

He Loves Me; He Loves Me Not: Attachment and Separation Resolution of Abused Women

A. J. Z. Henderson,^{1,2} K. Bartholomew,¹ and D. G. Dutton³

Working within an attachment perspective, we examined women's success at emotional separation from abusive partners. The attachment patterns of 63 abused women were assessed shortly after having left their abusive relationships. Six months later, their perceptions, feelings, and behaviors regarding the separation were assessed, to determine an overall level of separation resolution. As expected, attachment patterns associated with a negative self model were overrepresented (88% of the sample had a predominant pattern of fearful or preoccupied attachment). Further, preoccupation was associated with shorter relationship length, more frequent previous separations from the abusive relationship, continuing emotional involvement with partners after separation, and more frequent sexual contact with partners. These findings suggest that preoccupation may be a risk factor in successful separation resolution from abusive relationships.

KEY WORDS: attachment; partner abuse; separation resolution; battered women.

INTRODUCTION

There is this poem When I read it I thought . . . that's why I stayed. There is a man in a cell and he reaches for this bar because he is in total darkness and if he tilts his head just so, he can see some light. So he just hangs on to this bar in desperation. And he's hanging on and fighting so hard just to get this bit of light that he doesn't realize that the cell door is open, and it's always been open. I think I was hanging on in desperation and hoping that it would get better But I could never see it getting any better. (Study participant)

¹Department of Psychology, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, B. C. V5A 1S6.

²To whom correspondence should be addressed.

³Department of Psychology, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B. C. V6T 1Z4.

Why do battered women remain in darkness, searching for a sliver of light? Why is it that these women, like the woman in the quotation above, fail to see that the cell door might well be open? The question rests on the reasonable assumption that once having been badly beaten an individual would seek to avoid being beaten again. But as Gelles (1987) notes, "unfortunately, the answer to why women remain with their abusive husbands is not nearly as simple as the assumption that underlies the question" (p.108).

Somewhat consistent findings have emerged from research focusing on external factors related to women's decisions to remain with abusive partners such as a woman's job skills, employability, social class, and number of dependents (e.g., Pagelow, 1981; Strube, 1988; Strube and Barbour, 1983). However, research has not always found that economic and social factors are central to women's decisions to leave abusive partners. For example, Rounsaville (1978) found that availability of outside resources did not discriminate those women who left their partners from those who did not. Rather, circumstances related to the relationship (such as severe abuse, and/or learning that the husband was also abusing the children) were more predictive of women's decisions to leave.

Alternatively, psychological theories, such as the battered women syndrome (Walker, 1979), psychological entrapment (Rubin and Brockner, 1985), and the survivor theory (Gondolf, 1988) have been proposed as explanations for why abused women have difficulty leaving abusive partners. However, these theories and studies do not provide a comprehensive picture of psychological variables associated with abused women's decisions to stay or leave. The unresolved nature of this inquiry may be due, in part, to the thorny issue of determining whether women's psychological distress preceded the violence or was a consequence of their victimization. There is a legitimate concern that a focus on psychological variables which may predispose women to being with or staying with violent partners could lead to the erroneous conclusion that they have asked for their victimization. It is imperative that the "depression, demoralization, and hopelessness that battered women experience must not be turned back on them, the victims, as a means of justifying why they are battered" (Gelles and Harrop, 1989, p. 417). Attachment theory, however, is one paradigm which allows us to address the psychological component as both a potential antecedent and a consequence of abuse.

ATTACHMENT THEORY

John Bowlby (1988) proposed that an attachment behavioral system is organized homeostatically, "with its own internal motivation distinct from feeding and sex, and of no less importance for survival" (p. 27). Bowlby

(1973) hypothesized that children internalize experiences with caretakers in such a way that attachment patterns are incorporated into the personality structure, forming mental representations of the self and others. Though the caregiver-child relationship is formative in developing and maintaining these internal representations, mental models are based on relationship interactions throughout the life-span. Internal working models tend to gain their own momentum and guide the formation of later relationships outside the family. Thus, Bowlby's notion of continuity of relationship patterns is not simply a set of transferred responses from previous relationships. Nor are subsequent relationships continually constructed anew. Rather, individuals select others to recreate aspects of relationship systems previously experienced (Sroufe and Fleeson, 1986).

Several researchers have addressed the question of how these internal working models may operate in adulthood. Main developed the Adult Attachment Interview (Main and Goldwyn, 1988; Main *et al.*, 1985) to categorize parents into three attachment groups—secure, dismissing, and preoccupied—corresponding to the three infant attachment styles initially proposed by Ainsworth and her associates—secure, avoidant, and ambivalent (Ainsworth *et al.*, 1978). Researchers have found an association between caregivers' recollections of their childhood experiences and the quality of their present relationships with their own children (e.g., Fonagy *et al.*, 1991; Main *et al.*, 1985; van IJzendoorn, 1995).

