and participant to the abuse and Irene felt that she purposely chose abusive men as a way to express her hatred towards her children.

Irene and her siblings were shuttled off to grandparents or aunts while their mother went out drinking, on dates, or went to work. She'd say "I'll be back in a couple of hours" but not reappear until the next day. At one point one of Irene's aunts became like a "nanny" to them. Her mother and boyfriend "would be gone doing their own thing, and she'd be the one to take care of us, she'd pick us up at school, bring us home, feed us, and stuff like that."

Irene felt actively rejected by her mother during this time. She said,

...as long as the men didn't pay any attention to us kids, they were fine. This one guy that she met, he was the sweetest guy in the world. He paid attention to us kids, he really wanted to be a part of us kids' lives. And she stopped seeing him after once. After once of him being nice to us kids....I think a lot of it was just that she had to have the constant companionship of the person...if he showed any interest in us kids then he wasn't giving her his whole attention. You know, the guys that showed up and didn't really care much for us kids, she'd spend, want to spend all her time with, continuously.

The first man whom Irene described was someone her mother dated for several years. This man would punish the children for any small infraction, and his punishments would range from belting them, making them lie on a foot stool with their arms and legs straight in the air for hours on end, or eating jars of red hot peppers until they were crying. Her mother would stand by and watch, or join in by using the back of a brush to beat them.

Many of the scenes that Irene described centered around basic issues of parenting - providing food and teaching children how to take care of their hygiene.

My older sister and my step-brother didn't really like taking baths and stuff, and, because they didn't take a shower when they were supposed to, (my step-father) took one of those copper, metal brushes--and scrubbed them with it. To the point that they were bleeding. And I remember as he was doing it, 'cause they were crying, he did one at a time, I can remember he turned to all of us and said, 'If you guys don't start taking care of yourself, you're next'....I was, what, ten years old, and D. was, like four, my little sister. You can just imagine what went through us kids' heads. You know? And my mother stood there all along, in the door, while he did it. Like--like it didn't matter? You know? Like, she didn't say, 'stop!' or anything, she just stood there and just watched it happen. I dunno . . . there's a lot of different occasions, 'cause my mom stayed with him.

It was within this context of her mother's collusion with the abuse, and rejection of her children's needs for protection, that Irene's developing attachment patterns can be understood.

Irene described her relationship with her mother.

It wasn't really like a mother-daughter relationship. It was like she tried to be a friend, but at the same time, tried to be the controller of everything. There wasn't really even a relationship... growing up, the ideal I had of her was more in my head than it was her.

A combination of angry rejection, idealization, and attempting to please seemed to characterize their relationship.

She'd say things, I turned against it. I'd say things, she'd turn against it. There was no real connection or anything. Even when I worked in the store, I was the 'employee', I wasn't her daughter working for her in the store. You know, I took care of myself, I cooked my own meals, I bought my own food, I bought everything from 12 years old on.

These are descriptions of an avoidant relationship.

Providing Maternal Protection for Siblings. In the presence of threat, Irene's attachment system did not signal her to seek comfort and safety in a maternal figure. Instead she tried to provide maternal protection for her younger sister. Often in telling stories of the abuse, Irene told them as though she were witnessing the abuse of her sister, rather than feeling her own pain. The compelling necessity that Irene felt to help keep her family intact, and to maintain the attachments between all family members was clear throughout the narrative. "We could build a house with all the secrets we have." It was the keeping of the secrets that kept the attachments in her family viable. But it was also the secrets that kept the attachment primarily avoidant in nature. It seemed that in situations where there was no maternal figure to provide a safe base, there was some comfort to be found in becoming that safe base for somebody else.

All the children were placed in foster homes for a period of time, and Irene was separated from her younger sister, which caused her significant anguish. She commented that when they were first placed in foster homes on the same street as her parent's house, they would sneak home in order to be with the family again. "We didn't realize that (the foster home) was better for us!" The attachment to the maltreating parent was avoidant, and strong. The displacement of attachment needs onto each other as siblings also served to keep the children anxiously enmeshed. Eventually, two of the boys did run away from home and file for emancipation, but initially the family web held them tight.

This provision of maternal protection towards her siblings seemed to stem, in part, from an attempt to identify with an idealized version of her mother. In addition to the negative descriptions of her mother, Irene also

described her mother in ways that appeared contradictory. She said that she thought of her mother as the "ideal mom" while she was growing up. Although paradoxical, this too is typical of the avoidant child, who must not consciously recognize needs for comfort and security that are unavailable. However, the "good" and "bad" representations of her mother also point to the splitting that the fearful child must maintain in order to convince herself of a semblance of safety.

Irene described, in poignant detail, the attachment logic of the rejected, and then avoidant child, who tried to identify with the good object in order to neutralize the bad.

I think it made me try and get closer to her. I kept trying to achieve all that I couldn't do, even if it was totally impossible, I still kept trying to achieve it. You know? Constantly I was always at battle with myself, whether I really wanted to be, you know, part of her. I got so I did everything she said, I idolized her, everything she did, and then all the other kids in the house started calling me "Mummy Junior," or "Messiah," 'cause it got to be like I did everything, so they looked at me like the mother type image, like, they'd say, "Yes, Messiah!" [Laughs]. Bend their knees and bow to the floor, just to be sarcastic. But at the same time, it hurt at the same time, calling me "Mommy's Baby," "Mum Junior," all these things just to give it that little stab.

Irene's mother's fundamental lack of regard for Irene became clear to her when her mother discovered that her husband was sexually abusing Irene. She called her "crazy" rather than stop the abuse, and lied to the Department of Social Services to protect her husband. This shattered both Irene's idealization of her mother, and the tenuous sense of self which had used an identification with the ideal to find some inner stability. "I knew at that point that she didn't really care about what I was feeling, what I thought, it was what she wanted, what she needed. She didn't have the

slightest idea in her head. It did a lot of tearing apart, I felt really torn apart at that point."

The Hospital as a Safe Base. There was another attachment pattern evident in Irene's story. She was in and out of the hospital throughout this time, continuing into her young adult life, for a series of operations involving her bladder, kidneys, and urethra. These hospital stays were a source of support for Irene. Although her mother never visited, she established ongoing relationships with a few nurses who played a significant role as attachment figures for Irene. Occasionally, Irene would pull her stitches out and return to the hospital for extra stays. These times often seemed to follow a particularly stressful time in the family. The hospital seemed to provide a safe haven for Irene. A few years after her pregnancy from the incest at age 14, when she returned to the hospital for another operation, the love and support of the nursing staff gave her the courage to leave home.

Irene's Moral Dilemmas

Irene's moral dilemmas stemmed from her intense need to protect others from abuse, yet her fear that she would lose important relationships within her family if she took the needed action. Her identifications with the victim and with the aggressor created complex double-binds for her, as she struggled to believe in her own moral sensibility, and to take a moral stand. The struggle often left her with a sense of moral paralysis until finally, as she began to act on her own sense of right and wrong, her sense of self also strengthened. Irene's story is a testimony to the ability to speak in the voice of justice, in the service of relationships. Through

this voice of justice, she was able to create a new relationship to power in her life. Her narrative demonstrates the capacity to develop moral maturity through integrating care into a justice perspective.

Identification with the Victim and with the Aggressor. The first time that Irene remembered being abused by her step-father also marked the first time in the narrative when Irene's moral responses began to make themselves known. "... I can remember, my little sister at the time was only four years old, and I can remember seeing her--'cause he hit her as many times as he hit us--and I can remember sitting there and watching him hit her and thinking, "I can't just let this go on," Irene took the blame because "I didn't care, I just didn't wanna see my little sister in tears, she was four years old, she didn't need to deal with that."

Irene's step-father began sexually abusing her around the age of 12. When her mother found out, she blamed Irene, calling her "a little whore" and "a little tramp", and threatened to commit suicide because Irene "had destroyed the family." After her mother discovered that her husband was sexually abusing her daughter and the sexual abuse continued, Irene convinced herself that if her step-father was abusing her, then he wasn't abusing her other siblings. She thought,

If they're letting it happen to me, then it's not happening to anybody else. It's not happening to L. (her older sister), it's not happening to D. Then I found out that he was sexually abusing L. too! You know? It's like, even though I saw him abuse her, I kept saying, 'If I'm letting it happen to me, it's not happening to anybody else.'

