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SEPARATION-INDIVIDUATION: AN INTERPRETATION OF THE MATERNAL RESPONSE TO INFANT EXPLORATION

The Ohio State University

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SEPARATION-INDIVIDUATION: AN INTERPRETATION OF THE MATERNAL RESPONSE TO INFANT EXPLORATION

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of the The Ohio State University

By

Frances Beth Bontempo, B.A., M.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1983

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Finally, thanks go to my parents who have always believed in and supported my academic and personal pursuits.
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FIELD OF STUDY

Major Field: General Theoretical Developmental Psychology
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The present study involves an attempt to examine infant exploration from the mother's perspective, i.e., what significance does this development in her child hold for her, and what influences her ability and willingness to facilitate that development. Underlying this investigation is the assumption that mothering can be defined as a central developmental task of adulthood. It is not only the child's developmental course that is affected by the mother-infant dyad, but also the mother's.

Despite the current life span emphasis in developmental psychology, psychosocial development beyond childhood has received limited study. Regarding mothering, most of the literature to date has been theoretical discussion; empirical work is scarce. Psychoanalytic theory has traditionally addressed mothering or motherhood, but much of the work derives from the psychoanalytic view of the importance of the early mother-child relationship for the development of the child. Several psychoanalytic theorists have examined mothering from the mother's perspective, chiefly concentrating on the phase of assumption of motherhood and its
psychological meaning for and effect on the mother herself (Benedek, 1959; Bibring, 1959). Deutsch (1945) has written extensively on the processes of pregnancy, delivery, and childcare from the maternal perspective. Sander (1962, 1964) followed the mother into the mother-child relationship as it evolves over time and addressed mothering as a series of developmental tasks, the confronting of which is central to the mother's own maturation as well as the development of the child.

Cohler and his colleagues (1970, 1975, 1980), contemporary representatives of the psychoanalytic school of thought, have also examined mothering within the context of a developmental task. Cohler's work makes a somewhat unique contribution to psychoanalytic literature in that he goes beyond theorizing and attempts empirical investigation of the mothering process. Much of his work examines mothering gone awry (e.g., Cohler & Grunebaum, 1975), but with his operationalization of Sander's mother-child issues (Cohler, 1970), he has produced a means of exploring maternal attitudes toward the development of the infant and toward her role in the mother-infant relationship. Cohler's instrument, the Maternal Attitude Scale, will be used in the present research.

The current investigation adopts the maternal perspective with respect to a specific phase in the parenting process, namely, the point at which the mother is faced with a significant move on the infant's part toward autonomy. Clearly, this stride is significant to the infant's course of development, but it is the mother's
response to and interpretation of her infant's development that is the focus of this investigation.

The following literature review will present relevant psychoanalytic literature so as to provide a theoretical basis for the formulation of an interpretation of the maternal response to infant exploration. Factors that impact on the mother's interpretation of her infant's development such as her own developmental history and current level of adjustment will also be examined.

**Infant Exploration**

To date, the emphasis in infant exploration studies has been on the developmental course of autonomous functioning and on the significance of such independent behaviors for the infant. Early investigations by Rheingold and her colleagues (Rheingold, 1969, 1973; Rheingold & Eckerman, 1969; Rheingold & Eckerman, 1970) documented the earnestness with which infants as young as 10 months of age move away from their mothers to explore both naturalistic and laboratory environments. Rheingold & Eckerman (1971) have described the psychological significance of exploration for the infant. It is through such free exploration of the environment that the infant learns about the properties of the physical world and establishes a sense of mastery. Others have also noted the importance of exploratory behavior to the child's development of autonomy.
(Wenar, 1972) and its contribution to the child's mental health
(Mahler, 1968).

The maternal role in infant exploration has been examined in
terms of how the mother's behavior impacts on the infant's
willingness to explore. The mother who facilitates infant
evolution has been identified as the "emotionally available" mother
(Mahler, Pine, & Bergman, 1975) or "sensitive caregiver" (Ainsworth,
Stayton, & Bell, 1971). The emotionally available mother is one
whose behavior signals to the infant that she is aware of his/her
presence and activities, and that she is available to respond
empathically and appropriately (Sorce & Emde, 1981). The importance
of emotional availability to the infant has been demonstrated in the
laboratory. Fifteen month old infants, whose mothers were instructed
to be unavailable (read a newspaper) as the infant encountered four
novel situations, exhibited less pleasure and exploration than
infants whose mothers were instructed to watch their infants and
sensitively respond to their requests during the same four novel
situations. Additionally, the infants of unavailable mothers spent
more time in close proximity to their mothers but made fewer bids for
their attention, apparently resigning themselves to their mothers' closed stance (Sorce & Emde, 1981).

Maternal availability has also been demonstrated to impact on
the child's subsequent academic functioning (Sander, 1965). Cohler,
Gallant, Grunebaum, Weiss, and Gamer (1980) have noted that mothers
who believed in encouraging the child's interactions with the environment had children with higher IQs (even with maternal IQ partialed out) than children of mothers who expressed an opposite attitude regarding exploration. Mothers who encourage exploration provide their children with opportunities for struggle and subsequent mastery.

That mothers differ with respect to emotional availability has also been suggested. For example, in a series of studies designed to investigate infants' "executive competence," i.e., his/her spontaneous exploration of the physical environment, Wenar (1972, 1976) observed 25 mother-child pairs in the home. Observations were made at monthly intervals from 12 to 20 months infant age. Specifically, mothers were rated on a 1 to 7-point scale with respect to their emotional responsiveness, acceleration, and restrictiveness of prohibitions. Three maternal response styles were identified: Laissez Faire, Restrictive, and Stimulating. The Laissez Faire mother was one who responded infrequently to the child's executive competence behavior in either a positive or supportive, or negative, rejecting manner. The Stimulating mother was one who encouraged executive competence, either in a way which was appropriate to the child's capacities or in a manner which reflected little regard for the child's developmental level. Finally, the Restricting mother was one who tended to prohibit the child's efforts at competence in either a warm, concerned, or a cold and constricting manner.
In a related study, Banks (1979) investigated maternal responses to infants' increasing locomotor ability over time and found differences among mothers in terms of the extent to which they were involved in their child's exploratory behavior. Specifically, Banks examined the frequency of maternal behaviors such as scolding, restricting, suggesting, praising, offering or removing toys, initiating or terminating activity, and holding or picking up the child. In discussing the consistency of mother-infant interactions from the pre-crawling to walking stages, Banks described three maternal styles which are similar to Wenar's (1976) designations of Restrictive, Stimulating, and Laissez Faire:

One child was dominated by his mother...His movements were very restricted by gates, and his social and exploratory activities were completely directed by his mother, who would often take away a toy he was interested in to have him display his ability to use another one. In contrast, another mother had a pattern of watchful interest and occasional participation but very little overt direction of her child's behavior...In a third pair, the mother was almost totally uninvolved in her child's activities, often retreating to another room during the observations...Even when immediately present, she interacted in less than 5% of the segments (p. 104-105).

Banks further reported that these interaction patterns were unrelated to social class or birth order the child.

Finally, in an investigation of infants' independent behavior, defined in terms of infant exploration of a new environment (laboratory), Rheingold (1975) reported significant individual differences among infants, 12 and 18 months of age, which could not
be attributed to sex, birth order, or developmental maturity.
Although she was not focusing on maternal behavior, when she looked
to maternal behavior as a possible antecedent variable of infant
differences, Rheingold identified two maternal behavior patterns.
The first involved mothers who responded very little to their
infants' overtures for interaction as their children explored the
laboratory. The second involved mothers who did everything
conceivable to gain their children's attention and keep him/her close
(e.g. maintained eye contact, stroked or patted the child, adjusted
the child's clothing or held the child tightly when in the mother's
lap), thus interfering with the child's attempts at exploration.
These variations occurred within an experimental context which was
designed to minimize involvement, i.e., mothers were asked to allow
the child to do whatever he/she chose and to limit interactions to
responses to the child's overtures. Rheingold (1973) concluded:

I saw enough in the short 20-minute periods of observation
to convince me that the behavior of some mothers works to
keep their children at their side and interferes with the
children's play (p. 201).

Rheingold raised the possibility that the mothers who deviated from
these instructions might have been trying to thwart the experimenter.
In light of Wenar's (1976) and Bank's (1979) work, it seems more
plausible to assume that Rheingold saw individual differences in
maternal responses to their children's attempts at exploration rather
than their reactions toward the researcher or the experimental
setting.

In summary, research suggests that infant exploration is an activity that is essential to the infant's psychological development. Further, differences among mothers in terms of emotional availability have been induced (Sorce & Emde, 1981), observed in naturalistic settings (Banks, 1979; Wenar, 1972, 1976), and the laboratory (Rheingold, 1973). As noted earlier, however, interpretations of these differences among mothers are scarce; what does exist is primarily theoretical. An interpretation of the maternal responses noted in the literature might begin with an examination of the meaning that infant exploration holds for the mother.

Maternal Perspective on Infant Exploration

In determining what significance infant exploration has for the mother, it is important to note the developmental context in which exploration takes place. During exploration, the toddler appears to be engaged in a "love affair with the world" (Greenacre, 1958). He/she invests a great amount of energy in broadening what once was basically a world consisting of him/herself and the mother. In addition to promoting a sense of mastery, exploration, facilitated by locomotion, greatly enhances the child's growing awareness of a separate existence from the mother.
Mahler, Pine, & Bergman (1975) have detailed the process by which an infant separates psychologically from his/her mother. Her ego psychoanalytic theory of separation-individuation posits a developmental sequence through which the infant moves toward the achievement of a sense of a separate individual entity (Edward, Ruskin, & Turrini, 1981). Separation-individuation is a normal, i.e., non-traumatic, separation process that occurs within the context of a developmental readiness for independent functioning (Mahler, 1968). Separation and individuation are two lines of development; separation refers to the child's emergence from a symbiotic union with the mother to self-other differentiation, and individuation refers to the development of the child's own individual characteristics. Mahler et al. (1975) outline four subphases of separation-individuation which follow a period of normal autism and symbiosis. Table 1 provides a summary of each step in the "psychological birth" of the infant (Mahler, 1968).

Of particular relevance to the present study is the second subphase in the separation-individuation process, Practicing, which is divided into two parts, early practicing and practicing proper. In both, the major accomplishment on the part of the infant is the exercise of an autonomous ego function, locomotion, to expand the world through exploration. "Early practicing" is characterized by initial attempts to physically move away from the mother, such as paddling, crawling, and pulling up. With the development of motor
Table 1
Mahler’s Theory of Separation-Individuation

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<th>Stages of Non-differentiation</th>
<th>Separation-Individuation Subphases</th>
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<td><strong>Normal Autism</strong></td>
<td><strong>Practicing</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Physiological, not psychological processes are dominant</td>
<td>Locomotor functions develop and are exercised to limit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lacks awareness of mothering agent-objectless</td>
<td>Increased sep. anxiety as become aware of psych. separation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative lack of cathexis of external world but is responsive to some types of external stimulation</td>
<td>Rapprochment Crisis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Birth - 2 months</strong></td>
<td>Emotional obj. constancy lets child use sub.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Symbiosis</strong></td>
<td><em>Early practicing</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preobjectal &quot;I&quot; not differentiated from &quot;not I&quot;</td>
<td>Increased sep. anxiety</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dim awareness of need satisfying part-object</td>
<td>Increased tolerance for time away from mo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behaves as if he and mother are omnipotent system</td>
<td>Consol</td>
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skills, the infant plays a more active role in determining the degree of physical closeness to the mother. Mahler et al. (1975) suggest that the infant strives to achieve an "optimal distance" from the mother, defined as that distance which allows freedom for exploration at some physical distance from the mother. During Practicing, the infant uses the mother as a secure base from which to explore. Contact is maintained between the infant and mother during exploration, initially by occasional returns to the mother for physical contact, i.e., "emotional refueling" (Furer, 1964), and later by the use of distance receptors such as vision and audition. Although the infant contributes to the establishment of "optimal distance", the distance established between infant and mother and the mode of contact used is, according to Mahler, determined to a great extent by the mother, a point to be elaborated below.

"Practicing proper," as defined by Mahler et al. (1975), is characterized by upright locomotion and the child's seeming "love affair with the world" mentioned earlier. During "practicing proper," there is a great shift of libidinal cathexis to motor skills and exploration of both human and inanimate objects. The child's delight in his/her developing autonomous ego functions serves to counteract the threat of object (maternal) loss which he/she experiences with each step away from the mother. Mahler et al. (1975) suggest that, to this point in the separation-individuation process, locomotion serves as the greatest stride toward the
assertion of individuation.

Therefore, it is apparent that as the child explores, he/she is making a significant move toward psychological separation from the mother. Locomotion, or behavioral separation, may be perceived by the mother as a manifestation of the process of psychological separation outlined by Mahler. It is possibly quite significant that the infant's first steps are in a direction away from her. Differences reported in the literature in terms of maternal responses to infant exploration suggest that this developmental achievement may be a welcome or dreaded developmental achievement from the mother's perspective.

In discussing the maternal response to the separation-individuation process, Mahler and LaPerriere (1965) have noted that the child's movement through the various subphases presents a double-edged problem for the mother. On the one hand, she may experience a loss as the child moves from a symbiotic union with her. Alternatively, however, the mother stands to gain in terms of object relationship with the individuating child. Wenar (1971) has made a similar observation in his discussion of the mother's role in the infant's development of initiative:

Parental reactions to the toddler's venturing out vary widely. Some mothers may be relieved infancy is over. They may have found caretaking wearing or upsetting and derived little pleasure from what they regarded as the infant's demanding, obscure, alien behavior. They see the toddler as having become a human being who they can talk to or read to, who is more comprehensible and
companionable, and whose independence gives them more time for themselves. Other mothers who found caretaking intensely gratifying may be reluctant to close the door on this phase and may tolerate the toddler's autonomy while secretly cherishing bedtimes or illnesses or other occasions which revive his need for tender care...