In an independent research project, Hazan and Shaver (1987), using a self-report measure of attachment, found that attachment patterns paralleling Ainsworth's original classifications of infant attachment could also be identified in adult romantic relationships. Thus, there may be a conceptual parallel between affectional bonds that are formed between adults and affectional bonds formed between children and their caregivers. These researchers also found that participants reporting different attachment patterns indicated distinctive patterns of love experiences and beliefs about the course of romantic love, availability and trustworthiness of partners, and their own self-worth (see also Collins and Read, 1990; Kirkpatrick and Davis, 1994).

To assess the quality of adult attachment relationships, Bartholomew (1990) has incorporated Bowlby's two dimensions of positivity of representations of self and positivity of representations of others in a four-category model of attachment (Bartholomew and Horowitz, 1991; Griffin and Bartholomew, 1994a). The positivity of the self dimension indicates the degree to which individuals have an internalized sense of their own self-worth. Thus, individuals with a positive self dimension will be self-confident, rather than anxious in close relationships. The positivity of the other dimension refers to the degree to which others are seen to be supportive and trustworthy, thus contributing to an attitude in close relationships of seeking

others out, rather than avoiding intimacy. Bartholomew has identified four prototypic attachment patterns in terms of the intersection of these two dimensions (Fig. 1). The *secure* pattern is defined by both a positive view of self and other model (low anxiety and low avoidance), and a *dismissing* pattern is defined by a positive view of self and a negative view of others (low anxiety and high avoidance). In contrast, a *fearful* pattern is characterized by a negative self and other model (high anxiety and high avoidance), and the *preoccupied* pattern is characterized by a negative self-view and positive view of others (high anxiety and low avoidance).

Attachments are proposed to be hierarchically arranged, with the primary attachment figure ranked in the uppermost position (Ainsworth, 1989; Bretherton, 1985). Throughout development, changes occur in the content and structure of an individual's attachment hierarchy, precipitating a shift from asymmetric complementary attachments (such as the infant-caregiver relationship) to the more reciprocal attachments that are common to adult romantic relationships. Hazan and Zeifman (1994) found that when lasting pair bonds form in adulthood the sexual partner ascends to the top of the hierarchy and assumes the position of the primary attachment figure.

ATTACHMENT AS IT RELATES TO WOMEN IN ABUSIVE RELATIONSHIPS

Attachment to an abusive partner becomes more readily understandable when one considers Bowlby's (1973) proposition that the strength

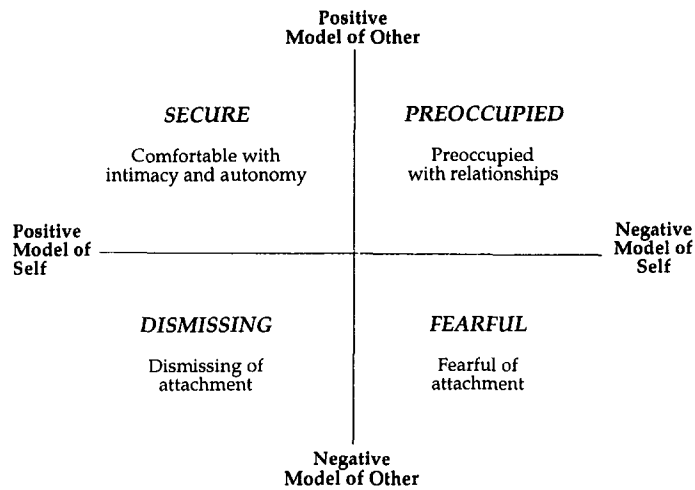


Fig. 1. Bartholomew's four category model of attachment.

of an attachment bond is unrelated to the quality of the attachment relationship. Bowlby believed that strong bonds are formed in conditions of threat which activate the attachment system, leading the threatened individual to seek proximity to an attachment figure. This is consistent with findings in the childhood attachment research indicating that abused children are still attached to abusive caregivers, albeit insecurely (e.g., Cicchetti and Barnett, 1992; Crittenden, 1992). Moreover, Bowlby (1969) suggested that not only will attachment behavior persist in the face of punitive treatment from an attachment figure, but abuse may serve to actively maintain, and even enhance, the strength of the attachment bond.

The paradoxical finding that the more punishment a juvenile receives the stronger becomes its attachment to the punishing figure, very difficult to explain on any other theory, is compatible with the view that the function of attachment behaviour is protection from . . . danger When severely threatened by an adult of its group a young monkey always seeks out the highest ranking animal available, usually a dominant male. Since this same animal is usually the one that threatened in the first place, it frequently happens that the animal that the juvenile approaches is the very animal that itself was the cause of its fear. (pp. 226-227)

Bowlby also describes this phenomenon in mother-child interactions, noting that a caregiver's rejection of a child's efforts to gain proximity often elicits precisely the opposite effect to what was intended—the child becomes even more clingy.