The first moral dilemma Irene chose to describe was a time when she lost control and beat her little sister, whom she valued "more than anything in the world." Irene had risen early in order to cook Thanksgiving

dinner for the family, and her younger sister came out and started poking at her. Irene was already feeling angry at her step-father because he had stolen something of hers, and her sister "just kept hittin' me, thinkin' she was cute....I just spazzed out, and I took, like, her head--I chased her into this corner, by this file cabinet--and I kept banging her head on the file cabinet. And, though I saw myself doing it, and she kept saying, "Stop it! Stop it!" And it's like I couldn't stop myself."

Irene, caught in the 'repetition compulsion', acted in a way that she was unable to stop.

It's like I could hear her cryin' and screamin', but it just didn't matter? I think, you know, it was like, "I don't care if I'm hurtin' you, somebody else is gonna feel the pain that I'm feelin'!" I could see myself doin' it, I could, you know, I was angry, I got pissed, I was even crying while I was doin' it. You know, I started bawlin' while I'm sittin' there with her head, I couldn't stop my hand! [Nervous laugh.] I think I was experiencing everything she was experiencing, except for my head hittin' that, but in a sense it was. Like I was, you know? It was weird. And I couldn't stop, and then it was like, afterwards, after she just totally did it, I just wanted her to hold, you know, just to hug and hold her, and she wouldn't come near me. She was afraid of me, you know? And, [nervous laugh] I would be, too, if I was in her place, you know?

Irene was painfully torn between her projection of herself as victim into her sister and hence her need to both identify and protect her sister, and her identification with the aggressor in her father. This conflict provided the contours of many of her moral responses. Irene felt both "bad" that she had done this, because she was supposed to be the protector, as well as angry at her sister for not later forgiving her.

In this story, the care voice of moral reasoning seemed most evident. Irene said, "I will remember that day for the rest of my life because of the fact that I finally hurt somebody, that I hurt somebody

because I was hurting myself." She paused, and then talked about the paralysis of care, the paralysis of moral response. "You know, I just didn't care. I didn't care, and at the same time I felt so lost it didn't matter."

The care voice in Irene's narrative was often overtaken by the justice voice, the voice that reasoned that someone didn't deserve to be hurt because they were smaller or younger. She said, "I don't think she should have been on the receiving end of it all. I feel bad that she had to go through that, even though she was pestering and stuff, but it wasn't like she deserved to have her head beaten against the filing cabinet, you know?" Irene was here weighing the relative merit of each position, and finding herself morally wrong, because the severity of her response did not match the action of her sister.

The next moral dilemma Irene chose to tell also centered around the moral obligation she felt to protect someone younger and more vulnerable than herself. Irene's roommate threatened Irene with a knife while she was baby-sitting for a young child. The child called the police, and Irene was able to negotiate to have a restraining order taken out against this roommate. Again, the reasoning was from the justice perspective: the woman broke the household rules and deserved to be punished by the law; Irene's obligation was to protect the child. When Irene explained to the child why the woman had become threatening, she used the language of "what was fair" and "what was unfair." This moral dilemma was a struggle for Irene because of "the fact that I knew I had to protect C. but at the same time I knew I had to stand up to (the roommate)."

Another moral dilemma Irene discussed was a time she called the ambulance because her father was strangling her brother. She did this because she felt "obligated to help" because he was her brother. She also

invoked the principle of reciprocity by saying "I know he would have done the same thing for me, or felt the same thing - 'Oh my God, what do I do?'" The ambulance driver came and went, without believing that their step-father had been assaulting her brother. Irene again felt torn between her identification with her brother as victim and wishing that someone had the guts to stand up to her step-father. "I felt shitty at first, 'cause I felt like there was more I could do...I felt sorry for him. But at the same time I felt angry that he didn't really stand up to him and really tell him off, tell what really happened."

Moral Paralysis Changes to Moral Development. Irene described how her morality developed. "I think, a lot of the time, it's, like, 'Oh, my God, put this child in my place,' Would I want to go through that again. . . A lot of it is that, and a lot of it's just children don't deserve to be hit and hurt." Here Irene made use of reciprocal thinking as a way to understand what is right and wrong. This was a type of justice reasoning that emerged out of a care perspective: she felt pain, and also identified with the other's pain.

Irene defined morality as "whether or not I can do something to stop it, or put an end to it." She also described the paralysis of moral thought.

I knew to act, I just didn't know what to do. You know, I knew that--you know, I had to do something. I wasn't sure what, but I knew that I had to do something. And then to see that what I tried to do didn't do much of anything, just, like, stopped everything from--whether it was moral or not, at that point. It was just like it didn't seem worth it at that point to try anything. You know, because no one was willing to listen.

This moral paralysis began to change in her when she was working with a child who disclosed that she was being sexually abused. Irene

described how she needed to be in touch with her feelings in order to be able to know and to act on a moral sense of what was right and wrong.

I think it's just, like, I knew the right and wrongs, and everything, but it's just like, it just didn't seem to always matter, or count? 'Til all of a sudden, this little girl came to me. And, it was, like . . . 'Now, I know! Wait a minute. This is wrong, this shouldn't have happened, this shouldn't be happening. OK, what am I gonna do?' You know? After it finally hit me, of what she had actually said, you know . . . it just really was like, it was like gettin' hit across the head with a two-by-four!

And then she summed up her view, from the justice voice of rights and principles: "Because it's not right for any child to be...sexually abused. And somebody's gotta step forward to protect the children."

Struggling with the decision about whether or not to bring her step-father to trial for the sexual abuse began a process of Irene developing a sense of moral agency. She began to put words to her sense of what was right and wrong that had been unavailable to her before. The sexual abuse by her father was wrong, she explained,

because I was a kid at the time, he had no right touching me, that was my personal me that he, uh, that he had violated. You know, he was married to my mother, he wasn't married to me. It wasn't like he had the right to come near me. Just that he used to do or say, like things he'd say, 'I love you, but not just as a daughter' just all that type of stuff, you know, this is gross. I didn't want it, he didn't have the right to violate what I didn't want.

Irene felt that her step-father deserved to be punished because "it was kind of like after all that he did he should be paying for it rather than somebody else doing it for him. Instead of me taking all the fault, and me taking all the blame, it's about time he took his own blame." She took him to trial so that he could face his responsibility, and because she felt obligated to protect her younger sister who was still living at home.

The decision was a difficult one as Irene risked losing her entire family. Her siblings initially turned against her, and blamed her for breaking up the family. Irene also lost communication with her mother, which hurt her more than she would have guessed. She said,

When I was at home, I was with my mom all the time. Cause I was either running the store, doing this, doing that, I was always around her. So to all of a sudden to not have her around at all, I think it just pulled this big cord, like it was strangling me almost, like the umbilical cord had finally been severed in a sense, you know? Like I lost my whole sense of family in a matter of two months time. That's what it seemed like. And that's the one reason why I never came forward before then, because I was afraid of losing my whole sense of family, you know? It kind of brought back everything I was afraid of.

Irene describes the importance of being able to have access to her feelings, in order to know right from wrong.

I think the biggest thing was that I had the sense of judgement to know what was right and wrong. Up until then, I wasn't sure, I wasn't sure of anything that I decided. So to be able to follow through on it was - oh wow, I was right, in the fact that this guy was wrong. And that it wasn't me, that it wasn't something that I had deserved that he did. It was like, oh wow, being on an emotional high for awhile. It helped me to realize that I could make good decisions, and that I had the ability to trust. Because I had to trust in that lawyer, that prosecutor to really follow through, because otherwise he would have gone walking. So I had to learn to trust at least that one person. I learned that I could do all sorts of things that up until then I had no sense that I knew how to do. Even simple things like crying. I actually bawled my eyes out during that case. I didn't think I had the ability to do that. The only thing I knew growing up was the ability of having fear. We weren't allowed to cry. So it was, oh wow, I can cry. I really know how to cry! Little things.

When Irene learned to manage her overwhelming fear of her step-father, she was finally able to act on her sense of moral justice.