(p. 63)

Mahler and LaPerriere (1965) also noted that the mother's reactions to and tolerance of the child's psychological separation are complicated by the fact that with separation comes an increased appeal by the child to the mother and an increased claim to her. Mothers might experience loss of symbiosis yet relief from it and gain in object relationship but fear regarding the new demands being made on her. Depending on the mother's unique interpretation of the separation-individuation process, then, she will vary in her ability and willingness to support the child's movement through each subphase.

During the Practicing subphase, the mother's role is to remain emotionally available to the child even as he/she moves away from her. As noted above, an emotionally available mother is one who provides a secure base from which the child may venture and establish the mother-child optimal distance which facilitates exploration. It is important to consider that the mother is called upon to provide this emotional support within the context of the child's moving away from her. Feelings regarding psychological separation may strongly impact on the type of availability the mother offers. As Edward et al. (1981) suggest, the mother who has difficulty relating to her
child as he/she moves away from her may try to block such efforts. Deutsch (1945), hypothesized that efforts to dominate the child may serve to preserve the child's dependency on the mother and to avert separation trauma for her. In contrast, the mother who derived great satisfaction from the dependent infant may withdraw from the child as his/her psychological separateness becomes more obvious to her. She may, on the other hand, feel that she has little more to gain from the child once he/she has left the symbiotic union and attempt to accelerate his/her individuation by encouraging the development of locomotion without consideration of the child's physical and emotional readiness.

Sander (1962, 1964) has also discussed variations in mothers' emotional availability during what he called the "period of focalization on the mother," which corresponds to Mahler's Practicing subphase. He described the mother who is consistently available as one who is secure enough in herself that she can enjoy and yield to the child's demands for emotional support. She believes and emotionally accepts that the child will eventually turn from her to "broaden his own horizons" (Sander, 1962). The ambivalently available mother, on the other hand, is threatened by the role of "secure base" and sees it as something to escape from or defend against.

The issue which seems to underlie the concept of emotional availability is captured by Pine (1978) who notes that the mother
must be able to maintain the appropriate distance from the child and to see him/her as a separate human being with needs of his/her own. If she can maintain psychological separation, then she can provide the emotional support the child demands as he/she moves away without feelings of object loss or threat to her own autonomy.

Empirical interpretations of the observed differences among maternal responses to exploration are scarce. In a study with older children (age 3 years), Cohler et al. (1980) demonstrated that mothers who believed in fostering their children's individuation (as measured by the Maternal Attitude Scale, to be described below) and who also believed in more modulated control of the child's aggression were less intrusive in a developmental test situation, showed more appropriate affect, and less concern with the child's performance than mothers who expressed less adaptive attitudes regarding these issues. These mothers were not presented with an exploring infant, but their toddlers were clearly engaged in "other than mother" tasks and the findings are relevant in the sense that mothers' behavioral/affective reactions to their children's independent functioning reflected their attitudes regarding individuation.

In summary, theoretical discussions within a psychoanalytic framework suggest that, for the mother, early infant locomotion, which facilitates exploration, occurs within the context of the child's evolving psychological separation and movement toward individuation. Clinical observations (Mahler, 1975; Sander, 1962,
1964) of mothers and their individuating infants reflect, first, differences among mothers in terms of their behavioral responses to their infants' development, and secondly, describe findings very similar to those reported from observations of mothers of exploring infants (Banks, 1981; Rheingold, 1971; Wenar, 1971, 1976). For example, the mother who accepts her child as a separate entity rather than as an extension of herself is more likely to not intrude upon the child as he/she negotiates the environment, to allow the child to set the pace in his/her interactions with the environment and the mother, and to accept the child as he/she is. Differences in maternal affect with respect to the child (e.g., hostility or np ambivalence toward the child, interest in the child, etc.) may reflect the maternal stance toward infant psychological separation (e.g., separation is a loss, a rejection, or a stride in object relations with the child).

Measuring Maternal Attitudes toward Separation-Individuation

Currently, there are a limited number of techniques for assessing maternal psychological reactions to separation-individuation. The Maternal Attitude Scale (MAS) developed by Cohler e al. (1970), includes a measure of maternal attitudes toward the separation-individuation process. The MAS differs from other measures of childrearing in the following ways. First, other instruments, for example, the Parental Attitude Research Instrument,
(Schaefer, Bell, & Bayley) have neglected the affective component of attitudes, concentrating instead on the cognitive component.

Regarding this situation, White (1961) noted:

Perhaps the clinician's claim that extreme attitudes toward childrearing, as reflected in maternal overprotection, maternal over indulgence, maternal rejection, and punitive mothering are associated with maternal neuroticism has reference more to the affective component of childrearing attitudes as opposed to the ego-cognitive orientation. To the extent that this is a valid assumption, the major problem confronting future researchers in the area of maternal dynamics is the development of an instrument which will provide a set of constructs geared to the feeling tone of the mother's operations in the childrearing situation (p. 55).

Additionally, the MAS is based on a theory of the mother-child relationship and consists of scales that measure attitudes toward aspects of that relationship. In contrast, most other childrearing attitudes measures are essentially measures of attitudes regarding a single domain, authoritarian control of the child's behavior. In short, the MAS offers an alternative to other childrearing attitude measures. It has a theoretical basis, is appropriate for mothers of infants and young children, and it contains items with a definite affective component (Cohler, Weiss, and Grunebaum, 1970).

The MAS is based on Sander's (1962; 1964) series of issues with which the mother-child pair is faced during the first three years of the child's life. These are mother-centered issues in the sense that they focus on the mother's response to the child's developmental needs and on the resolution of the issues for the mother herself,
rather than on the outcome of the child-rearing situation in terms of the child's subsequent adjustment (Cohler et al., 1970). Each issue presents a crisis, the resolution of which is largely dependent on the mother's ability to negotiate an appropriate solution. If a mother's attitudes facilitate resolution of the crisis, they are seen as adaptive; attitudes that hinder resolution are considered maladaptive.

The issue or crisis with which the mother of the separating infant is faced is that of "focalization on the mother" (Sander, 1962; 1964). As the infant separates, he/she must be reassured of his/her mother's continued support (i.e., emotional availability). Because of the ambivalence experienced by the child during separation (i.e., a desire to separate yet a fear of loss of maternal love) he/she focuses need meeting demands on the mother to confirm her support. Thus, the mother must simultaneously acknowledge and accept her infant's autonomous strivings and also cater to his/her demands, while still maintaining her own autonomy. The woman who is capable of this has, in Cohler's terminology, adaptive attitudes regarding Appropriate Closeness (adaptive in the sense that they facilitate negotiation of the focalization issue). She believes that her own and her child's needs can and should be separate and she does not view the child as an extension of herself through which her own unmet needs can be fulfilled. A woman with maladaptive attitudes regarding separation-individuation does not believe that it is
important to support this process in the infant. Because this woman cannot separate her own from her infant's needs, she experiences childrearing (as well as pregnancy and delivery) as depleting and destructive to the self. Maladaptive attitudes regarding separation-individuation are also associated with maternal ambivalence; the woman vacillates between wanting to maintain the symbiotic union with the child and wishing to delegate all aspects of childcare to others (Cohler & Grunebaum, 1981).

Maternal Attitudes

The Appropriate Closeness factor of the MAS provides a viable means of investigating the idea that infant-initiated separation (i.e., locomotion/exploration) triggers in the mother feelings regarding her child's individuation which are in turn behaviorally and affectively expressed. This approach, however, necessitates a brief discussion regarding attitudes and the relationship between childrearing attitudes and behavior.

There is a great diversity of viewpoints concerning the concept of attitudes, a situation which gives rise to many definitions of attitude. The MAS is based upon the following definition of attitudes:

Attitudes are more or less salient beliefs held by an individual, accompanied by characteristic affect, based on the totality of his or her life experiences, regarding the possibility or desirability of a definite set of behaviors which involve the self and some significant other
This conceptualization of attitudes suggests that attitudes enable one to understand his/her interpersonal world. Hence, childrearing attitudes allow a mother to assess and interpret her interactions with her child. If her assessment and interpretation are congruent with the child's needs, her attitudes are adaptive for the negotiation of the particular mother-child issue that is salient at that time (Cohler et al., 1970).

In general, the relationship between childcare attitudes and maternal behavior has been difficult to demonstrate. The extent to which maternal attitudes regarding the childcare situation can be transmitted into covert behavior depends, to a large extent, on the properties of the situation in which the behavioral observation occurs and the nature of the attitude measure (Cook & Selltiz, 1964; Rotter, 1967). For example, Smith (1958) found a relationship between observed maternal behavior with the child and the mother's attitude only when her defensiveness was controlled. He utilized a laboratory procedure which created the difficulty of the mother's responses being partially determined by her set to respond to the situation in a manner which pleased the examiner. Laboratory settings can be interpreted in a variety of ways, with each subject making an interpretation that is consistent with her own life experiences. The university laboratory, for example, might be perceived as more threatening to mothers from the lower class than to those from the middle or upper classes (Sroufe, 1970). Kelman (1974)
makes a similar observation, suggesting that apparent inconsistencies between attitudes and behavior often surface because interpretations of the studies do not take into account the social constraints that operate in the situations in which behavior and attitudes measures are obtained.

Additionally, the nature of the attitude measure is a critical factor to be considered in attitude-behavior research. Early studies of childcare attitudes and maternal behavior utilized measures which, as noted above, focused almost exclusively on the issues of authority-control. Results were largely negative (e.g., Beckwith, 1971; Brody, 1965; Gordon, 1975; Zunich, 1961, 1962a, 1962b). As researchers have begun to focus on the manner in which mother and child establish a social, reciprocal relationship (e.g., Sander, 1962; 1964; 1975), and instruments have been designed to measure maternal attitudes regarding that process, more positive findings have emerged. Tulkin and Cohler (1973), for example, conducted in-home observations of mothers and their 10 month old infants and recorded such maternal behaviors as physical contact with the baby, vocalizations, and prohibitions. They obtained a positive relationship between maternal attitudes, as measured by the MAS, and maternal behavior. For example, women who reported believing that mother-child reciprocity should be encouraged were observed to interact with their infants, through verbal and nonverbal modes more than women who expressed the opposite belief. Additionally, women with more adaptive attitudes regarding reciprocity were less likely
to use a playpen and were more often in close physical proximity to their infants than those women with less adaptive attitudes on this dimension. As the authors point out, behavior-attitude relationships are more likely to surface when the issues being explored are salient developmental issues at the time of the investigation.

Similarly, in an in-depth longitudinal study of four three generational families, Cohler and Grunebaum (1981) reported that second generation mothers' attitudes regarding separation-individuation, as measured by the MAS, Appropriate Closeness Scale, were reflected in their day to day interactions with their children. Unfortunately, the focus of this particular study was on the relationship between first and second generation women and little detail regarding how maternal attitudes toward separation-individuation were expressed in interactions with the third generation was reported.

Additional Variables Impacting on Maternal Behavior

The Infant

Another factor that most likely impacts upon maternal behavior/affect in addition to her attitudes regarding Appropriate Closeness is the infant him/herself. It is well established that the infant is much more than a passive recipient of the mother's ministrations. He/she is an active participant in the mother-infant relationship, impacting on the mother just as she impacts upon
him/her (Bell, 1968; Gewirtz, 1969; Sears, 1951). For example, infant characteristics such as ease of feeding, elimination habits, regularity of sleep (Erikson, 1968), and specificity of emotional states (Moss, 1967) have been shown to exert influence on the caregiver.

Sander (1962) has suggested that the manner in which a child presents his/her needs to the mother influences the mother's willingness and ability to negotiate an adaptive resolution for a particular mother-infant issue. Similarly, Mahler (1968) has noted that during all subphases of separation-individuation, the mother's ability to successfully "partner" the child is partially dependent upon the infant's capacity to stimulate the mother's activities and to guide her attunement. Infant behaviors such as smiling and crying serve to activate the mother's capacities during the early stages of symbiosis. Although Mahler does not specify infant characteristics or behaviors which impact on the maternal response to her Practicing infant, the notion that the infant continues to influence the mother throughout the separation-individuation process is implicit in her theory.

Another infant-centered factor historically thought to impact on mothering is infant sex (Moss, 1967). However, whether or not infant sex contributes to the maternal response to separation-individuation has not been clearly established. One way to approach this issue is to examine evidence that would suggest that males and females differ
with respect to their negotiation of the Practicing subphase. In other words, are males and females presenting differently to the mother at this point in their development? Mahler et al. (1975) have noted that both sexes appear similarly "in love with the world" during Practicing. Both enjoy other-than-mother activities and actively engage in exploration. It is not until the Rapprochment subphase (see Table 1) that sex differences emerge. Mahler attributes sex differences during Rapprochment to the child's awareness of and reactions to male-female anatomical differences.

Regarding differences with respect to infant exploration, a behavior that is facilitated by psychological separation and is at its height during Practicing, no consistent findings emerge. For example, Goldberg and Lewis (1969) have reported sex differences in terms of exploration among 13 month old males and females. In a laboratory setting, female infants were more reluctant to leave the mother than were males, and they tended to return to mother for both physical and visual contact more frequently than boys. Also, the distance that the females established between themselves and the mother was less than that established by boys. Finally, the female infants cried more and motioned for help more than the males when faced with a frustrating situation. Weintraub and Lewis (1973), however, have noted that sex differences with respect to exploration do not emerge until 2 years of age. Banks (1979) and Rheingold (1971; 1973) have reported no differences in exploration attributable
to sex among their samples of 10 to 18 month old infants. Hence, it is uncertain whether or not male and female infants, by virtue of their sex, present differently to their mothers during Practicing.