As a result of the court case Irene stopped calling her mother "mom" and started calling her by her first name instead, disowning the attachment for which she longed. She said,

I can't ever forgive her for the fact that she knew the abuse was going on and she participated in it. She made my sister have sexual intercourse with my step-father. And watched while she did it. (My step-father) made her do things to my mother. My step-father made my other sister do things to my mother... You know, she was as much responsible, she was right in it, part of it, we could have put her in jail, too. But we didn't have the strength to go for a second case, the first one took too much time. Too, too much out of us...

Although Irene felt that her mother also deserved to stand trial, she noted that her mother was living out a different kind of punishment. She said,

...she's living inside her own living hell, right now. She's trying to make ends meet by herself, with my little sister. She has to live with her own thoughts in her head about what she allowed to happen...I don't know how to explain it. It's like watching her now, she's just gotten to the point where she doesn't care about anything...It's just that she's living in her own sense of jail, of prison, because she's living within this little area, no one in town really talks to her anymore, because of the case, knowing what happened. Even my Aunt B and Aunt K won't have anything to do with her anymore because they've seen the true A. She's living inside her own little prison. She doesn't have her own support network that she thought she had, and that itself is a prison to her, because she can't reach out and say 'Well I need this, or I need that.' She has only herself to depend on, and that's it. And that's a living hell in itself, that's prison in itself. She stays either at the store or at work. She'll never never never rekindle those relationships.

Irene acknowledged the pain of losing connections with those one loves as a true punishment. This is the moral voice of care, spoken in the service of justice.

Child Abuse Potential

One of the questions investigated in this study was whether or not the child abuse potential of a young mother who had been abused as a child is correlated with attachment patterns in childhood. Another question investigated was whether child abuse potential is correlated with moral orientation. Among this small sample of 10 young mothers who had been seriously maltreated as children, the results clearly show that there is no correlation between child abuse potential and attachment patterns. Nor is there a correlation between child abuse potential and moral orientation. See Table 4.4.

7 of the 10 women had Child Abuse Potential protocols with validity scales and indexes in the normal range. Of these 7, 5 had elevated Abuse scores, ranging from 265 to 370, where scores above 215 are considered elevated [Milner, 1980]. Four of the five women who had Fearful attachments, which correlated with severe abuse, had elevated abuse scores.

3 of the 10 women had an elevated Faking-Good validity index. Their Abuse scores ranged from 205 (normal) to 240 and 334 (elevated.) It seems likely that all three of these women would have elevated Abuse scores if they weren't trying to make themselves look good [Milner, 1980]. All three had more severe verbal abuse than physical abuse. Two of the three women had child abuse coded as mild. Although there is more avoidance in their attachment strategies, which would likely account for the higher elevation in the validity indices, their potential for abusing their children is not significantly different than the women with more anxiety in their mixed attachment strategies.

Table 4.4

Moral Orientation, Child Abuse Potential and Attachment Style

SUBJECT	MORAL ORIENTATION PREDOMINANT PRESENT	CHILD ABUSE POTENTIAL VALIDITY INDEX	ATTACHMENT PRIMARY WHO PATTERN	ATTACHMENT SECONDARY WHO PATTERN
Ina	Care predominant Justice present	Elevated Abuse Validity normal	Mother Anxious	Step-father Mixed
Sally	Care, with Justice Integrated	Normal Abuse Validity normal	Mother Anxious	Father Avoidant
Allison	Mixed Care/Justice	Elevated Abuse Elevated Validity	Father Anxious	Mother Anxious
Ann	Justice present Care absent	Normal Abuse Elevated Validity	Mother Avoidant	None
Marie	Justice predominant Care present	Elevated Abuse Normal Validity	Mother Fearful/Anxious and Avoidant	Father Fearful/Avoidant
Molly	Justice present Care absent	Elevated Abuse Elevated Validity	Mother Fearful/Anxious and Avoidant	Step-father Avoidant
Amy	Care predominant Justice present	Normal Abuse Normal Validity	Mother Fearful/Anxious	Step-father Avoidant
Donna	Care predominant Justice present	Elevated Abuse Normal Validity	Father Fearful/Anxious	Mother Avoidant
Miriam	Care predominant Justice absent	Elevated Abuse Normal Validity	Mother Fearful/Anxious	Step-father Fearful/Avoidant
Irene	Justice, with Care Integrated	Elevated Abuse Normal Validity	Mother Fearful/Avoidant	Step-father Fearful/Avoidant

2 out of the 10 women had Abuse scores in the normal range, with scores of 150 and 182. These women both had attachment patterns coded as fearful/anxious and avoidant; and anxious and avoidant. One of these women had child abuse coded as mild/moderate, the other was coded as severe/moderate.

Integration of Case Studies

The material presented in this chapter described themes that emerged through the analysis of the Attachment and Abuse Interview and the Moral Reasoning about Violence Interview. The thematic material illuminated the complex psychological dimensions within differing attachment categories, and how these dimensions affected moral reasoning.

Several important themes emerged, in the women's own voices. One of these themes was the ways that these women struggled with an identification with the aggressor and their attempts to transform this identification through an identification with the victim. The stories of Marie, Donna, Miriam, and Irene are particularly illustrative of this potential for transformation. Another major theme was the role that becoming a mother plays in transforming moral thought. Ina, Sally, Marie, Molly, Donna, Miriam, and Irene all spoke to this maternal experience. The ways in which severe abuse paralyzes moral thought was described by Ina, Ann, Marie, Amy, Donna, Miriam, and Irene. The ways in which taking a moral stance can aid in the development of a sense of self were described by Ina, Allison, Marie, Miriam, and Irene.

The real-life dilemmas that each woman chose to discuss, and the moral orientation that she took in this discussion, clearly reflected her

earlier attachment history. Those women with predominantly anxious attachment strategies, even if this strategy were in conjunction with a fearful pattern, more often employed the voice of care to address their moral concerns. Moral dilemmas about being hurt and witnessing others being hurt predominated in their narratives. An identification with the other as victim seemed central to their struggles about moral action. These women who spoke primarily in the voice of care were Ina, Amy, Donna, and Miriam. Sally developed an integrated use of care with justice reasoning. Those women who were scored as fearful/anxious seemed to struggle with an identification with the aggressor in addition to their identification with the victim, and these competing identifications contributed to their moral reasoning. Amy, Donna, and Miriam exemplified this internal struggle between identifications. One woman, Marie, who was coded as fearful/anxious and avoidant made use of a justice orientation predominantly, rather than care. This was due, most likely, to the numerous rejections she experienced in her early life from multiple attachment figures, so that her experience of powerlessness shaped her moral orientation more powerfully than other factors associated with anxious attachment.

Those women with predominantly avoidant attachment strategies, even when this strategy was in conjunction with the fearful pattern, more often employed the voice of justice to address their moral concerns. Moral dilemmas about the need to become powerful in order to protect others and/or the self predominated in these narratives. Ann and Irene illustrated this style, although Irene also developed a way to integrate care concerns into justice reasoning.

Moral orientation and attachment strategies did not appear to be predictive of child abuse potential. The majority of the women did speak directly and often passionately about their desire to parent their child differently from the ways in which they were parented, and their desire to break the cycle of abuse.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to understand how the interaction between maltreatment and attachment patterns in childhood affects moral reasoning about violence and conflict in adulthood. The ways in which attachment patterns are internalized under conditions of stress and adversity, and the ways in which these attachment patterns influence and shape moral thought and action were investigated.

Ten young mothers were given the Attachment and Abuse Interview and the Moral Reasoning about Violence Interview. These interviews were supplemented with questionnaires about childhood abuse and current child abuse potential. The women were between the ages of 18 and 25. The mean stated income was less than \$5,000. The mean educational level was 11th grade. Using an attachment coding scheme designed for this study, the cases were organized according to the primary attachment category: anxious, avoidant, fearful/mixed anxious and avoidant, fearful/anxious, and fearful/avoidant. In each case study, attachment strategies and dilemmas were related to moral dilemmas and moral orientation.

The major themes discussed in the Attachment and Abuse Interview centered around identification with the attachment figures as victim and/or aggressor, the lack of maternal protection from abuse, and a preoccupation with maternal rejection. Themes from the Moral Reasoning About Violence interview translated these attachment dilemmas into the moral domain. The women articulated how their identification with the victim motivated

moral concern, how their identification with the aggressor either compelled them to repeat abusive behavior despite their wish not to do so, or, in several cases, how an identification with the aggressor was turned to moral good through learning a responsible use of power. The ways in which severe abuse can paralyze moral thought and action, and the role of maternal practice [Ruddick, 1989] in breaking through this paralysis and aiding in the development of the self as moral agent were explored by several women.

Several questions guided the design of this study. In this chapter, I discuss the findings that emerged from this study about the complex interaction between maltreatment, attachment style, moral thought and moral action. I also discuss further questions that emerged as a result of this study, and the implications of these findings for future research and clinical practice.

Discussion of Findings

The Role of Internalization in Moral Development

The first question posed by this study was "How does the internal working model of the self-other relation, as measured through attachment style, hinder or contribute to the ongoing development of moral understanding and action?" Since each attachment style is associated with the internalization of a sense of self as good or bad, and the other as good or bad, these women's stories help illuminate the variability of ways in which these internalizations take on meaning within the self, and hence shape moral thought.

Psychoanalytic writers have recognized that the internalization of the self-other relation often involves processes of identification. Identifications are viewed as the foundation on which moral development is built. Westen [1985] argues that the identification with and idealization of parental figures takes place due to the need for security, both internal and external. The creation of a benevolent inner world, in which one does not experience attack from introjected representations of parental figures, is necessary in order for the identifications and idealization that underlie moral development to take place. Self-esteem is built through becoming like one's primary attachment figure, whom one values.

Sagan [1988] also discusses the processes of identification necessary for the conscience to develop. He proposes that the conscience develops in three stages: in the first stage, the foundation of the conscience is laid through the basic care and nurturance given to the child; the second stage takes place through identification with the nurturer and with the comforter, which makes possible the identification with the victim. In the third stage of moral development the desire to give back love and nurture are generalized beyond one's own family [1988, pp. 160-161]. Identification takes three forms according to Sagan: identification with the provider or protector, with the aggressor, and with the victim. The identification with the victim helps to transform the identification with the aggressor into an identification with the nurturer [1988, p. 180].

In both these theories, a basic benevolent environment for the growing child is considered to be the fundamental ground through which an identification with the comforter and nurturer develops. Without such a beginning, there is no internalization of an ideal that can help mediate an identification with the aggressor. What then happens to the child who has

no early benevolent environment in which to grow, and where the experience of comfort and nurture is inadequate or missing? The stories of these women provide important clues to some answers to this question.

Anxious Attachment: Fragmentary Identifications

In anxious attachment, an internal working model of self-other has developed in which the self is negatively valued in relation to the other who is positively valued. In Ina's story, both mother and child were battered by the same man, and the mother did not also abuse her child. Ina's internalization of her mother was not able to include a sense of the maternal figure as strongly protective and morally competent, and there was no basis from which to experience the self as good and worthy. Ina did derive a small measure of comfort and sense of protection from her mother's willingness to escape the abusive situation with her daughter. Ina internalized her mother as both a victim and a protector, and her attachment needs were met through these dual identifications. She thus felt that she was responsible for protecting her own mother, and that she herself was not worthy of true security and benevolence.

The development of Ina's sense of self was severely compromised through this early identification with her mother as victim, and the lack of identification with a mother capable of truly caring for and protecting her. Her father was abusive, and yet her attachment to him mandated some form of internalization. Her only choice was to internalize her step-father as aggressor, thus creating a further sense of herself as bad, and worthy of abuse, and her step-father also as bad, acting in ways which she experienced as morally wrong. This is the internal working model of the fearfully attached child where both self and other are experienced as bad.

The biologically-driven need to maintain her attachments created a repetition compulsion in which Ina sought out other abusers as a way of remaining attached to and hence identified with her father. The fearfully attached child thus lives in an immoral universe, in which sadistic abuse and victimization are the only structures of attachment and meaning that are known.

Ina's moral struggles reflect these deficits and contradictory needs. She struggles with basic questions about how to care for her self, and how not to remain a victim. The birth of her own daughter provided a significant impetus for Ina's moral development, as she felt called upon to become her daughter's protector, and thus to experience herself as potentially good. This strengthening of her self-as-protector not only helped her take action to protect her daughter against external danger, but also helped her to take action to protect herself against the internal aggressor - that part of her which believed that she deserved abuse.

Sally is anxiously attached to her mother, and so also has an internal working model in which the self is experienced as bad in relation to the other who is experienced as good. Although she also experienced abuse at the hands of her mother, this experience did not override her anxious attachment. Thus she remained compelled to seek attention and love from her mother. Her anxious attachment seemed to stem primarily from her mother's erratic and unpredictable behavior, sometimes good and sometimes bad, and from her inconsistent availability. This lack of consistent, warm parenting from her mother created a sense of unworthiness in Sally, and she developed anxious, demanding attachment behaviors in order to elicit her mother's attention.

Her identification does not seem to be with her mother as either victim or protector. Instead, her identifications seem fragmentary, as reflected in her moral confusion in childhood, and her search for "wholeness" through active participation in a religious community in adulthood. For Sally, too, the birth of her daughter strengthened her sense of herself as good, and motivated her toward the good as a mother.

Allison, like Sally, was primarily anxiously attached, although her primary attachment figure seems to be her father. Like Sally, she both valued her primary attachment figure and experienced abuse from this person. Allison also struggles with a sense of fragmentary identifications, and seems morally ambivalent and confused. The birth of Allison's daughter did not seem to motivate her toward becoming more morally competent, as a mother, sister, daughter, or friend, but instead her fragmented and contradictory identifications seem to have paralyzed her. Perhaps because her primary identification is with her father, becoming a mother was not as powerfully influential as it was with many of the other women.

Avoidant Attachment: Identification with the Aggressor

In avoidant attachment, an internal working model develops in which the self is experienced as good in relation to the other who is experienced as bad. In these cases, the development of the conscience seems to take a different path. Ann, who had only an abusive mother to whom she could attach, and no siblings, developed an avoidant style, in which she defensively excludes attachment concerns. Her self-esteem is still markedly low, but she does think of herself as being better than her mother. Her exclusion of attachment concerns from active awareness and

hostile devaluation of her mother reflects the lack of any stable identifications with her attachment figure as nurturer. As a consequence, she seems to have not internalized any sense of right and wrong. She has no internal voice that motivates her towards protection and nurture, and seems not to recognize that this voice is missing. Ann does not speak about her children as providing an opportunity for growth, as so many of the other women do. She is creating avoidant attachment in her own children, in part because her own processes of identification with them have been stymied. Her primary identification seems to be with her mother as aggressor.

Fearful Attachment: An Oscillation between Identifications with the Victim and the Aggressor

In fearful attachment, the internal working model that develops is of the self as bad in relation to the other who is also experienced as bad. Miriam, who had an abusive mother and no other attachment figure, is able to articulate some of the anguish she feels at the lack of the internalization of an ideal. She recognizes that her lack of opportunity to internalize a benevolent mother has serious implications for her own wounded capacity to choose the good.

Miriam had a brother and a half-sister, whom she could watch as victims of abuse. This witnessing nurtured the identification with the victim, which she is now experiencing with her own children. Her identification with her children can be so profound at times that her baby's cries can trigger a series of flashbacks for her. During the flashbacks, she alternates between the role of victim and aggressor, and is concerned enough about her children that she is able to articulate her concern about

herself as a parent. Her dilemma is that she feels that her children's paternal grandparents, their alternate caretakers, might also be abusive. But since she is still identified with the aggressor internally, she is unable to sort out the external clues about possible abuse.

Molly, also fearfully attached, seems to have internalized her attachment figures as aggressors. She positively values aggressive actions, and identifies aggressive actions as protective. The experience of nurture seems to have been subsumed within the category of protective aggression.

Amy, fearfully and anxiously attached to her mother, seems to swing between her identification with her mother as nurturer and aggressor. As a young child Amy had a relationship with her mother which she then felt she lost when her mother remarried. The internal struggle between the experience of self as good and then bad seems to underlie her moral confusion. She often takes an aggressive posture in the world, but underneath this posture she empathizes with the victim, and is sometimes able to seek out morally competent others to guide her.

Donna, who was abused by her father, and experienced her mother as passively collusive, clearly articulates the oscillation between her identification with the victim and the identification with the aggressor. She is more attached to her father, simply because he was more emotionally present in her life, albeit in abusive ways. Her attachment to him is fearful and anxious. As a result of this anxious attachment, a process of identification with him did take place during her development. To learn how to modulate her violent impulses would require that she dis-identify with him, yet to do so leaves her with no internalization of an attachment figure.