Another infant behavior which is relevant to the maternal response to Practicing is the infant's demandingness. As noted earlier, a dilemma faced by the mother during Practicing is how to provide sufficient emotional availability, i.e., satisfy the infant's needs, without feeling that her own autonomy is threatened. Her ability to achieve this difficult task could be affected by the extent to which the child makes demands upon her. In an observational study of 10 month old male and female infants, Martin (1981) reported sex differences with respect to demandingness. Infants were observed playing in the presence of their mothers as the mothers were preoccupied with a task. Differences surfaced in terms of how willing the infants were to accept the mothers' divided attention. Male infants who signalled their mothers for attention were less willing than females to accept withdrawal of maternal attention. That is, if the mothers did not fully attend to the male infants before returning to their task, they would, more frequently than females, increase the intensity of their demands. Because of the increased appeal to mother during the Practicing subphase, it would be informative to know if 13 month old males and females also differ with respect to their demandingness.
A second way to approach this issue is to examine the maternal perspective, i.e., does the sex of the infant impact on the mother's response to him/her? Mahler (1968, 1967) did not directly address this question, but she did acknowledge that the sex of the child can have special meaning for the mother and thereby impact on her behavior toward him/her. This notion is consistent with traditional psychoanalytic theory. For example, Deutsch (1945) addressed the psychological meaning of infant sex for the mother. Regarding the mother's reluctance to "let go" of her child, Deutsch noted that this tendency is strongest among mothers of sons. Related to this subject, Freud (1933) said:

The only thing that brings a mother undiluted satisfaction is her relation to a son; it is quite the most complete relationship among human beings, and the one that is most free of ambivalence (p. 50).

Freud's theorizing is based on the notion that the son represents the most valued part of the mother's ego. Separation from the son, then, means a loss of her most loved object. Freud (1933) added:

The mother can transfer to the son the ambition that she was compelled to repress in herself; she expects him to gratify everything that has remained in her of her own masculinity complex (p. 50).

The case is quite different for the little girl. Deutsch (1945) noted that the mother's fear of separation from the female infant expresses itself in the same manner as her fear regarding the male infant, but only while the child is very young. Later, maternal attempts to tie the daughter to her are much more active and direct,
while her attempts to bind her son fade. Deutsch (1945) suggested that this shift is Oedipally based. With the stirring of Oedipal urges in the child, the mother's own fears of incest are intensified. Her incestuous feelings toward her son and the prohibitions against such feelings are stronger than the analogous feelings and prohibitions toward her daughter. There is, therefore, a greater need on the part of the mother to let go of her son. With respect to the girl, a strengthening of the relationship is actually the more adaptive course for the child. It is through identification with the mother that the daughter establishes a feminine gender.

The picture portrayed by psychoanalytic theory is interesting and provocative but does not completely clarify the issue of the impact of infant sex on the mother during the Practicing subphase, a pre-Oedipal phenomenon. Perhaps the safest conclusion to be drawn from the psychoanalytic literature is that mothers might bind their pre-Oedipal sons more than their daughters because of the special significance a male child holds for a woman. Mahler et al.'s clinical accounts, however, (1975) do not support this contention.

Nonpsychoanalytically oriented investigations of sex differences also speak of a shift in maternal behavior related to sex and age of the infant. Lewis (1972), for example, has identified two maternal behavioral styles, one involving the use of proximal behaviors (i.e., those which involve establishing or maintaining a physical closeness with her child) and the other involving the use of distal behaviors (i.e., those which allow the child to move away from the
Which type of behavior is used depends, in part, on the age and sex of the child. With very young infants (age 3 months), mothers use more proximal behavior with males and distal behavior with girls. Lewis interprets this finding in light of the male's greater irritability. As the infant gets older (age 3 to 6 months), however, the opposite pattern has been observed, with mothers remaining closer to and touching little girls more frequently than males (Goldberg and Lewis, 1969). Proximal behaviors are hypothesized to decline more quickly in the mother-son dyad because of the competing motive for autonomy which is stronger in mothers of boys than mothers of girls. Brooks-Gunn and Matthews (1979) have noted that by age 12 months, mothers actively encourage venturing away from themselves among sons and discourage venturing forth among daughters.

In summary, research suggests that the infant him/herself is a critical variable in understanding maternal behavior/affect at all subphases of the separation-individuation process. The impact of the sex of the infant on the mother during Practicing is not clear-cut. First, that males and females differ with respect to the manner in which they move through this subphase is not suggested by Mahler et al. (1975). Sex differences with respect to behavioral manifestation of Practicing, namely, exploration and demandingness, are not clearly established. Regarding exploration, findings are mixed, but generally suggest that sex differences do not consistently emerge until infant age 2 years (Maccoby & Jaclin, 1974). Martin's (1981)
work suggests that 10 month old males are more demanding than females with respect to maternal attention but information regarding demandingness is not available from an older sample.

Examining the mother's interpretation of infant sex, psychoanalytic literature suggests that males and females may have a different psychological meaning for the mother and hence potentially affect her behavior toward the child (Deutsch, 1945; Freud, 1933). Nonpsychoanalytic literature suggests that mothers encourage exploration more in males than females by infant age 1 year (Brooks-Gunn & Matthews, 1979). The effect of infant sex, then, on the mother's response to her Practicing infant remains to be established.

The Development of Attitudes toward Infant Individuation

Parental Autonomy

According to the psychoanalytic perspective, the manner in which a woman negotiates the developmental task of mothering is a function of her own developmental history. Specifically, Benedek (1970) stated:

Psychoanalytic investigations have revealed that parents anticipate the child's failure in the area of their own developmental conflicts. Unaware, as parents mostly are, of their childhood, the transactional processes evolve relatively smoothly until the child reaches the developmental level at which the parent, because of (her) own developmental conflict, unconsciously anticipates the child's conflict and therefore becomes insecure in her responses to the child's behavior...(p. 130-131).
Along a similar line, Pine (1978), noted that the infant's gradual physical separation from the mother may revive her own childhood conflicts. The manner in which the mother has resolved these conflicts can affect the way in which she will deal with her child, e.g., she may indulge or forbid his/her wishes according to her own needs rather than making an adjustment that facilitates meeting the baby's needs. Others posit that in parenting, the relationship between one's own parents is repeatedly reenacted, either by repetition or by avoidance (Coleman, Kris, & Provence, 1953).

The notion that a woman's relationship with her parents can impact on her attitudes toward childrearing receives empirical support. Cohler, Weiss, & Grunebaum (1971), for example, reported that women living apart from their own mothers expressed more adaptive attitudes regarding Appropriate Closeness (MAS) than women living with their mothers, as did grandmothers who did not live with their daughters. Strikingly, the only MAS factor which distinguished between women who lived with or apart from their mothers (and grandmothers who lived with or apart from their daughters) was Appropriate Closeness.

Similarly, Cohler, Grunebaum, Weiss, Hartman, and Gallant (1976), utilizing a semistructured interview, assessed the extent to which women were experiencing conflict regarding the establishment of autonomy from their parental families. Again, women who expressed attitudes more consistent with fostering individuation in their
children were more capable of realizing individuation from their own parents. Thus, research suggests that the woman whose own sense of autonomy vis a vis her parents is secure is more likely to value and support individuation in her own child.

**Role Adjustment**

A second variable which might impact on maternal attitudes regarding separation-individuation is what will be called "role adjustment." This variable is measured by the Social Role Adjustment Instrument, a semistructured interview technique to be described below (Cohler et al., 1976). Role adjustment refers to the extent to which a mother perceives herself as successfully managing her various responsibilities, given the fact that one of those responsibilities includes caring for an infant. Deutsch (1945) noted that she had:

...never seen a mother repeat an unresolved childhood conflict in her relationship to her own child unless an emotional and neurotic motive or a particular life situation provoked her to do so (p. 322).

Similarly, Vaughan, Egeland, Sroufe, and Waters (1979) note the importance of considering family circumstances as a factor that impacts on the stability of infant attachment over time. Changes in attachment classification from 12 to 18 months of age were associated with a higher frequency of stressful events, as reported by the mothers. These investigators suggested that a high level of stress could interfere with the mother-child relationship as the mother's attention is shifted from the child to other life concerns. With
respect to role adjustment as measured in the present study, feeling overwhelmed or satisfied with one's current life situation, including management of the infant, may impact on maternal attitudes toward the child.

The Infant and Infant Sex

Again, as with the maternal behavior/affect dimension, the infant is seen as contributing significantly to maternal attitudes regarding childcare. Cohler et al. (1980) found a relationship between maternal attitudes regarding Appropriate Closeness and Meeting Baby's Needs and infant birth weight, with lower birth weight associated with less adaptive attitudes on both scales. Children with lower birth weight are possibly more irritable and it is likely that it is more difficult to satisfy their needs. Hence, prior life experience with a "difficult" infant may influence a mother's attitudes toward the mother-infant relationship.

In a related study, Cohler (1970) referred to a significant relationship between infant sex and maternal attitudes, as measured by the MAS. Cohler, however, treated sex as a confounding variable and controlled for its effects. Again, as with the influence of infant sex on maternal behavior/affect, during Practicing, literature regarding the effect of sex on maternal attitudes toward Appropriate Closeness is scarce.
Maternal Behavior/Affect

At issue among attitude researchers is the nature of the relationship between attitudes and behavior. Various models of the attitude-behavior relationship have been presented in the literature. For example, McGuire (1976) and Kahle and Berman (1979) argue that attitudes generally lead to behavior. This is the model assumed by most researchers examining the childcare attitude-behavior relationship discussed above. The reverse relationship, in which behaviors lead to attitudes, has been proposed by D. Bem (1972). He argued that when internal cues are weak or ambiguous, situationally determined behaviors will lead to attitude formation. On the other hand, Wicker (1969) is a proponent of the position that attitudes and behavior are causally unrelated. Finally, Kelman (1974) proposed a reciprocal causation model which maintains that attitudes guide behaviors but that behaviors also guide attitudes. Specifically, Kelman (1974) stated:

...attitude formation and change is a continually ongoing process. Attitudes develop out of the person's interaction with an object...as he continues to interact with the object (directly or indirectly), the attitudes are tested, exposed to new information, sometimes filled out and shored up, and sometimes changed (p. 316).

Hence, Kelman would suggest that maternal attitudes toward the child are shaped through her dealings with him/her. Additional interactions, in part influenced by existing attitudes, serve to strengthen, refine or alter the mother's attitudes. Adopting Kelman's bidirectional model necessitates examination of behavior as
a function of attitudes (as outlined earlier) as well as attitudes as a function of behavior.

Summary and Conclusions

That mothers differ with respect to their reactions to infant exploration is well documented in the literature. Some mothers, for example, actively encourage their children; some simply accept the child's developmental stride; and others hinder the child's attempts. This literature review suggests, however, that interpretations of these maternal differences are scarce. Therefore, the present study will test the hypothesis that mothers of exploring infants are reacting but to the gain toward psychological separation that is obtained through locomotion/exploration. Two lines of thought lead to this interpretation. First, Mahler's (1968) theory of separation-individuation suggests that during the first three years of life the infant moves toward intrapsychic separation from the mother. This developmental process is greatly facilitated during the second subphase, Practicing, in which locomotion/exploration is at its height. In other words, when an infant is able to establish physical separation from the mother, a sense of psychological separateness is enhanced. Secondly, observational accounts of infant/mother pairs during the Practicing subphase offer descriptions of maternal behavior which are very similar to the descriptions of mothers in the presence of exploring infants offered by others (e.g., Banks, 1979; Rheingold, 1973; Wenar, 1972, 1976).
A second purpose of the current study is to examine factors which impact upon a mother's willingness and ability to support the psychological separation of her infant. Current literature suggests that the infant and a mother's own behavior with respect to the infant can influence her attitudes toward this aspect of the mother-child relationship. Additionally, psychoanalytic theory, which views parenting as a developmental task, suggests that a mother's developmental history helps shape her childrearing attitudes. Specifically, the extent to which a woman is successful in establishing a mature level of autonomy vis a vis her parental family impacts on her willingness to establish a similar level of autonomy with respect to her own child. Finally, attachment literature suggests that a woman's life situation (i.e., how well she is managing her various responsibilities) will impact upon her attitudes toward her child.

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses will be examined in the present study.

I. Maternal behavior/affect in the presence of a locomoting infant is influenced by maternal attitudes regarding separation-individuation. Specifically:

A. A mother who does not intrude upon her child or control or direct his/her activities expresses adaptive attitudes regarding Appropriate Closeness.
B. A mother who is not overly concerned with her infant's performance at play expresses adaptive attitudes regarding Appropriate Closeness.

C. A mother who is responsive to her infant's level of interest, motivation, and ability with respect to activities expresses adaptive attitudes toward Appropriate Closeness.

D. A mother who demonstrates positive affect toward the infant expresses adaptive attitudes toward Appropriate Closeness.

II. The infant impacts on the maternal response to exploration.

Specifically:

A. Maternal behavior/affect is influenced by the type of infant with which a mother deals on a day to day basis (e.g., how the infant presents his/her needs). Because of the exploratory nature of this hypothesis, specific infant behaviors are not predicted to differentially impact on specific maternal responses.

B. Maternal behavior/affect is influenced by the sex of the infant. Again, given the limited research regarding the effect of sex on mothers of Practicing infants, no specific predictions are made.