Her inner world swings from victim to aggressor and back again, leaving her with an internal sense of chaos and disorganization.

Her identification with her son as victim helps motivate her to undergo this process of modifying her internalizations. Yet she is aware that without the external support of morally competent, benevolent others, she will not be able to figure out how to attain her ideal. Her experience tells her that the good people she has met in her life are only transiently available.

That Donna has developed an ideal is, itself, remarkable, and seems to be based on her daily witnessing of the abuse of her siblings. She comments that although she could not keep her own feelings of hurt alive, she could feel hurt for the other. This identification with the victim, and the ways in which her attachment needs are met through this identification, has helped develop her ideal, and motivates her in her attempt to break out of the cycle of abuse.

Marie, fearfully and anxiously attached, also seems to demonstrate fragmentary identifications, although her identifications seem to be with her grandmother as nurturer and her mother as aggressor. She does not easily identify with the victim, and sometimes uses an avoidant style to defend against these feelings. She, too, has been able to form a moral ideal, based on her identification with her son as victim and herself as his protector, and the awakening of these attachment feelings towards her son also seems to be modifying her internal working model of both self and other as bad.

Irene, who experienced both her parents as sadistically abusive, also struggles with flashbacks and an inability, at times, to prevent herself from acting in violent ways. She is, however, full of remorse when these

occasions take place. Her identification with the victim remains a strong component of her moral development. Irene had several younger siblings and half-siblings, towards whom she felt an obligation of maternal protection. Her witnessing of abuse toward her younger sister in particular, shaped her moral responses into an ability to articulate concern about the immoral use of power and force. Her love for children also reflects her identification with the victim, and provides a motivation for the growth of the self as moral agent. As she says, "Someone has to stand up and protect the children." Irene's story points to the persistent need for attachment, and a child's ability to make even other siblings into attachment figures if no other option is available.

Several important conclusions emerge from this analysis of identificatory processes in maltreated children:

- 1) Anxious attachment seems to form when the primary attachment figure is experienced as neglectful, weak, or inconsistent. Although occasionally abusive, this abuse is subsumed within the anxious attachment, and the mother is still valued as good in relation to the self which is experienced as bad, and not worthy of care. Fragmentary identifications, with a strong leaning towards an identification with the victim shape the anxiously attached child. Her moral development is hindered by the lack of internalization of a moral ideal, but the continued activation of her attachment needs allows her to sense that this moral ideal is missing. When this anxiously attached child grows up and becomes a mother, her identification with her own child as victim can help propel her towards the moral good. This can result in her taking protective action toward her child as well as toward her self. However, the fragmentary nature of the identifications can also lead to moral passivity.

2) Avoidant attachment seems to form when the mother is unavailable and abusive. The defensive exclusion of attachment needs prohibits the internalization of the mother as nurturer. Instead the mother is taken in primarily as aggressor, which prevents both the development of a moral ideal, and the awareness that such an ideal is missing.

3) Fearful attachment seems to form either when the attachment figures are sadistically and chronically abusive, or when there have been multiple attachment figures so that no stable attachment strategies have been able to develop. In this situation, the need for attachment remains activated because of the intensity of the need for protection and nurture, which is never met. These women demonstrated swings in their identification with the aggressor and their identification with the victim. If they had siblings, they were able to make use of their siblings to nurture their identification with the victim and thus strengthen their own moral choices towards protection and nurture. Although these women all state a strong desire to give up their identification with the aggressor, the attempt to do so often leaves them feeling empty and worthless, and places them even more at risk for self-abuse or suicide. These women also make use of their children to nurture the identification with the victim and the nurturer, to create an internal ethical ideal, and an experience of themselves as morally competent.

Attachment Styles Shape Moral Orientation

The second question posed by this study was "How do differences in childhood attachment experiences relate to the choice of justice and care orientations to moral concerns?" Another question asked "How does

the interaction of maltreatment and attachment experiences in childhood shape belief systems about conflict and violence in adulthood?"

These women's stories demonstrate that there is a significant link between attachment patterns in childhood and moral orientation. If a child was primarily avoidantly attached, or had a predominance of avoidant attachment patterns within a fearful relationship, then this child, as she grows, will be more attuned to issues of power and position and will be more likely to use justice reasoning when she is grappling with moral issues. Thus, Ann spoke about "getting even," Irene spoke about her step-father violating her rights and deserving punishment, and Marie spoke about feeling inferior and powerless, and sacrificing friendship so that she wouldn't be taken advantage of.

On the other hand, if a child was primarily anxiously attached, or had a predominance of anxious attachment patterns within a fearful relationship, she will be more attuned to issues of protection and care, and will be more likely to use care reasoning when she is grappling with moral issues. Thus, Ina, Donna, Miriam, and Sally all spoke about the importance of learning how to care for themselves and their children in order to be able to recognize and cherish others fully. The issues that were most salient to each group differed, as did the language that they used to express their concerns.

This study found that even when there was significant abuse from the attachment figure, thus creating a fearful attachment, if either anxious or avoidant strategies predominated, the moral orientation was also significantly influenced. Thus, those fearfully attached children with predominantly anxious strategies, were more likely to seek out experiences of nurture, to be painfully aware of this deficit, and to speak in the voice of

care. They also knew that moral competence, and the creation of an internal moral ideal, were painfully missing. This was true of Amy, Donna, and Miriam.

Those who were fearfully attached, with avoidant strategies and a justice voice predominating, seemed more at risk for an unthinking acceptance of an immoral or amoral world, and less aware of the lack of moral competence and benevolence in their worlds. Molly exemplifies this situation. However, it also seemed that it was the emergence of the justice voice, the voice that spoke about "rights" and "what I deserve" that helped propel these women into action. Thus, Ina and Marie each took action to rescue their children from abusive situations, Donna was struggling with whether she felt that she was capable of taking this action, and Irene took her step-father to court for his abuse.

Themes of Care

Another question which guided the design of this study was "What moral dilemmas do people grapple with as a result of childhood maltreatment?" The experience of moral paralysis versus moral action, self-care versus suicidality, and the developmental potential of maternal practice were frequently and spontaneously discussed by these women.

Breaking through Moral Paralysis

Robert J. Lifton, in his book The Broken Connection [1979] coined the term "psychic numbing" to describe Hiroshima survivors. The term refers to an absence of, or dulled, human response to pain. Since then, Lifton has applied the term to many other survivors, who experience a

sense of "radical discontinuity": a state of not knowing if there will be a tomorrow, for oneself, or for one's children [Macy, 1983].

Many of the women in this study spoke about this experience of psychic numbing in the face of chronic threat to their very survival. Irene, Miriam, Ina, and Ann all spoke about suicidal thoughts and attempts. Their suicidality was directly linked to their experience of themselves as morally ineffective and incompetent. Each of them had taken actions to try to stop the abuse of either their mother, their siblings, or themselves, and failed. No one had listened or believed them. After repeated failures, they each gave up and felt that instead they wanted to take their own lives. For each of them, their contemplation of suicide was a result of a moral crisis. Ann even stated that she felt that it was morally right to end her life, since she was unable to end the abuse, which she knew was morally wrong. For each of these women, once they had passed through this moral crisis, they no longer cared. The tenuous development of their selves as moral agents had been halted, and a sense of moral paralysis set in.

Avoidant attachment strategies, combined with the dissociation induced by fear, contributed to this state of psychic numbing and moral paralysis. Ann, whose predominant strategy was avoidant, has not yet found a situation that motivates her sufficiently to struggle to break through this paralysis of not caring. The other three women have all struggled to break through this paralysis. For Irene, her identification with the victim compelled her to work with children of homeless mothers, and it was the disclosure of abuse of one of these children, as that child was sitting in Irene's lap, that began to dissolve her emotional and moral paralysis. For Donna, her identification with her son sometimes compelled her to lie in his bed when he wasn't at home, and begin to allow the

feelings that had been buried to surface. Irene and Donna have each taken actions in their lives that have helped them believe in themselves as moral agents. Irene has successfully taken her step-father to court for the abuse. Donna has gathered around herself a host of mental health professionals to help teach her a different way of living and parenting.