III. Maternal attitudes toward separation-individuation are a product of a mother's own developmental history, her current life adjustment, and her infant. Specifically:

A. Adaptive attitudes toward Appropriate Closeness are positively related to flexible, mature autonomy with the
parental family.

B. Adaptive attitudes toward Appropriate Closeness are positively related to perceived role adjustment. That is, a woman who feels that she is adequately managing her various responsibilities expresses adaptive attitudes toward Appropriate Closeness.

C. The infant impacts on maternal attitudes toward Appropriate Closeness. Both type of infant and infant sex are thought to influence attitudes.

IV. A bidirectional model of the attitude-behavior relationship suggests that maternal behavior/affect impacts on maternal attitudes toward Appropriate Closeness. Hence, women who express adaptive attitudes regarding Appropriate Closeness are nonintrusive, responsive, not overly concerned with their children's performance at play, and express positive affect toward the child.
Chapter II

METHOD

Subjects

Subjects for this study were 40 Caucasian mother-infant pairs selected from a larger sample utilized in an unrelated longitudinal study (Hock, 1982). All mothers gave birth to a full term healthy infant between October 1981 and January 1982 in one of three hospitals in a large midwestern city. All women were married. Three women were pregnant with their second child; all other mothers were primipara. The mean maternal age was 25.4 years (range 20 to 30 years) and the mean educational level was 15 years (range 12 to 18 years). The socioecomonic status of each was middle class. For the purposes of the present study, middle class was defined as (a) one or both parents having graduated from college and (b) the father working in a professional job (Tulkin and Cohler, 1973).

Infant subjects were 19 females and 21 males ranging in age from 13 months to 14 months 15 days. Mean infant age was 13 months 10 days. All but one subject (female, age 14 months 12 days) walked unaided. The mean length of time that infants had been walking was 2.6 months.
Measures

The variables of interest in this study included maternal attitudes regarding separation-individuation (as measured by the Maternal Attitude Scale), maternal behavior (as assessed by observational measures during in-home free play observations), and maternal adjustment to the role of daughter within her own parental family and task performance (as measured by the Social Role Adjustment Inventory). Additionally, infant behavior was assessed through the in-home observations. Each instrument used to assess these variables is described below.

Maternal Attitudes Regarding Separation-Individuation: This variable was assessed by the Maternal Attitude Scale (MAS; Cohler, 1970). The MAS is a self-administered 233-item Likert-type scale that is appropriate for mothers with at least a sixth grade education. Items for this instrument were developed according to Sander's (1962, 1964) conceptualization of the mother-child relationship as a sequence of issues or tasks to be negotiated by the mother and infant. Sander (1962) hypothesized that the way in which each issue is resolved depends, in part, on the mother's ability to perceive and negotiate effective solutions, e.g., to appropriately deal with her infant's increasing demand that the mother alone fulfill his/her needs. Maternal attitudes are seen as adaptive or maladaptive to the extent that they facilitate or hinder the resolution of an issue (Cohler, 1970).
Numerous pretest studies of the MAS with successive groups of several hundred mothers of young children yielded five second-order orthogonal factors, each referring to a particular issue in the developing mother-child relationship (Sander, 1962). The factor score labeled "Appropriate Closeness", defined as the extent to which a woman is able to establish appropriate psychological distance between herself and her child, has been identified as a measure of attitudes toward individuation (Cohler, et al., 1981) and hence was included in the data analysis. The woman with adaptive attitudes regarding Appropriate Closeness is characterized as capable of enjoying caring for her baby and does so without sacrificing her own needs. Additionally, she does not become overly binding or overly protective, nor does she give in to the child's demand for an exclusive relationship. In contrast, the mother with maladaptive attitude on this factor experiences pregnancy, delivery and childcare as depleting and destructive. This woman vacillates between desiring to be the baby's only caretaker (to perpetuate the mother-child symbiosis) and wanting to give all childcare responsibilities to others (Cohler, et al., 1981). A high score on this factor is indicative of an adaptive attitude; low scores indicate maladaptive attitudes. Mothers with maladaptive attitudes on Appropriate Closeness tend to agree with MAS items such as:

1) Babies are frequently so demanding that their mothers have no time for anything else.
2) Bodily changes during pregnancy make a woman feel very unattractive.

3) A one-year-old child doesn't really feel that his/her mother is "with him (her)" if she is doing something else at the same time.

The five factors or scales of the MAS were derived through factor analysis and hence have high internal consistency. Scales constructed on the basis of items with the highest loadings on these factors show alpha coefficients ranging from .81 to .96. Test-retest reliability coefficients for these five factors over a one-month period range from .62 to .78 (see Appendix A for the complete MAS).

Maternal Behavior: A written running account of maternal and infant behavior and an audio recording of maternal verbalizations and infant vocalizations were made during two observational periods. From this data, four dimensions of maternal behavior were assessed, namely, Maternal Intrusiveness, Maternal Responsiveness, Maternal Concern with Performance, and Maternal Affect. The dimensions and guidelines for rating each dimension were adapted from Hatano, Myake, & Tijima (1981) and Banks (1979). Maternal Intrusiveness is an assessment of the extent to which a mother orients the child's activities (e.g., selects or removes toy; verbally begins or ends activities) and controls the child's behavior (e.g., moves child to a more, less, or equally restricting location; holds, pats, hugs the
child in a restricting manner; determines how the child plays with or uses a particular toy). Maternal Concern with Performance indicates the extent to which a mother scolds the child when he/she has difficulty with a toy or activity (e.g., misnaming pictures, misplacing shapes), uses reinforcement, makes excuses for the child's behavior, and points out what the child is capable of doing. Maternal Responsiveness is a measure of the extent to which a mother takes into account the child's level of ability, motivation and interest with respect to a particular activity and fits her expectations and demands to the child's level. Finally, Maternal Affect reflects the extent to which the mother demonstrated interest in the child and appeared to derive pleasure from the child (e.g., mother looked, smiled, laughed at the child). Mothers' overall affective stances were also assessed here (e.g., mother was detached, hostile, bored, ambivalent, warm, interested). Each dimension was rated on a 7-point scale, with a high score reflecting positive or adaptive behavior. Each observation was scored for each of the four dimensions. Additionally, an overall rating on each dimension was made (see Appendix B for rating scales).

Maternal Autonomy and Task Performance: These variables (i.e., the extent to which a woman has achieved an adaptive level of flexible autonomy vis a vis her parental family and her ability to successfully manage her various daily tasks) were assessed by the Social Role Adjustment Instrument (SRAI; Cohler, et al., 1975). This
instrument taps a woman's adjustment to four roles: wife, mother, friend and neighbor, and daughter, as well as her task performance, through a semistructured interview. Of interest in the present study was a woman's level of adjustment in the daughter role and her task performance. Three dimensions were scored for the daughter role: the extent of conflict with parents (smooth vs. ambivalent), the extent of investment or involvement in the relationship (intimacy vs. superficiality), and the extent of appropriate and flexible autonomy from the parental family. Each dimension was rated on a 1 to 9 scale, with a high score suggesting more successful adjustment. A summary score of these dimensions yielded an overall rating of a woman's adjustment in the daughter role. Task Performance was also rated on a 9-point scale, with a high score indicating that the woman's performance in her various capacities (e.g., mother, housewife, employment outside of the home) is adequate as perceived by the woman herself and her report of her husband's and/or employer's perception (see Appendices C and D for the SRAI interview and rating scales). Inter-rater reliability coefficients of .83 (Shader, et al., 1976) and .86 (Fishman, 1975) have been reported for this instrument.

Infant Behavior: Written narratives and audio recordings of the mother-infant observations were used for the infant assessment. A clinical rating descriptive of the type of infant with which a mother deals on a day to day basis was made for each child based on
previous research (Olson, Bates, & Bayles, 1982). Four categories of behavior were considered in making this rating: vocalizations, contact seeking, irritable behavior, and frustration tolerance. A 7-point scale was used, with seven signifying a positive rating. Regarding vocalization, crying, fussing, and whining were considered negative vocalizations, while laughing, giggling, shrieking, and babbling were considered positive. Negative contact seeking was defined as clinging or active avoidance of contact with mother, or limited responsiveness to maternal initiated contact. Alternately, positive contact seeking was seen as social contact (e.g., bringing objects to mother, initiating contact with her), refueling contact, or responding to mother initiated contact. Irritating behavior included biting, hair pulling, or hitting (of mother, observer, or other persons as reported by the mother). Finally, the manner in which demands were expressed (positive: pointing, vocalizing; negative: crying, tantruming), tolerance of unsatisfied needs, and imperviousness to falls and bumps were noted as an indicator of tolerance. As with maternal behavior ratings, each observation was rated and an overall rating was also determined (see Appendix D for infant rating scales).

Design

Preliminary Procedures: Mothers were contacted by telephone by the investigator. During the initial contact, the purpose of the
study was explained and the mother's participation was requested (see Appendix F for details of telephone contact). If a woman agreed to participate, an appointment was scheduled during a time in which it was anticipated that the baby would be alert and not involved in a meal, and in which the mother was not involved in major household chores.

Home Visit: A young adult Caucasian female served as the observer. When the observer arrived at the subject's home, she introduced herself and spent approximately 15 minutes becoming acquainted with the mother and allowing the baby to become accustomed to her presence. The observer reviewed the procedures to be followed during the home visit and answered any questions the mother had. The home visit began with administration of the SRAI which allowed the mother, infant and observer additional time to become comfortable with each other. An audio recording was made of the interview. Following completion of the first half of the interview, the first 10 minute observation began. A running narrative of the mother's and infant's behavior was made by the observer to supplement an audio recording. At the end of 10 minutes, the observer indicated to the mother that she would like to continue the interview. Following completion of the SRAI, the second 10 minute observation was conducted. The observer reviewed the instructions of the MAS and asked the mother to mail the questionnaire to the observer in the envelope provided.
Scoring: The MAS protocols were scored by the investigator as they were returned. The Appropriate Closeness score was obtained by summing the items which comprise the scale. Maternal and infant behaviors were rated by the observer from transcribed recordings and written narratives obtained from the in-home observations. Interrater reliability correlations were established on 20 randomly selected protocols. Two independent raters scored the SRAI and established interrater reliability correlations on 20 randomly selected protocols.
Chapter III

RESULTS

Interrater Reliability

The interrater reliability correlations for maternal behavior/affect scales, Social Role Adjustment Scales (parental scales and task adjustment), and the infant rating appear in Table 2. Overall, the rating scales were found to be reliable. The two raters obtained significant correlations on all variables. Correlations for maternal scales ranged from .83 to .93 (median=.91) and from .90 to .97 for Social Role Adjustment Scales (median=.95).

Stability

Paired t-tests were performed to determine the stability of maternal and infant ratings from observation 1 to observation 2. As seen in Table 3, maternal behavior/affect and infant ratings were highly stable over time. In all analyses that follow, the overall rating for maternal behavior/affect dimensions and the infant rating were used.
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<th>Variable</th>
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<td>Maternal Responsiveness</td>
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<td><strong>Social Role Adjustment</strong></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parental Ambivalence</td>
<td>.96</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parental Intimacy</td>
<td>.94</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parental Autonomy</td>
<td>.97</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Task Adjustment</td>
<td>.90</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Infant Rating</strong></td>
<td>.93</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3
Stability of Maternal and Infant Behavior/Affect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>t</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maternal Intrusiveness</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternal Responsiveness</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternal Concern</td>
<td>1.43</td>
<td>.16</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maternal Affect</td>
<td>-1.16</td>
<td>.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infant Rating</td>
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<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sex Differences

Table 4 presents descriptive data with respect to sex of the infant. Presented are mean scores as a function of sex for the maternal variables. Three analyses involving infant sex were conducted. First, a t-test revealed that males and females did not differ significantly on the infant rating ($t = 1.65, p < .11$). To examine maternal behavior/affect and maternal attitude toward Appropriate Closeness as a function of infant sex, infant sex was entered as an explanatory variable in the regression analyses. The results of the regression analyses are detailed below.

Statistical Methods of Data Analysis

Data were analyzed by two statistical methods, the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient and multiple linear regression analysis using a simultaneous approach. Attitude toward Appropriate Closeness, infant, and infant sex were employed as explanatory variables for the dependent variable, maternal behavior/affect. Explanatory variables for the dependent variable Appropriate Closeness were infant, infant sex, task adjustment, and parental autonomy for one regression model and maternal intrusiveness, maternal responsiveness, maternal concern, and maternal affect for a second model.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maternal Intrusiveness</td>
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<td>4.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternal Responsiveness</td>
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<td>4.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternal Concern</td>
<td>5.33</td>
<td>5.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternal Affect</td>
<td>4.52</td>
<td>4.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appropriate Closeness</td>
<td>199.19</td>
<td>194.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Regression Analysis: Maternal Behavior/Affect

As seen in Table 5, the maternal behavior/affect ratings were moderately correlated (ranging from .35 to .69). To allow for the relationship among these variables, a simultaneous multivariate regression analysis was conducted to assess the extent to which maternal behavior/affect could be explained by attitudes toward Appropriate Closeness, infant, and infant sex. As can be seen in Table 6, the amount of variance accounted for by this model ranged from 8% for maternal concern to 35% for maternal responsiveness. Looking first at maternal intrusiveness, a woman's attitudes toward Appropriate Closeness explained her intrusive behavior \( p < .005 \) more than the type of infant with whom she interacted and more than the infant's sex. Infant sex was the least useful explanatory variable with respect to maternal intrusiveness. A different pattern of results emerged with respect to maternal responsiveness. This behavior was best accounted for by the infant variable \( p < .0005 \) and only marginally by infant sex \( p < .07 \). Attitudes toward Appropriate Closeness did not account for a significant proportion of the variance in maternal responsiveness. As noted above, Appropriate Closeness, infant, and infant sex accounted for only 8% of the variance in maternal concern. None of the variables were useful in explaining this maternal behavior. Finally, infant again emerged as a significant explanatory variable with respect to maternal affect \( p < .0006 \). Neither maternal attitude nor infant sex accounted for a significant amount of the variance in maternal
Table 5

Correlations for all Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MI</th>
<th>MR</th>
<th>MC</th>
<th>MA</th>
<th>AP</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>SRT</th>
<th>SRAU</th>
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<td>.69(^c)</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>-.48(^b)</td>
<td>.33(^a)</td>
<td>-.17</td>
<td>-.30</td>
<td>-.08</td>
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<td>MR</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>.48(^b)</td>
<td>.35(^a)</td>
<td>-.25</td>
<td>.51(^c)</td>
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<td>-.09</td>
<td>.16</td>
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<td>MC</td>
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<td>--</td>
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<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.27</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.31(^a)</td>
<td>.07</td>
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<td>MA</td>
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<td>--</td>
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<td>-.11</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.36(^a)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>CL</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>-.17</td>
<td>.32(^a)</td>
<td>.52(^c)</td>
<td>.07</td>
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<tr>
<td>I</td>
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<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
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<td>1.00</td>
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<td>.14</td>
<td>.32(^a)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
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<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRAU</td>
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<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1.00</td>
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</table>

\(^a\) \(p < .05\)
\(^b\) \(p < .01\)
\(^c\) \(p < .001\)
Table 6
Multivariate Regression Analysis: Maternal Behavior/Affect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent Variable: Maternal Intrusiveness</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Model</td>
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<tr>
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<td>I</td>
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<td>ISex</td>
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<table>
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Table 6 (continued)

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<td>Model</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent Variable: Maternal Affect</th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>R</td>
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<tr>
<td>Model</td>
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<tr>
<td>I</td>
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<tr>
<td>ISex</td>
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<td>.89</td>
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</table>
affect. In summary, the maternal behavior/affect dimensions were best explained by the type of infant with which a mother interacted and somewhat by her attitudes toward separation-individuation. The sex of the infant was not a consistently important factor in explaining maternal behavior/affect.

Regression Analysis: Appropriate Closeness

Table 7 depicts the regression models utilized to test the hypotheses that, one, maternal attitude toward separation-individuation was a function of parental autonomy (SRAU), task adjustment (SRT), infant, and infant sex, and two, that the relationship between maternal attitude and behavior was bidirectional and hence, Appropriate Closeness was a function of maternal behavior/affect. Model I accounted for 39% of the variance of Appropriate Closeness. Examination of the four explanatory variables suggests that maternal attitudes toward separation-individuation can, in part, be explained by the extent to which a woman felt that she was managing her various roles as mother, housewife, and, when applicable, breadwinner. \( p < .004 \). Of the remaining variables, sex of the infant, the infant him/herself, and the extent to which a woman had established a mature level of autonomy with respect to her parents, none accounted for differences among mothers' attitudes regarding Appropriate Closeness.

The hypothesis that maternal attitudes toward Appropriate Closeness are a function of her behaviors toward her child, just as
Table 7
Multiple Linear Regression Analysis: Appropriate Closeness

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent Variable:</th>
<th>Appropriate Closeness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Model</td>
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<table>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>SRAU</td>
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<tr>
<td>ISex</td>
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<tr>
<td>SRT</td>
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<table>
<thead>
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<th>Dependent Variable:</th>
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<td>Model</td>
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<table>
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<td>Maternal Intrusiveness</td>
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<td>Maternal Responsiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternal Concern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternal Affect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
her behavior/affect toward the child is thought to be a function of her attitudes toward him/her, received only partial support. Model II, depicted in Table 7, accounted for only 24% of the variance in Appropriate Closeness. The proposed attitude-behavior bidirectionality held for only one maternal behavior, maternal intrusiveness ($p < .02$). None of the other behavior/affect dimensions were useful in accounting for differences among women in terms of their attitudes regarding separation-individuation.

Regression Analysis: Infant

Because the regression analysis of maternal behavior/affect revealed that the type of infant with which a woman interacts explains, in part, her intrusiveness, responsiveness, and affect (see Table 6), an additional analysis was conducted to determine if differences among infants could be explained as a function of the four maternal behavior/affect dimensions. As seen in Table 8, using personal intrusiveness, responsiveness, concern, and affect as explanatory variables accounted for 45% of the variance in infant. Interestingly, maternal affect was the only maternal dimension which provided a mirroring of earlier results. That is, infant type contributed significantly to understanding maternal affect and maternal affect was meaningful in accounting for infant type ($p < .0003$). Of the maternal behaviors, only intrusiveness approached a similar pattern with infant ($p < .065$). Neither maternal responsiveness nor concern were useful in explaining differences
Table 8

Multiple Linear Regression Analysis: Infant

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>F</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Model</td>
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<td>.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explanatory Variables</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maternal Intrusiveness</td>
<td>3.62</td>
<td>.065</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maternal Affect</td>
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<td>.003</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
among infants.

**Intercorrelations Among All Variables**

Table 5 presents the simple correlations of all variables of interest. In general, correlations were low to moderate. As expected, the maternal behavior/affect dimensions were moderately correlated. Maternal intrusiveness and maternal concern correlated most highly (r = .69, p < .001), suggesting that the mother who intruded upon or controlled her child tended to express concern with her child's performance in a play situation. Maternal intrusiveness was moderately correlated with maternal responsiveness (r = .64, p < .001) suggesting that the intrusive mother tended not to be highly responsive to her child's level of interest, motivation, or ability with respect to play activities. Maternal responsiveness was correlated with maternal concern (r = .48, p < .01) and, to a lesser extent, with maternal affect (r = .36, p < .05). These relationships suggest that the mother who was responsive to the child's level of skill tended to accept the child's performance and also tended to express positive affect toward him/her.

The relationships between maternal attitudes toward Appropriate Closeness and the maternal behavior/affect dimensions are surprising. First, only maternal intrusiveness was significantly correlated with Appropriate Closeness (r = -.48, p < .01). Secondly, the relationship between Appropriate Closeness and maternal intrusiveness, responsiveness, and concern was in the negative
direction, contradicting predictions. That is, these correlations suggest that women who expressed maladaptive attitudes toward separation-individuation tended not to be intrusive in their interactions with their children. Although not reaching significance, this negative trend also existed with respect to maternal responsiveness, i.e., nonresponsive mothers tended to express adaptive maternal attitudes, and with respect to concern, i.e., mothers overly concerned with performance tended to express adaptive attitudes toward Appropriate Closeness.

Of the two infant dimensions, type of infant (represented by the global rating) and infant sex, only the former correlated with maternal behavior/affect. Infant type was moderately correlated with two maternal dimensions, affect, (r = .52, p < .001) and responsiveness (r = .51, p < .001). To a lesser degree, infant type was also positively related to maternal intrusiveness (r = .33, p < .05). These findings suggest that mothers who were rated as nonintrusive, responsive, and positively affectively involved with their children tended to have children who were rated at the positive end of the infant scale (i.e., exhibited positive vocalizations, positive contact seeking, imperviousness, and little or no irritating behavior).

The opposite pattern of results was found with respect to Appropriate Closeness and infant type and infant sex. Infant type and Appropriate Closeness were unrelated, while infant sex was related to maternal attitude (r = .32, p < .05). Examination of mean
scores by sex (see Table 4), suggests that mothers of males expressed more adaptive attitudes toward Appropriate Closeness than mothers of females.

Maternal attitudes toward Appropriate Closeness were also hypothesized to be positively related to task adjustment (SRT) and parental autonomy (SRAU). As seen in Table 5, the woman who expressed appropriate attitudes toward separation-individuation also tended to report feeling that she was adequately managing her various responsibilities ($r = .52, p < .001$). Interestingly, a similar pattern between SRT and maternal behavior/affect and between Appropriate Closeness and maternal behavior/affect emerged. As with maternal behavior/affect and Appropriate Closeness, the relationship between maternal behavior/affect and SRT was in the negative direction for maternal intrusiveness, responsiveness, and concern, although reaching significance for only maternal concern ($r = -.31, p < .05$). Hence, the woman who expressed adaptive attitudes toward Appropriate Closeness and adequate task adjustment tended to intrude upon her child in the play situation.

Contrary to predictions, Appropriate Closeness was unrelated to SRAU. That is, maternal attitudes toward separation-individuation were not related to the extent to which a woman has established a mature level of autonomy with her own parents. Although predictions were not made regarding the relationship between SRAU and maternal behavior/affect, it is interesting to note that SRAU and maternal affect were significantly related ($r = .36, p < .05$). This finding
suggests that women expressing positive affect with respect to their children (i.e., supportive, interested mothers who derived pleasure from their children) also tended to report having established flexible autonomy vis a vis their parents. Finally, SRAU was unrelated to the maternal behaviors.
Chapter IV

DISCUSSION

There were two major purposes of this study. First, the study attempted to explain maternal behavior and affect in response to the locomoting infant as a function of attitudes toward separation-individuation and infant characteristics (infant type and sex). Secondly, this research was designed to describe maternal attitudes, as measured by the Appropriate Closeness subscale of the MAS, as a function of autonomy from the parental family, perceived task adjustment, infant type, infant sex, and maternal behavior and affect toward the child. Results indicated that of the four maternal behavior/affect dimensions, only intrusiveness was explained by attitudes toward Appropriate Closeness. However, the relationship between Appropriate Closeness and maternal intrusiveness was in the opposite direction as that predicted. That is, women who expressed adaptive attitudes toward separation-individuation were observed to be more intrusive with their infants than were women who expressed maladaptive attitudes. Two maternal dimensions, responsiveness and affect, were best explained by the type of infant with which the mother was presented. That is, women who were responsive to their
children's needs and expressed positive affect toward them tended to have infants who were assigned positive ratings in terms of affect and behavior. Further, women who were rated as nonintrusive, responsive to the child's interests and abilities, and positively affectively involved with the child, tended to have infants whose affect and behavior were rated in the positive direction.

Regarding the second purpose of this research, perceived task adjustment, and to a lesser extent, maternal intrusiveness accounted for differences among women in terms of their attitudes toward separation-individuation. Contrary to previous findings (Cohler, et al., 1976), parental autonomy was unrelated to maternal attitudes toward separation-individuation.

In the following discussion, the findings will be considered in light of additional research and theory. The first section deals with the unexpected negative relationships between maternal intrusiveness, responsiveness and concern and attitudes toward Appropriate Closeness through a discussion of the concept of the overprotective mother as defined by Levy (1943) and others. In the second section, the bidirectionality of the mother-infant relationship is discussed with respect to the findings that infant as an explanatory variable contributed significantly to accounting for some maternal dimensions and that two maternal dimensions were best explained by the infant variable. The third area is a discussion of the major findings with respect to the factors that impact upon maternal attitudes. The fourth section offers suggestions for future
research and the fifth section is a summary of the results and conclusions.

**Maternal Behavior-Attitude Relationship: The Concept of the Overprotective Mother**

A discussion of the concept of maternal overprotection is important to this study for two reasons. First, Cohler (1970) suggested that the woman who scores in the maladaptive direction on the Appropriate Closeness subscale of the MAS is similar, dynamically, to the women Levy (1943) described as overprotective mothers. In other words, Cohler made the assumption that the overprotective mother has difficulty separating her own needs from those of the infant and the Appropriate Closeness subscale is designed to tap maternal attitudes that would be expected to be held by the overprotective mother. Secondly, the maternal behaviors targeted for observation, namely, responsiveness, concern with performance, and particularly, intrusiveness, closely parallel the behavioral characteristics attributed to the overprotective mother. It is surprising, therefore, that negative relationships were obtained between maternal behaviors and the Appropriate Closeness subscale.

To untangle these relationships, it is necessary to examine Levy's definition of the overprotective mother. Levy (1943) defined maternal overprotection as excessive maternal care, behaviorally manifested in one or all of the following four ways: excessive
mother-child contact, infantilization, prevention of independent behavior, and maternal control (defined as maternal discipline, either excessive or lacking). In his discussion of maternal prevention of the child's independent behavior, Levy suggested that the overprotective mother prevents the child's normal development in areas such as peer relations and self-help skills. That is not to say that strides toward autonomy do not occur earlier. Levy referred to locomotion as an early infant attempt at independent functioning and acknowledged that among overprotective mothers, interference can occur in response to independent functioning at any age.

Regarding the dynamics of the overprotective mother, one view is that maternal overprotectiveness is a manifestation of unconscious maternal hostility toward the child or toward the female "fate" of pregnancy, childbirth, and childcare. As Levy (1943) noted:

All maternal overprotection could be regarded as compensatory to unconscious hostility, and its quantitative variation simply an index of the strength of the compensatory device (p.117).

A careful examination of the Appropriate Closeness subscale of the MAS suggests that it is this dynamic of overprotection that the subscale appears to measure. For example, the majority of items refer to maternal regrets or hostility toward pregnancy and childbirth (e.g., the pain of childbirth is so great that a woman wonders if it is worthwhile; a woman's body can never look the same once she has given birth to a child; during childbirth, a mother's health is often seriously damaged), toward the female role (e.g.,
menstruation is rightly called the curse), and toward the child him/herself (e.g., babies act like they are the most important people in the household and are always demanding things; the questions children ask often seem ridiculous). However, maternal hostility among the overprotective mother is, by definition, unconscious so that in this study, the negative relationship between Appropriate Closeness and intrusiveness could be interpreted as reflecting denied maternal hostility toward the child. That is, a woman's unconscious hostility is behaviorally manifested as intrusiveness, but attitudinally expressed in a manner which earns an adaptive score on the Appropriate Closeness subscale (i.e., she fails to admit to any negative feelings toward pregnancy, childbirth, or the child).