For Miriam, it is also her desire to mother her children that keeps her from suicide. Miriam seems to be the one most at risk, in part because she is actively engaged in this struggle to dissolve her moral paralysis. She passionately wants to mother her children differently, but doesn't know if she can. Her struggle to break through the psychic numbing has not yet led to an action in which she can feel herself as a morally competent human being. Her moral anguish at her potential wrong-doing, and the failures of others to help her, still makes suicide seem like a positive moral choice.

Maternal Caring

The women in this study were asked to describe a situation involving violence or conflict when they did not know what to do. They were also told that the disclosure of abuse of their children would require that I file a report with the Department of Social Services. Even under these conditions, the majority of these women spoke spontaneously about conflicts involving their maternal role and responsibility. This speaks to the power of the maternal experience in shaping moral thought.

Ruddick [1989] describes maternal thinking as comprised of both cognition and affect, in which affective experiences are utilized for cognitive processes. Noddings [1984] writes that maternal practice is often the phenomenological basis for the development of an ethic of care. Individual

acts of maternal caring serve as the springboard for the development of this relation ethic. It is the intersubjective experience of relational caring, rather than individual acts, which makes possible the development of an ideal. She writes, "We want to be moral in order to remain in the caring relation and to enhance the ideal of ourselves as one-caring." This study explored those moments when, for each of these women, the desire to experience relational caring began to move into the domain of a relational ethic.

For all of the women, the opportunity to identify with "the innocent" through their children, helped them strengthen the sense of themselves as potentially good, and thus to take morally competent actions for the sake of themselves and their own children. For some of the women, the sense of themselves as potentially competent mothers helped mediate the internalization of the aggressor, so that they could seek out assistance for themselves as both mothers and as survivors of abuse.

Contributions to the Literature on Disorganized Attachment

The disorganized/disoriented category of infant attachment becomes the fearful category of adult attachment. This study explored the subjective experience of women who had been maltreated as children, and thus were unable to develop a unitary attachment strategy in relation to their primary caregiver. All the women who experienced abuse by their primary attachment figure were coded as fearful. One woman who was coded as fearful, did not report abuse by her primary attachment figure. However, she clearly had both anxious and avoidant attachment strategies. It is possible that this coding reflected the interrupted attachment she experienced in her first three months of life, because of being placed in

foster care due to her mother's postpartum illness. One woman who experienced extreme abuse by her step-father, and therefore had a fearful attachment to him, was coded as anxious for her attachment to her mother.

This study points to the integration of numerous attachment strategies, as a result of either experiences with numerous attachment figures, or abusive ones. As such, it confirms findings in the literature about maltreated children who combine strategies in an attempt to meet their attachment needs. It also validates the inclusion in the study of adult attachment of a fourth category which includes more than evidence of unresolved trauma.

Within the fearful category, three subgroups emerged in this study. In each of these subgroups, elements from both anxious and avoidant styles were evident. However, in one subgroup, avoidant strategies predominated, in another subgroup, anxious strategies predominated, and in the third subgroup, there was unstable oscillation between anxious and avoidant strategies. Each of these subgroups will be discussed.

Fearful/Anxious

The women who were coded as fearful/anxious were often preoccupied with attachment concerns, yearned to forgive their parents, and struggled to understand their own role in the abuse. They most often felt that it was their fault, or that something was wrong with them. They would sometimes speak about both loving and hating their primary caregiver, and struggle to integrate these memories. These women often found themselves in angry, open conflict with their attachment figure, unable to turn themselves away from their attachment concerns. The

avoidant strategies were present in the theme of rejection that recurred throughout the narrative. Chaos and fear predominated.

Fearful/Avoidant

In these narratives, there was no attempt to find memories of love or comfort, and no testimony about missing love or comfort. Descriptions of parents were vague and global, even though descriptions of specific memories of abuse were sometimes available. A sense of the actual attachment figure, and the relationship between the attachment figure and child, were difficult to ascertain. There was no attempt to understand one's role in the relationship, and little preoccupation with the attachment figure herself. The theme of rejection dominated the narrative. There was some anxious preoccupation with details of the abuse, pointing to how trauma breaks through avoidant attachment strategies when the need for comfort and protection is too great. Themes of chaos and fear dominated the narrative.

Fearful/Anxious and Avoidant

The two interviews that were coded as fearful/anxious and avoidant differ from each other, pointing to the multiple pathways through which a child can develop unstable attachment strategies. One of the interviews was coded as mixed anxious and avoidant due primarily to the fact that she had multiple attachment figures, and seemed to have internalized two different, and stable, attachment patterns, which she then used within a climate of chaos and fear. The other interview was coded as mixed anxious and avoidant because the woman displayed signs of both intense separation anxiety, a global, idealized picture of her primary attachment

figure, along with a devaluation of attachment concerns. She was also the only woman who appeared paranoid during the interview process, commenting on the malevolent intentions of the people in trucks passing on the streets. Her interview points strongly to the need to include a developmental object relations analysis in the attachment interview.

Implications for Further Research in Adult Attachment

Methodological Issues

The three methods that have been previously developed to measure adult attachment do not include a comprehensive theoretical or methodological understanding of the role of disorganized attachment in adulthood. Main and Goldwyn's [1988] measure does not account for a fourth category of attachment, except as evidence of unresolved trauma. Hazan and Shaver's [1990] self-report measure only includes three categories of attachment. Bartholomew and Horowitz's [1991] measure does propose a four-category typology, but does not investigate the role of trauma or of mixed attachment strategies within this fourth category.

In this study, the fearful category proposed by Bartholomew and Horowitz [1991] as representing a prototype of an internal working model in which both self and other are experienced as bad was investigated. The effects of trauma on attachment strategies was also investigated. The coding criteria utilized for this study needs to be tested on a large sample, and then factor analyzed to determine the significance and covariance of each factor. In this way, the subjective experience of those who must employ multiple attachment strategies could be empirically explored. In addition, although the fearful category indicates that there are numerous

factors that create this attachment category, the confounding of these factors with the effects of trauma need to be further explicated.

Within the fearful category, there appeared to be multiple pathways which led to this attachment outcome. Loss of a parent during infancy, multiple attachment figures, and the experience of extreme trauma were all represented in this small sample. Each of these pathways potentially encode different developmental trauma, requiring different therapeutic intervention.

Theoretical Issues

An investigation of how different dimensions of object relations develop within each attachment style would also help illumine the interaction between these variables. Westen [1991] points out that attachment style represents a cognitive schema, and as such, does not develop over time. The interaction of attachment schemas with other developmental dimensions, such as the cognitive structure of representations of people, the affect tone of relationship schemas, the capacity for emotional investment in relationships and in moral values, and the understanding of social causality [Westen, 1991] would help explicate the nature of the attachment categories, and would be particularly helpful in understanding the nature of fearful attachment. In addition, such a study would further our understanding of how multiple attachment schemas are organized internally, the interrelationship between this multiplicity and traumatic experience, and the implications of this multiplicity for personality development.

Contributions to the Literature on Moral Development

The Role of Gender Domination in Moral Development

Another finding that arose from this study, although it was not the primary focus of inquiry, was the powerful effect of gender-domination on moral development. Many, if not all, of these women's stories poignantly demonstrated how attachment dilemmas and moral responses, although linked to each other, are also inextricably bound to a larger order: the socially sanctioned subjugation of women [See Benjamin, 1988; Noddings, 1989]. The structuring of social relations according to gender provided the parameters within which these women attempted to meet their attachment needs, and in which they attempted to construct an understanding of the moral world to which they had been subjected. These stories are testimonials to the extraordinary effort it takes to re-construct a moral world according to the dictates of one's own subjectivity. When one hardly knows what it means to be experienced as 'subject' rather than 'object,' this task is daunting, if not sometimes impossible.

The strength of this gender-domination may explain the finding of this study that there seems to be no correlation with attachment patterns in childhood and child abuse potential. Nor does these seem to be a correlation between moral orientation to care or justice and child abuse potential. The majority of the women in this study, despite a desire not to perpetuate abuse, have a high potential to abuse their children.

Seven out of ten of these women spoke, often passionately, about their strong desire to break out of the cycle of abuse. They spoke about how much they want to become caring, loving mothers capable not only of

treating their children well but of protecting their children from abuse. Yet of these seven, only one will most likely succeed in breaking the intergenerational cycle of abuse. The other six women will most likely abuse their children, according to results from the Child Abuse Potential Inventory. This is a personal tragedy for those individual women who want so badly to treat their children better than they were treated. It is also a societal tragedy. Of these six, five also spoke about their abhorrence for violence in other situations, and their desire to change violent relationships with peers and partners. Only two of the ten women do not appear likely to abuse their own children. Desire to change appears not to be enough to break the cycle of abuse.

Moral Orientation

In In a Different Voice, Gilligan writes that "the essence of moral decision is the exercise of choice and the willingness to accept responsibility for that choice. To the extent that women perceive themselves as having no choice, they correspondingly excuse themselves from the responsibility that decision entails" [1982, p. 67]. After her initial book, Gilligan shifted from an investigation of developmental variables in promoting a woman's ability to exercise choice, and instead pursued her hypothesis through studies of women's articulation of moral voice.

Gilligan and her colleagues argue that a study of moral orientation allows the recognition of moral themes and concerns that are overlooked or distorted if viewed through a developmental lens. In these research studies, a moral orientation shaped by concerns of care, rather than justice, have been explored. Gilligan and her colleagues have found, in numerous studies, that women tend to favor the care voice, although they

are often capable of using the justice voice, and that men tend to favor the justice voice, although they are often capable of adopting the care orientation. Two studies offered some contradictory data. Ward [1988] found that students who discussed violence in the street tended to use justice reasoning, while students who discussed violence in the home tended to use a care orientation to moral reasoning. Her hypothesis was that a justice orientation was used when the victims and perpetrators were strangers, and a care orientation was used when the victims and perpetrators were loved ones. She also found that students were able to use both orientations simultaneously. Salzman [1990] looked at nine students from a larger study drawing on a population at a wealthy private school. These nine students had "problematic attachments", usually as a result of their parent's high-conflict divorce, and tended to use a justice orientation. Salzman's hypothesis was that these girls experienced a conflict between their needs and the needs of the other in the family, and this conflict oriented them towards justice. Salzman's research contradicts Ward's finding that those students who described conflict in the home utilized care reasoning.

In this study, the women's use of moral orientations was complex. No woman used a care orientation exclusively. Three women used primarily a care orientation, but justice reasoning was often interwoven. Two women integrated care and justice: one woman seemed to integrate care into a justice framework, while another woman seemed to integrate justice into a care framework. One woman seemed morally ambivalent, and used both voices, in a non-integrated way. Two women used a justice orientation almost exclusively, although for one woman, this reasoning was in the service of protecting attachments. Two women had Moral

Reasoning about Violence Interviews that could only be scored tentatively because there was not enough moral language in the narrative. One was scored justice, and the other was scored care. This did not seem to be a result of lack of inquiry from the interviewer, but instead seems to point to a developmental deficit where the sense of self as moral agent was not yet available.

Results of this study thus indicate that care and justice reasoning are not based on gender. However, they did seem related to early attachment histories: those with more avoidant attachment strategies, tended towards justice reasoning, while those with more anxious attachment strategies, tended to use care reasoning. In those cases where this correlation did not occur, the attachment style was fearful, and the predominant theme often correlated with moral orientation. Thus, in one case where the attachment style was coded as fearful/anxious because of her preoccupation with attachment concerns, the dominant theme in her narrative was that of rejection, and her moral orientation was toward justice.

Narrative as Development

Gilligan and her colleagues have pioneered the telling of true moral tales as a way to investigate moral development. Rather than posing hypothetical dilemmas, an interview method which has dominated the field [Kohlberg, 1969; Selman, 1980], Gilligan and Brown proposed that we listen to the stories that people tell of their own experiences. They further suggested that we attend both to the process of listening as well as the process of telling [Brown and Gilligan, 1981].

Other theorists in the field of moral development have taken this notion of narrative a step further, and have argued that the telling of tales

is itself a developmental act [Freeman, 1991]. Tappan [1991] argues that through narrative a person can come to "authorize" their own language and thus claim authority as a moral agent. He writes,

What does it mean to claim authority for one's moral thoughts, feelings, and actions? To claim such authority means, for one thing, to clearly express and acknowledge one's own moral perspective. It also means to honor, and thus authorize, what one thinks, feels, and does in response to a moral problem or dilemma, even in the face of conflict or disagreement. And, it means to assume responsibility and accountability for one's moral actions, and for acting on behalf of one's moral perspective. [1991, p. 7].

Tappan draws on other philosophers [Arendt, 1968; Bahktin, 1981; MacIntyre, 1981] in his claim that as authors of our own lives, and by assuming authority for our lives, we become responsible and accountable. This occurs precisely because the act of speech is inherently dialogic: it reflects previously internalized interpersonal relationships, and it addresses a current listener.

It can thus be argued that through the telling of their moral tales, these ten women were engaging in an act of development. They were authoring and authorizing their own moral perspectives. This can clearly be seen in the narratives where the participant struggles to articulate her point of view, and through this struggle, comes to learn more about her own moral choices and confusion. Ina and Allison both discuss how they are trying to learn how to stand up for themselves without yelling and screaming; Marie comes to recognize herself, through the interview, as someone who had a moral success by taking the actions needed to remove herself and her child from an abusive situation and relocating to an entirely different state; Donna uses the interview to take another step in the process of dis-identifying with her father as an aggressor; Miriam struggles

hard during the interview to locate her sense of herself as moral authority; and Irene lays claim to her new found sense of morality, which she fought hard to achieve through the long months of bringing her step-father to trial against the wishes of her family.

Implications for Research in Moral Development

Maternal Practice as Moral Development

Through choosing their own moral dilemmas to explore through narrative, these women called attention to the importance of mothering as a potential opportunity for moral growth. There have been no previous studies which have explored, through a qualitative, narrative form, the moral dimensions of maternal experience. In addition to documenting the difficulties of modifying the cycle of abuse, this study also documents the potential that maternal practice provides for changing internal working models of self-other relation. The tendency to repeat with one's children that which one experienced as a child has been amply documented in clinical and empirical studies. This study, in contrast, highlights the ways in which the identification with "the innocent one" can provide the impetus for moral growth, and perhaps create a pathway out of the cycle of abuse.

The Question of Development in Moral Reasoning

Gilligan's approach to the study of moral reasoning is non-developmental. Yet the women in this study did seem to differ on developmental dimensions, whether a more phenomenological approach [Belenky, 1986], a cognitive-developmental approach [Newberger and Cook, 1983] or an object relations approach [Westen, 1991] is applied. Integrating a developmental perspective into Gilligan's approach may help

in the investigation of how moral thought is translated into moral action. In addition, utilizing an approach that empirically investigates cognitive and affective dimensions of moral development would be useful [see Westen 1991].

Implications for Clinical Practice

Creating Moral Competence as an Aspect of Recovery

The women in this study have never been in a relationship with a morally good or morally competent person. Each of these women has fragmentary and/or multiple identifications, which are incapable of generating a feeling of internal goodness. Each woman's yearning for attachment, with her child and with her mother, seems inseparable from her yearning for an experience of moral good. Each woman seems to yearn for an experience in which she knew deeply that she was valued enough to be treated well, and that she herself was capable of treating others well.

These women's stories teach us that learning to care for self is an essential, and primary, moral task. They teach us that the neglect of self, the "not caring" attitude, is experienced as an outcome of moral paralysis. They teach us that suicidal ideation stems from an experience of immorality or moral incompetence from another to whom they had turned for help. The lack of a moral ideal modeled in another and experienced in the self is reason for suicide, according to these women.

Many of these women had never heard the word "morality" or "values", and looked genuinely perplexed when asked for their personal definitions. These women teach us that living a life in a morally chaotic or

sadistic world has often resulted in a profound lack of knowledge about right and wrong, and about the basic ability to create a world with meaning. These women ask us to look starkly into a world where no experience of good has taken root within their language, meaning making, or internal working models of self and others.