There are two problems with this interpretation. First, the Appropriate Closeness scale was not designed to measure unconscious processes; that is, one cannot assume that lack of agreement with the items listed above is an indication of denial of those feelings. The instrument does include a lie scale and it is interesting to note that women exhibiting adaptive attitudes toward Appropriate Closeness did not also score significantly higher on the Lie scale of the MAS than women exhibiting maladaptive Appropriate Closeness attitudes. However, the lie scale was not specifically designed to assess a successful use of denial and cannot be utilized as such an indicator. Secondly, Levy and others dispute the idea that the major dynamic underlying all overprotectiveness is unconscious hostility. Levy concluded that in only some overprotective mothers does the
overprotection represent the neurotic process in which guilt over unconscious hostility results in exaggerated maternal care. Levy proposed that in many cases of overprotection, the dynamics are quite different. He referred to "true" or "pure" maternal overprotection as overprotection which occurs in women who are predisposed to strong maternal behavior and are exposed to certain intrapsychic and social forces, a combination which yields the overprotective attitude. Levy argued that considering all overprotectiveness as a result of a neurotic process would "refute the possibility of a normal maternal response since if a normal response may be assumed, its increase in the presence of stronger stimuli must also be considered" (p. 157). Hence, according to Levy, unconscious hostility is not always part of the dynamic picture among overprotective mothers. Among the intrapsychic and social forces (i.e, "stronger stimuli") impacting on the normal maternal response and yielding excessive maternal care in some women are maternal affect hunger, a lengthy period of anticipation of pregnancy, social isolation and an unsatisfactory marital relationship.

Others who have addressed this issue agree that to claim that unconscious hostility is the root of all overprotectiveness is an unwarranted overgeneralization. Deutsch (1945), for example, argued that because a longing and a deep-seated fear of loss derive from the positive sources of maternal love, overprotection can serve as a defense mechanism in avoiding separation. Anthony and Benedek (1970) suggested that fearfulness, ambivalence, or the need to encapsulate
may play a role in maternal behavior which impedes the child's movement toward independent functioning. Broadening the dynamics of overprotectiveness beyond unconscious hostility suggests that a mother may exhibit overprotective behavior, e.g., hinder the child's movement toward independent functioning (separation-individuation), in the absence of compensatory guilt. In fact, a woman who experiences the child in a positive light might dread psychological separation from him/her and be more active in her attempts to prevent its occurrence than one who sees pregnancy, childbirth and childcare as burdensome. It was noted, for example, that some of the most behaviorally intrusive women in this study earned the most adaptive scores on Appropriate Closeness, suggesting that the less the child was seen as a burden, the more actively the mother interacted with him/her. These findings suggest that the inability to see the infant as a separate individual is not necessarily accompanied by negative feelings toward childbirth or childrearing.

It is interesting to note that, although not reaching significance, the relationship between Appropriate Closeness and maternal concern with performance (r = -.27, p < .09) and Appropriate Closeness and maternal responsiveness (r = -.25, p < .11) also reflected this negative trend (i.e., women with adaptive attitudes toward separation-individuation tended to be overly concerned with the child's performance at play and unresponsive to the child's level of interests and ability). Levy (1943) noted that overprotective
mothers are very frequently concerned with their children's academic performance and often push the children to do well in the classroom. Again if this maternal behavior were compensatory, and the Appropriate Closeness subscale truly tapped this dynamic, one would expect positive behavior-attitude relationships to emerge. These trends suggest instead that overconcern and unresponsiveness can occur in the absence of negative feelings toward the child and are possibly the function of some other maternal dynamic.

In conclusion, the obtained relationship between maternal intrusiveness and Appropriate Closeness suggests that the woman who intrudes upon the child may indeed hold less than adaptive attitudes toward separation-individuation, i.e., have trouble separating the child's needs from her own. However, this lack of mother-child psychological separation is not necessarily accompanied by anger or resentment toward the child, as measured by a non-projective instrument like the Maternal Attitude Scale. Similarly, the trend toward a negative relationship between the other maternal behavioral dimensions (i.e., maternal concern with performance and maternal responsiveness) and Appropriate Closeness lends support to Levy's contention that behavioral manifestations of overprotectiveness does not necessarily occur within the context of maternal hostility. An assessment procedure with taps unconscious maternal hostility and other dynamics such as fear of loss or ambivalence regarding separation is needed to further clarify the relationship between maternal behaviors and feelings toward separation-individuation.
Nature of the Mother-Infant Interaction

The infant emerged as a significant explanatory variable of maternal responsiveness, maternal affect, and, to a lesser extent, maternal intrusiveness. Reverse results were also obtained with respect to maternal affect and intrusiveness. That is, infant behavior/affect was explained, in part, by these maternal dimensions. These findings are interesting but difficult to interpret in terms of the flow of influence. Historically, developmental psychologists have examined the impact of maternal characteristics on the infant. The present study suggests that maternal affect and intrusiveness may impact upon infant behavior and affect. Similarly, researchers (e.g., Buss & Plomin, 1975 and Moss, 1967) have acknowledged that the infant is an active participant in the mother-child relationship and that he/she impacts upon mothering. The present study also supports that contention; the infant was a significant predictor of maternal affect and behavior. Unfortunately, these findings only serve to suggest that both mother and infant impact upon one another. According to Martin (1981) and Sander (1964), knowledge of the influence of either maternal or infant characteristics on the other does not adequately capture the nature of the developing mother-infant relationship. A model which allows for bidirectional and interactional influences to emerge provides the clearest picture (Martin, 1981). It would, for example, be of interest to determine what infant, maternal, and dyadic characteristics at one point in the relationship impact upon maternal behaviors at a later point in
time. For example, could maternal intrusiveness at infant age 13 months be explained as a function of infant temperament, maternal sensitivity and the infant-mother interaction at infant age 2 months? Martin (1981) has utilized such a model in an attempt to account for child compliance, trust, and interest in establishing social contacts with strangers, but maternal dimensions such as those of interest in this study have not been examined within this framework.

Of all maternal variables, only attitude toward separation-individuation was significantly related to infant sex. The slight tendency for mothers of males to respond more positively with respect to their experiences of pregnancy, childbirth and childcare than mothers of females lends some support for the psychoanalytic idea of the favored male child. However, the finding that infant sex was not a significant explanatory variable of any of the maternal behaviors, that is, that mothers were not more or less intrusive, responsive, or concerned with performance with respect to one sex, disputes both Levy's (1943) and others' work (e.g., Books-Gunn & Mathews, 1979; Lewis, 1972). For example, the majority of children in Levy's samples of overprotective mothers were males. On the other hand, Lewis (1972) suggested that mothers exhibit more proximal behavior toward female infants after approximately 6 months of age. Brooks-Gunn and Mathews' (1979) observation that mothers encourage exploration among their sons and discourage such behavior among their daughters was also not supported in the current study. This tendency for mothers to not treat their male and female children differently
with respect to exploration, perhaps reflects a high level of consciousness regarding the current societal pressure to raise male and female children in a similar manner. Overall, this was a highly educated sample of women who have most likely been exposed, at least informally, to the idea of androgyny. Also, male and female children were not found to differ significantly on the infant measure, and it could be argued that males and females were treated similarly because they presented in a similar manner to the mother. Regardless of the causal direction of this relationship, it does appear that in this sample, infant sex was not a critical variable with respect to infant behavior or maternal behavior.

Maternal Attitudes toward Separation-Individuation

The model designed to explain maternal attitudes toward Appropriate Closeness yielded mixed results. That is, as predicted, task adjustment (SRT) was predictive of Appropriate Closeness, and women who expressed adaptive attitudes toward Appropriate Closeness tended to perceive themselves as competently managing their responsibilities. However, parental autonomy (SRAU) was not predictive of maternal attitudes and the previous finding of a positive relationship between parental autonomy and maternal attitudes toward separation-individuation (Cohler, et al., 1976) was not replicated.
Looking first at the SRT-Appropriate Closeness relationship, it is not surprising that a positive relationship was obtained given the nature of the questions on the Appropriate Closeness scale. The woman who endorsed these items expressed dissatisfaction with her child and two of her support systems, namely her husband and pediatrician. It would be expected that a woman who sees herself as having difficulty managing her various responsibilities, including childcare, might be more inclined to experience the child as a burden than would the woman who does not experience frustration or dissatisfaction with her daily routine.

Perhaps a more interesting finding was the relationship obtained between maternal concern and task adjustment. This relationship parallels the maternal behavior-Appropriate Closeness relationships; that is, a negative relationship was found. Women who felt that they were competent with respect to the performance of daily tasks tended to express concern regarding the child's performance at play more so than women who reported dissatisfaction. As noted above, concern with performance has been discussed by Levy (1943) as a manifestation of the overprotective mother. He further noted that many overprotective mothers are "responsible, stable, aggressive women" (p. 132). More specifically, within his group of 20 pure overprotective mothers, 18 were found to be actively responsible, that is, skillfully managing household tasks and/or helping the family through pursuit of employment outside of the home. Two
subjects were responsible in a passive sense, with successful management reflecting a dependency on an authoritative person (e.g., husband, employer). Hence, in this study, the negative relationship between maternal concern and SRT paralleled Levy's finding. The more adequately the mother is performing her daily routine, the more likely she is to expect the infant to exhibit competency, a tendency which could result in infringement upon the child's movement toward individuation if taken to the extreme.

Unexpected findings emerged with respect to parental autonomy (SRAU) as an explanatory variable and in terms of the SRAU-Appropriate Closeness relationship. It is difficult to explain why the Cohler et al. findings (1976) were not replicated; that is, why a significant relationship was not obtained between level of parental autonomy and attitudes toward Appropriate Closeness. The samples used by Cohler and in this study did not differ significantly except with respect to geographic location, the former samples representing New England communities, and sample size; Cohler's samples were significantly larger than the current sample. However, it is interesting to note that although maternal attitudes toward Appropriate Closeness were unrelated to the extent to which a woman had established mature autonomy with her parental family, a positive relationship was obtained between SRAU and maternal affect. Woman who were positively affectively involved with their child, that is, were warm, interested and supportive, tended to relate to their
own parents in a flexible manner. They were able to accept and utilize parental advice with respect to the baby and other matters but were not dependent upon such advice to function effectively as a mother or within any other role. The quality of the mother-parent relationship was not reflected behaviorally or attitudinally with respect to the child, but it was seen at an affective level, a finding which lends some support to the psychoanalytic notion of the repetition of the parent-child relationship from generation to generation (Cohler, et al., 1981).

Future Research of the Maternal Response to Infant Exploration

The findings of this study suggest two possible avenues for additional research. That maternal behaviors such as intrusiveness, responsiveness, and concern with performance are a function of a woman's feelings toward separation-individuation, i.e., an inability to separate her own from her infant's needs, has not been ruled out or confirmed by this research. These behaviors closely resemble the behaviors exhibited by the overprotective mother, however, and the measure of attitudes toward separation-individuation utilized in this study is based, in part, on Levy's (1943) idea of overprotectiveness as compensatory of unconscious hostility toward the child. The findings of this study suggest that these behaviors occur in the absence of such hostility. However, an attitude measure is an inadequate means of assessing unconscious hostility. In-depth
interviews or a projective technique such as the Interpersonal Apperception Test (Cohler, 1979) which assesses adult psychosocial adjustment, might yield more meaningful information regarding the dynamics underlying these maternal behaviors. Examination of additional factors such as maternal social and marital adjustment and the pregnancy anticipatory period might further clarify maternal behavior with respect to the Practicing infant. Secondly, findings of mutual mother-infant influence suggest that simultaneously considering maternal, infant, and dyadic characteristics might be a productive approach to explaining maternal behavior.

Summary

Differences in maternal behavior and affect in the presence of a locomoting/exploring infant were investigated in the current study. It was hypothesized that maternal behaviors were a function of maternal feelings toward the child's movement through the separation-individuation process and the infant (type, i.e., affect and behavior, and infant sex). Additionally, it was hypothesized that attitudes toward separation-individuation were a function of parental autonomy, task performance, the infant and infant sex, and maternal behavioral/affective interactions with the infant.
A sample of 40 mothers and their 13 or 14 month old locomoting male and female infants were observed in a free play situation in the home. Mothers were rated on four dimensions, intrusiveness, responsiveness, concern with performance, and affect, and infants were assigned a rating reflecting quality of behavior and affect. Mothers completed the Maternal Attitude Scale and also responded to a semistructured interview which assessed extent of parental autonomy and task adjustment. Data were analyzed by the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient and multiple linear regression analysis using a simultaneous approach.