This study revealed the powerful and complex desire of mothers who had been maltreated as children to learn to act in ethical ways. The motivation towards nurturing the ethical ideal, for each of the women, was based on their own memories of abuse, and their desire to provide a better world for their children. These ten women used both care and justice reasoning in their discussion of moral dilemmas. However, even those women who used predominantly a justice orientation did so in the service of relationships. These women spoke about their obligation to protect children and to keep others from harm, while the women who used a care perspective spoke about their concern and their desire to prevent others from experiencing pain. Relational concern thus was central to the majority of these women, although the language they used, and their attention to power and position versus care and co-feeling differed. The attention to relational dilemmas points to the basis of relational experience in moral development.

Therapy as Providing a Model for Maternal Practice

These observations have direct implications for clinical practice. Therapy itself can provide a model for maternal practice: the therapeutic relationship can demonstrate how feeling and thought can work together, and how intersubjective relationship is possible. The therapist can model how the simultaneous activities of compassion and control, care and

protection, can teach moral competence. A therapeutic relationship, in which past relational experience can be understood and modified, and the identification with the aggressor and/or victim transformed into an identification with the nurturer teaches an ethic of care.

It is essential that the therapist be a morally competent person, and be able to demonstrate this in therapy. S/he must be capable of imparting a sense of a moral ideal, and be capable of guiding moral action. When issues of violence in the client's life outside the session are discussed in therapy, the therapist must respond to these in a protective, caring, firm manner. When issues of aggression enter into the session, the therapist must respond to them accurately as they occur, demonstrating competence in curtailing aggression in a firm and caring manner. When issues of sadism and masochism enter into the transference, the therapist must be able to accurately address them as they arise. To do so, s/he must keep careful track of her own tendency to dissociate in the face of trauma and violence, and to help regulate the relationship so that it remains safe for both parties in the therapeutic alliance. The therapist must also provide accurate experiences of valuing the client and enhancing the client's sense of subjectivity.

If the issue of self-care is recognized to be a moral one, then attention to this area of functioning can be understood as providing the basis for nurturing the moral competence of the client. Likewise, if suicidality is understood to be about a moral crisis, then both therapist and client can look to see where an experience of moral violation and disappointment has occurred in the client's life when suicidal feelings arise.

In conjunction with a therapeutic relationship that worked through issues of relational dilemmas, and thus helped create and nurture the

ethical ideal, specific ways that maternal thought can be translated into maternal practice seems to be crucial in teaching women how to act on their ethical ideal, and creating an experience of moral competence.

Different transference requirements would emerge in the therapy of women who were predominantly avoidant or anxious in their attachments, and these women would respond to a different language addressing attachment and moral dilemmas. These women will not be able to give up their identifications, or face the true horror of the sadism to which they have been subjected, without an attachment relationship with a therapist which has been put to the test over and over again. The client will need to find out, repeatedly, that this relationship is respectful, caring, durable, flexible, truth-seeking, and moral.

Conclusion

This study examined how the interaction between maltreatment and attachment patterns in childhood affect moral thought in adulthood. It was found that the lack of a moral ideal, fragmentary identifications, and the internalized sense of badness in the self-other relationship, mitigate against the ability to break the cycle of abuse. However, it was found that the strong desire of the women to mother their children differently from the ways that they themselves were mothered provided a strong impetus towards learning moral competence.

APPENDIX A

LETTER TO PARTICIPANT

Dear possible participant,

- * Are you a young mother between the ages 18-25?
- * Were you abused as a child?
- * Do you want to be part of a research project about how young mothers think about conflict and violence?

The Thinking About Conflict Project has two parts:

*First, I will ask you to fill out a few forms that will tell me a little bit about you and where you've come from.

*Second, you will be invited to take part in an individual interview with me that will last about 2-3 hours.

What will you get out of being part of this Project?

*If you participate in both parts of the Project, I will be able to pay you \$20.

*You will appreciate the ways you have learned to think and respond in difficult situations.

*Your experiences will help other mothers who are in similar situations.

*If you would like a copy of the transcript of your interview, I would be happy to send it to you.

All interview materials will be strictly private and confidential.

Who am I?

*I am a doctoral student at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst, in the Counseling Psychology Program. I have worked as a therapist with many people who didn't have an easy time growing up.

*If you would like your experiences to be part of this Project, please give Marcia Black a call at 549 - 1143 in Amherst.

APPENDIX B

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

I agree to participate in this study conducted by Marcia Black, a doctoral student in the Counseling Psychology Program, School of Education, University of Massachusetts, for the purposes of her dissertation research. I understand that the research involves the study of how young mothers who were physically hurt by their parents think about conflict and violence in their day-to-day lives. I understand that my participation will involve filling out several questionnaires and, if chosen for the larger study, taking part in an interview which will focus on the research topic and which will last from 2-3 hours.

I understand that Marcia Black is a mandated reporter and is obligated to report any child physical abuse resulting in injury occurring presently. Otherwise, all information I share during the screening and the interview will be kept strictly confidential. I understand that the interview will be tape-recorded and that the tapes will be erased after being transferred to written form. I understand that the tape recordings will be heard only by the researcher and a transcriber who will only hear first names. All identifying information will be deleted from the transcripts, and the screening forms will contain only my first name.

I realize that the interview may help me understand how I respond to conflict and violence in my own life. It also may bring up painful thoughts and memories. I understand that I can decline to answer any questions, stop the interview at any point, and withdraw from the study at any time. I understand that Marcia Black will provide a list of referral sources for counseling if I wish.

The transcript of my interview and a synopsis of the results of the study will be made available to me at my request.

I understand that I will be paid \$20 if I am chosen for the full study and complete the entire interview.

Marcia Black has answered all my questions about the study and I am willing to participate.

Date: _____

Signature: _____

APPENDIX C

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Age:
2. Marital status: ☐ Single ☐ Married ☐ Separated
☐ Divorced ☐ Widowed ☐ Living with
3. Present income: ☐ Less than \$5,000 ☐ 5-9,000
☐ 10-14 ☐ 16-20 ☐ 21-27
☐ above \$28,000
4. Source of income: ☐ self-employed ☐ salaried job
☐ welfare ☐ spouse
☐ other (Specify)
5. What is your occupation (if any): _____
6. Ethnicity: ☐ Caucasian ☐ Black ☐ Latin/Hispanic
☐ Native American ☐ Asian
7. While growing up, who assumed the father and mother roles in your family?

Father or father figure was: _____

Mother or mother figure was: _____

Your parents were: ☐ married ☐ divorced ☐ separated
☐ widowed ☐ living together
8. Your highest level of education:

0	12345678	9 10 11 12	13 14 15 16
never	grade	high school	college
attended	school		
9. How many children do you have: _____
10. The youngest is? _____
11. The oldest is? _____

APPENDIX D

ATTACHMENT STYLES SCORING PROTOCOL

Secure Attachment

- positive self/positive other
- values relationships and attachment-related experiences
- able to thoughtfully reflect on role in relationships
- recalls primarily positive experiences, with ease of recall
- able to integrate positive and negative aspects
- memories often involve security and affection
- can be affiliative to others
- narrative coherency

Avoidant Attachment

- positive self/negative other or positive self/idealized other
- devalues attachment experiences and relationships
- unable or unwilling to reflect on role in relationships
- tends to report idealized and global impressions of attachment
- unable to integrate positive and negative
- memories often involve rejection and lack of love
- may seek out others
- narratives often contradictory and/or restricted

Anxious Attachment

- negative self/positive other or negative self/oscillating +/- other
- entangled and preoccupied with attachment experiences and relationships
- often confused about self and other
- attempts to reflect on role but can't get perspective
- attempts to integrate positive and negative aspects of attachment relationship but ends up either confused or idealizing
- memories tend to involve role reversal in which child is responsible for care-taking of attachment figure
- non-affiliative to others; does not seek out others
- narrative often disorganized and lengthy

Mixed Attachment

- negative self/negative other
- experience of self seems fragmentary
- attempts to both devalue attachment figure and preoccupation with attachment figure are evident
- seems unable to deactivate attachment needs though may wish to
- often reports memories of multiple and fragmentary attachment relationships
- chaos and fear seem dominant
- may sometimes seek out others, other times may not
- narrative often seems fragmented, sometimes even incoherent

APPENDIX E

EVIDENCE OF UNRESOLVED TRAUMA SCORING PROTOCOL

Evidence of Unresolved Trauma

- intrusion of thoughts and feelings
- sudden stilling of speech
- sudden change of subject
- emotional flooding during interview

one is scored as mild

two is scored as some

three is scored as moderate

four is scored as many

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