Results indicated that attitudes toward Appropriate Closeness could, in part, account for maternal differences with respect to level of intrusiveness. Contrary to predictions, a negative trend was established between maternal behaviors and attitudes toward Appropriate Closeness. Type of infant was useful in explaining maternal affect and maternal responsiveness, and mothers who received positive behavioral ratings tended to have infants also rated as pleasant and non-irritating. Attitudes toward Appropriate Closeness were unrelated to parental autonomy but positively related to task performance. Infant sex and Appropriate Closeness were marginally related, with mothers of males expressing more adaptive attitudes. Finally, only maternal intrusiveness was useful in accounting for maternal differences in attitudes toward Appropriate Closeness.
The present findings were examined in light of Levy's (1943) and others' (Anthony & Benedek, 1970; Deutsch, 1945) interpretations of the overprotective mother. The behaviors observed among this sample of mothers and the Appropriate Closeness subscale were related to the picture of the overprotective mother. It was concluded that difficulty among mothers in terms of separating her needs from her infant's could be behaviorally manifested in intrusiveness, nonresponsiveness, or overconcern with performance but that these behaviors are not necessarily compensatory of guilt over unconscious hostility toward the child. The finding of mutual mother-infant influence was discussed in terms of the development of a model to simultaneously consider maternal, infant, and dyadic characteristics to explain maternal functioning. The role of task adjustment on the manner in which a woman perceives and interacts with her infant, as well as the impact of a woman's relationship with her parents on the quality of her affective involvement with her child, were discussed. Finally, additional research which would utilize projective and interview techniques and a bidirectional-interactional model to explain maternal behavior in the presence of the locomoting-exploring infant was proposed.
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APPENDIX A: Questionnaire For Mothers

The following statements represent matters of interest and concern to mothers. Not all mothers feel the same way about them and, in fact, there is no one "right" way to think about them. Read each statement carefully and circle the number at the left which most clearly reflects YOUR degree of agreement or disagreement. Try to answer all statements without skipping items or looking back.

(Circle One)

1 2 3 4 5 6  (1) When the baby is born he (she) already has a personality of his (her) own.
1 2 3 4 5 6  (2) Holding and caressing a baby when he (she) cries is good for him (her).
1 2 3 4 5 6  (3) A newborn baby doesn't cry unless something is wrong.
1 2 3 4 5 6  (4) Ships, snails and puppy dog tails, that's what little boys are made of.
1 2 3 4 5 6  (5) Newborn babies are fragile and delicate and must be handled extremely carefully.
1 2 3 4 5 6  (6) A mother just naturally knows when to pick up a crying baby.
1 2 3 4 5 6  (7) It is worth a great deal of effort on the mother's part to provide surprises for her child.
1 2 3 4 5 6  (8) Taking care of a baby is much more work than pleasure.

*Appropriate Closeness subscale items
A mother doesn't really think of her baby as a person until it begins to smile and recognize people.

Babies must wish that their mothers would stop fussing over them too much.

It is a terribly frustrating task to care for a newborn infant because he (she) can't let you know what he (she) needs.

It is upsetting to a mother when her infant leaves half the formula in his (her) bottle.

A mother's carelessness, even for a moment, can easily cause an infant to die.

A neat, well-ordered home is one of the most important things a parent can provide a child in growing up.

Mothers enjoy breast feeding much more than bottle feeding.

A mother and her five month old baby should be able to understand each other fairly well.

Parents often over-estimate the importance of encouraging children's curiosity about the world around them.

A child never gets angry with his (her) mother.

A woman wants her mother nearby when she is giving birth.

A three month old baby can't really tell you what he (she) is thinking by a smile.

Infants should be kept on a regular feeding schedule and should be fed only at certain times.

When a child cries, his (her) parents should comfort him (her).
Mothers are better than fathers at raising girls.

Infants under five months of age are not well able to occupy themselves, and they like frequent adult attention.

Bodily changes in pregnancy make a woman feel very unattractive.

If a baby seldom smiles or coos it's because his (her) mother doesn't play with him (her) enough.

Babies are more difficult to take care of when they are very young than when they are older.

New mothers may feel a little uncomfortable the first time they wash their baby's genitals.

The questions children ask often seem to be ridiculous.

Babies prefer to be cared for by mothers rather than by fathers.

One big trouble about having babies is that you can't do the things you liked to do before the baby was born.

Too long feeding at the breast is apt to make the baby too dependent on the mother.

Opinions of neighbors, relatives, and friends should be ignored in raising your own children.

Nowadays a little girl should be allowed to do the same things her brother does.

In deciding when the baby is really ready to give up the bottle, a mother's judgment should be more important that what the baby seems to want.

The pleasure of one or both partners is the main reason for sexual intercourse.
Mothers have no difficulties in bringing up children.

Mothers don't like it when babies grab the spoon while being fed.

Newborn babies are much more like each other than they are different from each other.

It is foolish for a mother to lie awake at night worrying whether or not her infant is breathing.

A mother's milk can be bad for her infant.

Babies are frequently so demanding that their mothers have no time for anything else.

The best person to help you learn to be a mother is your own mother.

Most of the time small babies don't even understand it when their mothers smile at them.

Children should always be polite and courteous to their parents.

The six-month-old baby can tell you exactly what he (she) wants if you watch and listen.

Regardless of their age, babies sometimes seem to be lonely and unhappy.

Pediatricians could be much more useful in helping mothers to bring up their babies.

A mother is usually glad to let someone else hold her baby, but is secretly pleased when the baby shows that it prefers her.

A seven-month-old baby should be picked up when he (she) cries.

Preventing a child from sucking his (her) thumb when he (she) wants to may be bad for the child.
It's a healthy sign of growing up when a child can defy his (her) parents' commands.

Naturally, a child is born with the feeling that his (her) feces and urine are dirty and unpleasant.

Feeding at the breast is more satisfying for a child than feeding from the bottle.

Children are people, and their right to disagree with their parents should be respected.

If a mother plays very much with her seven-month-old baby he (she) will want her to be around all the time.

A woman's body can never look quite the same once she has given birth to a child.

If a young boy is to develop into the right kind of man, he should begin while he is still quite young to learn what men do.

Doctors should pay a lot more attention to the mother's feelings during labor and childbirth than they do.

Mothers would prefer that their little babies not squirm and wiggle so much.

Sugar and spice and everything nice, that's what little girls are made of.

A child should not be permitted to cry.

If you want to know how good a mother any woman will be, find out how good her own mother was.

Parents are never embarrassed by what their children say in public.

Babies are only sad on a few occasions; mostly they giggle and seem happy.
A mother gets physical pleasure out of holding, hugging, and kissing her child.

A child must get his (her) anger out of his (her) system, even if his (her) mother happens to be the victim.

It is better that babies do not use the cup until they themselves are ready to do so.

It is perfectly all right for a three or four year old to take a bath or shower with his (her) parents.

Babies need love and attention, but not nearly as much as most mothers give them.

Fathers don't know so very much about small babies so it's better to leave things to the mother.

Even the best mother feels some disgust when cleaning up the mess in her infant's diapers.

Even though a seven-month-old baby can do some things for himself (herself), it is better for the mother to do them until she is sure.

Mothers have a special knack for raising boys.

Parents should ignore their child's crying when it is just for attention.

A mother should breast feed her baby if she can.

It is often better for a mother to suffer than to frustrate her young child.

Sexual intercourse should be at the suggestion of the man.

Thumb sucking should be curved by the use of medicine or gloves.

If a young girl is to develop into the right kind of woman, she should begin while she is still quite young to learn what women do.
1 2 3 4 5 6 (81) A mother has to make great sacrifices for her child.

1 2 3 4 5 6 *(82) A one-year-old child doesn't really feel his (her) mother is "with him (her)" if she is doing something else at the same time.

1 2 3 4 5 6 (83) A child should be weaned as early as possible, even though he (she) may protest somewhat.

1 2 3 4 5 6 (84) Young children should be allowed to see other members of the household in the nude.

1 2 3 4 5 6 (85) Good mothers keep a tight hold on their child's expression of angry feelings.

1 2 3 4 5 6 (86) Children never lie to their mothers.

1 2 3 4 5 6 (87) A mother has more pride in herself than a childless woman.

1 2 3 4 5 6 (88) It is wrong to tell young children that the stork brought them.

1 2 3 4 5 6 (89) While it is well to take the baby's feelings into account, he (she) should learn to use the cup even if he (she) doesn't like it at first.

1 2 3 4 5 6 (90) Most ten-month-old babies are too young to enjoy being with other babies of the same age.

1 2 3 4 5 6 (91) Little boys and little girls are both mischievous, but a mother has to be more firm with her little boy than with her little girl.

1 2 3 4 5 6 *(92) A one-year-old child enjoys playing games with his (her) parents but cannot be expected to begin them himself (herself).

1 2 3 4 5 6 *(93) If parents are ready to go out for the evening and their year-old baby reacts by crying and screaming, it is best for them to cancel their plans.

1 2 3 4 5 6 (94) One of the worst things a mother can do is to insist that the child obey her every command.

1 2 3 4 5 6 (95) Little boys can be expected to cry just as much as little girls.
A child is only as curious about the world as his (her) parents encourage him (her) to be.

Mothers who are pregnant should volunteer information about sex to their child.

A child should be punished for breaking his (her) own toys in a fit of anger.

Most of the time a one-year old hates to let his (her) mother out of his (her) sight.

Children seem to ask questions about things which should not concern them.

There is some kind of a bond between mothers and their young sons which fathers may even be a little jealous of.

The more permissive a mother is, the better it is for her baby.

Giving an eighteen-month old things which he (she) is allowed to break encourages destructive tendencies and makes for later problems.

A woman needs her mother nearby when she is giving birth.

It is never too early to start teaching a child to obey commands.

Children cannot be expected to begin controlling their tempers before they are one year old.

A child should be fed when he (she) is hungry.

A typical one-year-old baby is likely to get upset when he (she) is left with a babysitter.

Children should be more considerate of their mothers since their mothers do so much for them.

Mo matter what their parents request, children often shake their heads "no".

Parents always tell the truth to their children.
At the age of twelve to eighteen months a child should be put to bed at a fixed hour even if he (she) protests to show that he (she) is not sleepy.

Mothers have a special knack for raising girls.

A child should be permitted to say "I hate you" when an eighteen-month old begins to destroy things around the house, it is well to let him (her) express the same feelings with things he (she) is allowed to break.

A fifteen-month-old child should decide for himself (herself) when he (she) is ready to begin using the toilet.

Generally a one-year-old baby should not feel frightened when he (she) sees new faces.

"Spare the rod and spoil the child" is old-fashioned foolishness.

Everything a mother does for a child is done with the child's best interest in mind.

Little boys do not like their mothers to be tender and show fondness toward them as much as little girls do.

Parents should encourage a child to use his (her) imagination, even if it leads to fantastic ideas.

Parents cannot make children learn anything unless they want to.

It is his mother's own fault if her son acts like a sissy and "hangs on her apron strings".
A mother can easily understand how a child gets great pleasure out of taking things apart and knocking things down.

A child enjoys exploring new things, but what is known and familiar to him (her) is much more important if he (she) is to feel secure.

Babies act like they are the most important people in the household and are always demanding things.

A mother needs to be clever in learning how to discourage her four year old from asking questions about sex until he (she) is old enough.

The ability to be a good mother is mainly an innate or inborn ability.

Children should be permitted to argue with their parents.

Even though a three or four year old boy might like to play with dolls, he should be encouraged to do other things instead.

A stubborn child should be taught early that his (her) parents' will is stronger than his (hers).

It is reasonable for a mother to be disturbed when she sees a child playing with his or her genitals.

Menstruation is an important reminder of a woman's femininity and her ability to bear children.

Children should be encouraged to express their anger as well as their more pleasant feelings.

Little boys are naturally tougher than little girls.

Mothers never worry about what their children will turn into when they grow up.
123456 (137) It is very hard to know where to stop once you allow a child of twenty-one months to get away with destructive behavior.

123456 *(138) Husbands could do a great deal more to be of help to their wives during the early months of motherhood.

123456 (139) The earlier the child is put on the potty, the easier it is to train him (her).

123456 *(140) If you give a child an inch, he (she) will take a mile.

123456 (141) Parents prefer quiet children to active ones.

123456 (142) It is a good idea to dress a baby boy in blue and a baby girl in pink.

123456 (143) A mother should take action the very first time her child disobeys her.

123456 (144) Even when they are young, some little children seem to be too "sexy".

123456 (145) Although she realizes that boys must be boys, it scares the living daylights out of a mother to think of what they might do.

123456 (146) A child of two should not have temper tantrums.

123456 (147) A child is never too young to have a pet.

123456 (148) Feeling a baby kicking and moving inside you is a wonderful sign of new life.

123456 (149) When a child doesn't like certain foods, his (her) mother should stop feeding them to him.

123456 (150) Children should be permitted to play in sand and mud if they wish to.

123456 (151) If three year olds have toys they can take apart they are likely to think they can do the same with valuable things in the house.
When you come right down to it, the main reason for sexual relations is bringing children into the world.

It is embarrassing to a mother to have her child oppose her when friends or neighbors are present.

Children should not be allowed to refuse parental requests and commands.

Mothers should do everything they can do to discourage their sons from playing with dolls.

A two year old should be permitted to play with his (her) bowel movements.

Parents should be careful not to make any distinction between what they expect of their little girls and their little boys.

It is unreasonable for parents to become very angry when their two year old repeatedly opens drawers and spills the contents on the floor.

During childbirth a mother's health is often seriously damaged.

A mother should never back down once she has told her child not to do something.

Mothers have every right to get angry at children who are always trying to find out if they mean what they say.

It is quite understandable that a woman should not want to have sexual relations while she is pregnant.

If a child makes occasional slips after he (she) has been toilet trained, his (her) slips should be ignored.

When a mother limits a child's expression of angry feelings, she does it for his (her) own good.
1  2  3  4  5  6 (165) It is perfectly all right to allow children to touch their genitals.

1  2  3  4  5  6 (166) Children should be raised so that everyone in the neighborhood feels they are good children.

1  2  3  4  5  6 (167) A child should be permitted to express his (her) opinions freely.

1  2  3  4  5  6 (168) Mothers never get angry with their children.

1  2  3  4  5  6 *(169) Menstruation is rightly called "the curse".

1  2  3  4  5  6 (170) When a two year old refuses to do what his (her) parents ask he (she) should not be allowed to get away with it.

1  2  3  4  5  6 (171) Boys should be taught to be independent at an earlier age than girls.

1  2  3  4  5  6 *(172) The pain of childbirth is so great that a woman sometimes wonders if it is worthwhile.

1  2  3  4  5  6 (173) There is nothing to worry about if a two year old has temper tantrums.

1  2  3  4  5  6 (174) The child who shows his (her) anger frequently is badly brought up.

1  2  3  4  5  6 (175) Children of two-and-a-half should be made to eat their food for the sake of their health, even if they protest strongly.

1  2  3  4  5  6 *(176) Hospitals send mothers home too soon after the child is born.

1  2  3  4  5  6 (177) A good child does not disobey his (her) mother's orders.

1  2  3  4  5  6 (178) A child should be permitted to talk about his (her) bowel movements and urination whenever he (she) wishes.

1  2  3  4  5  6 (179) Nowadays there is hardly any point in getting a little girl dressed up.
Three year old children have a right to their own opinions and ought to express them even if their parents disagree.

Being able to watch while she gives birth is one of the most thrilling experiences of a mother's life.

It is unfair for a mother to expect different things from a little girl than she does from a little boy.

A mother has a right to feel angry when her child stands right in front of her and breaks his (her) own toys.

Once parents have decided on a rule, children should follow it without any back-talk.

By the time children are four, they are getting a little old for imaginary friends or make-believe games.

Husbands usually do not give their wives enough support or help during pregnancy.

It is important that boys learn to act like boys and girls learn to act like girls, but a mother does not need to be concerned about this when her children are only three years old.

When one thinks of how often she was told "no" as a child, it's easier to let children have their own way.

A three year old should not be told how babies are made.

A woman wants to be able to call on her mother for help when she returns from the hospital with her newborn.

It is better for a three year old to be imaginative then to be realistic.
A child should be permitted in the bathroom even if one of his (her) parents is in there.

When a child accidentally breaks a valuable object he (she) should not be punished.

A mother must be sure that her little girl is dressed to look like a girl.

It is only natural for a child of three years to be interested in the physical differences between and women.

Mothers never demand that their children will do as they are asked.

Although a three year old boy may find it hard to ask, he needs as much tenderness as a girl of the same age.

It is reasonable for a mother to worry when her daughter and husband become very affectionate with each other.

A child should obey and like it.

It is better to take a child off bottle feeding late than early.

A three or four year old boy is entitled to as much love as a girl of the same age, but he may not need it as much.

Often a child's anger toward his (her) mother is justified.

A mother should resist the temptation to take her young children to bed with her whenever she feels like it.

A father should not bathe his four year old daughter.
The child who is always quiet and peaceful is the best kind of child to have.

A child under three is still too young to be curious about where babies come from.

If her three year old girl acts like a tomboy and has little interest in girlish things, a mother should do something about it.

Human conception should be accurately explained to children.

Children take great delight in annoying parents by pushing the rules to the limit.

It is sometimes difficult for a mother to know whether or not her child is angry.

Mothers worry that young children who play with their genitals will be harmed by this play.

When three year olds want to help you with what you're doing, you should encourage them because that's how they learn.

When children disobey their mother, it is probably because too much is being asked of them.

Little boys can be expected to cry just as much as little girls.

If a mother changes her mind after telling her child to do something, she need not feel guilty about backing down.

There are many things a three year old girl should not do that are all right for a boy.

Young children seem to ask too many questions.

Children are likely to get into something and break it if mothers don't keep their eyes on them every moment.
A child's curiosity about sex should be curbed if he (she) is to grow into a satisfactory adult.

Fathers are better than mothers at raising boys.

It is often easier to let a child do what he (she) shouldn't than to say "no".

A woman never feels so good physically and mentally as she does when she is pregnant.

Even though a three year old girl may like to play with flashlights, tools, and bugs, she should be encouraged to do other things instead.

A child's objections often make more sense than his (her) mother's rules.

When children are being destructive they are often expressing anger at their mother.

What you read in books about a boy's being afraid of having his penis cut off is just nonsense.

There are times in the lives of three year olds when they need to be with people other than their mothers.

A woman's life is really not complete unless she has a child.

No matter how hurried parents might be they always take time to listen to their child's complaints and requests.

The child of three who spends his (her) time playing happily at home is better off than the one who is always out with playmates.

It's a waste of time teaching little boys of three to act like men and teaching little girls of three how to act like women because they're still too young to learn.
One of the sacrifices a mother must make is to let her young children have their own way even when she thinks they are wrong.

By the time a boy is three or four years old he should be taught to be "a little man".
Maternal Intrusiveness

1- Highly intrusive. Mother orients child's activities by selecting toy, removing toy, verbally beginning or ending an activity. Mother controls child's behavior by moving child to a more, equally, or less restrictive location; by holding, patting, hugging, or "straightening" child in restricting manner; by taking complete charge of an activity, (e.g., turning pages of book as read, determining how child plays with or uses a particular toy).

4- Mildly intrusive. Mother frequently selects toys, begins, ends activities, controls child's behavior by holding or physically placing child, or by controlling interaction (e.g., turning pages of book as read, determining how child plays with or uses a particular toy). At times, however, mother allows child to initiate and control activities.

7- Highly non-intrusive. Mother allows child to initiate activities. Mother waits for child to approach her with toy or to signal beginning or end of activity. Mother does not control or restrict child's behavior (e.g., she allows child to roam house, play in room separate from her for periods of time). Mother lets child set pace of interactions.
Maternal Concern with Child's Performance

1- Overconcern. Mother is overly concerned with the child's performance as exhibited by the following: Mother is critical of child and scolds child when he/she has difficulty with toy or activity (e.g., misnaming pictures in book, misplacing shapes); mother reinforces child's every move; mother frequently points out what child can do; mother frequently makes excuses for the child's performance.

4- Mild concern. Mother is mildly concerned with the child's performance. Mother is somewhat critical of child. She frequently corrects the child's mistakes and uses reinforcement to encourage the child to perform.

7- Non-evaluative. Mother is accepting of the child's performance. She does not scold the child when he/she makes a mistake. Mother does not overuse reinforcement, i.e., bombard the child with praise to elicit a performance.
Maternal Responsiveness

1- Highly unresponsive. Mother inhibits child's activities by failing to take into account the child's level of ability, motivation, and interest with respect to a particular activity. Mother's expectations/demands are inappropriate (i.e., are inconsistent with child's level of interest, motivation, and ability).

4- Inconsistent responsiveness. Mother is inconsistent with respect to her ability to monitor the child's level of motivation, interest, and ability as he/she plays. At times, her expectation/demands are appropriate, but at times, inappropriate with respect to the child's level.

7- Highly responsive. Mother is highly aware of her child's level of ability, motivation and interest with respect to a particular activity. Her expectations/demands of the child are appropriate (i.e., suit the child's level of interest, ability, and motivation).
Expression of Affect

1- Highly negative affect. Mother is detached, aloof, bored, cold, irritated, hostile, inaccessible. She may spank the child. Mother shows little interest in being with the child and does not appear to derive much pleasure from being with the child. Mother rarely looks at child. She rarely smiles or laughs when with child.

4- Ambivalent. Mother is chiefly positive in her feelings toward child and on occasion clearly enjoys him/her. However, resentment, rejection, irritation, etc. break through occasionally (note: if negative feelings predominate, score lower).

7- Highly positive affect. Mother is warm, interested, relaxed, supportive. Mother looks at child frequently and derives pleasure from being with child. Mother smiles and/or laughs at child's activities.
APPENDIX C: Task Performance

1. Do you live in an apartment or house?

2. How long have you been married?

3. Do you work outside of the home? (Note work status, when returned after birth of baby).

4. Could you tell me a little about what your present household routine is like, for example, what kinds of jobs do you have to do and what kinds of responsibilities do you have? (Check: who cleans, who shops, prepares meals, how handle money, bills, who takes care of children, how much does husband do, anyone else help?)

4a. (If vague response to 4) What is a typical day during the week like for you?

5. How are you managing your various responsibilities? (Check: able to do work required, husband satisfied with work, praise or criticism for work recently, how close does she feel comes to doing her best with responsibilities, any changes since baby arrived?)

6. (If woman hasn't mentioned any problems) Do you have any problems with your daily tasks--times when you can't get work done, aren't happy with what you're doing?

6a. If yes, could you tell me more about that? What do you do about that?
Task Performance

1- Very poor adjustment. Mother expresses numerous complaints and experiences a great deal of difficulty with respect to her daily tasks. She reports feeling very overwhelmed, inadequate, dissatisfied, angry with respect to managing her various responsibilities. Woman reports that her husband is dissatisfied with the manner in which the household is managed.

3- Poor adjustment. Mother expresses complaints and experiences difficulties with respect to daily task management. At times, she feels overwhelmed, dissatisfied, angry, inadequate with respect to her daily tasks. She reports that her husband is not completely satisfied with the manner in which the household is managed.

5- Adequate adjustment. Mother perceives task performance as adequate. She has no complaints regarding her various responsibilities and reports that her husband is also satisfied.

7- Good adjustment. Mother reports task performance as good. She reports positive feedback from husband and/or employer regarding management of responsibilities.

9- Very good adjustment. Mother reports task performance as excellent. She feels very satisfied with the way in which she is managing her responsibilities and reports enjoying her various tasks. Her husband is also very pleased with the way in which the household is run.
APPENDIX D: Parental Autonomy

I'd like to ask you some questions about your parents.

1. Is your mother still living?

1a. When did she pass away? (If within last month, proceed, otherwise go to question 4).

2. How have things been going with you and her? (Check: tell me a little about her and how you get along; what do you do when together; how comfortable and relaxed do you feel with her; how close do you feel—too close, too distant?).

3. (If hasn't mentioned any problems) Are there any problems in the way in which you get along with her?

4. Is there any other person, like a grandmother or an aunt or a godmother who has been like a mother to you?

4a. If no, go to father questions.

4b. If yes and still living, or died within a month, ask questions 2 and 3 above. Otherwise go to father questions.

5. Repeat series of questions for father.
Parental Autonomy

I. How smooth (comfortable, relaxed) vs, ambivalent (conflictual, stormy, tense) is (are) relationships?

1- Very ambivalent
3- Ambivalent
5- Somewhat ambivalent somewhat smooth
7- Smooth
9- Very smooth

II. Intimacy of Relationship(s)

1- Extremely superficial; no personal relationship(s) at all
3- Marked superficiality; rare personal references but no important personal relationship(s); or engulfing, smothering in relating to others
5- Moderate superficiality, limited meaningful personal inter-change; relatively guarded; or indiscriminately close
7- Moderate intimacy; fairly frequent meaningful personal interchanges
9- Intimate; frequent deep personal interchanges
III. Appropriate Autonomy From or Dependence on Parents or Surrogate

1- Extreme dependency, can't exist without assistance or support

3- Marked dependency, very reliant upon to make decisions, give support; or rigidly ignores advice

5- Moderate dependency, frequently turns to parents for advice or help but can act alone if necessary; or extreme independence, avoids advice

7- Moderate autonomy, fairly independent in making decisions, but feels better with support or advice

9- Autonomous, independent, makes own decisions and determines own affairs but can utilize good advice from parents
APPENDIX E: Infant Rating

1- Infant's vocalizations are predominately negative, e.g., crying, fussing, whinning. Infant looks sad or angry. Infant clings to mother or actively avoids contact with her. Infant is nonresponsive to mother's overtures. Infant exhibits irritating behavior such as biting, hitting, hair pulling. Infant expresses his/her demands in a negative manner, e.g., negative vocalizations, trantruming, and becomes extremely frustrated when needs are not met. Infant is not impervious to knocks and falls.

4- Negative vocalizations (crying, whinning, fussing) and negative contact seeking (clinging, active avoidance, nonresponsive) predominate over positive expressions in these areas, but are of less intensity than that exhibited by infants rated lower. Infant exhibits occasional irritating behavior (hair pulling, biting, hitting) and is occasionally impervious to knocks and falls.

7- Infant's vocalizations are predominately positive, e.g., laughing, giggling, expressions of pleasure. Infant smiles frequently. Infant brings objects to mother, initiates activities, refuels. Infant is responsive to mother's overtures. Infant does not exhibit any irritating behaviors (e.g., hitting, biting, or hair pulling). Infant expresses demands in a pleasant manner, e.g., pointing, looking at mother, vocalizing. Infant is not excessively frustrated when needs are not met. Infant is impervious to knocks or falls.
APPENDIX F: Telephone Contact

Hello, __________, my name is Beth Bontempo. I'm a graduate student at Ohio State. I believe that you participated in a research project when your first child was born. There is another study getting underway that I'm directly involved with and I'm contacting women who have participated in the past to see if they'd be interested in this study.

Is this a convenient time to talk or would you prefer I call back?

I'm interested in studying interactions between mothers and babies who have begun to walk. Is your child walking yet? (If walking, continue, if not, thank mother for her time).

If you choose to participate, I would want to come to your home where I would do two things. First, I would interview you. The interview consists of a variety of questions covering such topics as the household routine, your parents, and the baby. Then I would do two 10 minute observations of the baby doing whatever he/she normally does when he/she isn't sleeping or eating, with you in the room. There are no restrictions on what you do during the observation as long as you are in the same room and are not involved in a major household task. For some women that might mean playing with the baby, for others it might mean reading while the baby plays, etc. I will make an audiotape of the interview and the observations to supplement my notes.

I also have a questionnaire that I would leave with you and that you could mail back to me. This questionnaire asks for your opinions about various childcare issues such as toilet training, breast versus bottle feeding, etc.

There is no follow-up procedure, just the one home visit and questionnaire. Do you have any questions? Would you be interested in participating?

If the woman chose to participate, a home visit was scheduled. If not, she was asked if she could explain her objections and her reasons for declining were noted.