Although such behaviour may appear perverse, it is in fact what is to be expected on the hypothesis that attachment behaviour fulfills a protective function. Whenever mother seems unlikely to play her part in maintaining proximity a child is alerted and by his [sic] own behaviour ensures that proximity is maintained. (p. 260)

The notion that abuse can strengthen attachment bonds has been incorporated into a social-psychological theory of traumatic bonding. Based on an attachment perspective, traumatic bonding proposes that a battered woman's loyalty to her abuser is linked to two features of abusive relationships that combine intrinsic and situational forces: a power imbalance, and intermittency of abuse (Dutton, 1988; Dutton and Painter, 1993). Dutton argues that in unbalanced power relationships, as the dominated person's negative self-appraisal escalates, she becomes increasingly less capable of functioning without her dominator, and thus increasingly less likely to leave the relationship. Correspondingly, the dominator develops an inflated perception of his own power which exacerbates this self-feeding cycle of power asymmetry.

The second feature of traumatic bonding situations is that abuse generally occurs intermittently. Violent episodes are often countered with the onset of positive, warm and affectionate behaviors (see Walker, 1979). This alternating situation of aversive and pleasant stimuli creates a well-known learning paradigm known as intermittent reinforcement, and is extremely

effective in producing persistent patterns of behavior that are difficult to extinguish (Scott, 1963). Intermittent abuse and power asymmetry then serve together to strengthen an emotional bond between the abused and the assaulter which interferes with the abused woman's ability to leave and remain out of an abusive relationship. The attachment process thus formed "is like an elastic band which stretches with time away from the abuser and subsequently 'snaps' the woman back" (Dutton and Painter, 1993, p. 109). In a discriminant function analysis of the most and least emotionally involved abused women, Dutton and Painter (1993) found that women were more emotionally attached to their partners when there was more abuse and when the abuse was inconsistent.

Dutton and Painter's traumatic bonding theory incorporates the concept of attachment processes, but their research does not specifically examine individual differences in attachment that might make certain individuals particularly susceptible to less successful separation resolution. It was the goal of this study to examine, through an attachment paradigm, the psychological variables that were related to poor resolution of relationship separation, thus illustrating a psychological profile of women who are at higher risk of returning to their abusive partners.

HYPOTHESES

Attachment Ratings

We expected that attachment patterns associated with a positive self-model (secure and dismissing) would be under-represented in this sample, and attachment patterns associated with a negative self-model (fearful and preoccupied) would be over-represented. Being involved or remaining in an abusive relationship would be unlikely for individuals with a positive self-model, characteristic of the dismissing and secure. The additional dismissing characteristic of lack of investment in intimate relationships may make dismissing individuals especially unlikely to maintain commitment in problematic relationships (Bartholomew, 1990; Bartholomew and Horowitz, 1991). Prototypical fearful or preoccupied individuals operate with an internal working model of themselves as unworthy and undeserving of love (Bartholomew, 1990; Bartholomew and Horowitz, 1991) and may therefore see the abuse directed at them as justifiable. Without the inner resources to understand that they deserve better treatment, these individuals are unlikely to readily leave an abusive relationship.

Consistent with these predictions, research shows that, in comparison with nonabused women, abused women have lower self-esteem (Aguilar

and Nightingale, 1994; Cascardi and O'Leary, 1992), less sexual assertiveness (Apt and Hurlbert, 1993), feel more controlled by outside forces, and have higher needs for approval and dependency (Frisch and MacKenzie, 1991). Attachment researchers have also found links between attachment patterns associated with a negative self-model and greater psychological distress. Fearful and preoccupied attachment patterns have been found to be related to a negative self-concept (Bartholomew and Horowitz, 1991, Griffin and Bartholomew, 1994a), and positively related to anxiety (Griffin and Bartholomew, 1994a), dependency (Bartholomew and Bartel, 1994), and depression (Carnelly *et al.*, 1994). In a sample of 112 incest survivors, Alexander (1993) found that preoccupied attachment was associated with dependent, self-defeating and borderline personality disorders, while fearful attachment was associated with interpersonal avoidance and self-defeating personality disorders (see also Alexander, 1992).

Attachment Ratings and Relationship Variables

Researchers have found that secure individuals, in contrast to the insecure, report higher satisfaction and cohesion in their relationships and more effective conflict resolution (e.g., Kirkpatrick and Davis, 1994; Mayseless, 1991; Pistole, 1989; Scharfe and Bartholomew, 1995). Therefore, we predicted that higher security ratings would be associated with less severe and less frequent physical abuse (both receipt and infliction), and less receipt of psychological abuse. Because of the dismissing individual's positive self-model, we predicted that dismissingness would also be associated with less abuse.

Preoccupied individuals show an active and conflicted interpersonal style characterized by compulsive caregiving and shifts between partner idealization and derogation (Bartholomew 1990; Bartholomew and Horowitz, 1991; Kunce and Shaver, 1994). The somewhat volatile aspects of the preoccupied style may lead these women to readily leave abusive relationships; however, their tendencies toward idealization and compulsive caretaking may predispose them to numerous reconciliations throughout the leave-taking process. Thus, we predicted that preoccupation would be related to shorter relationship length and to more previous separations from the current relationship (cf. Kirkpatrick and Hazan, 1994). A prototypical fearful individual, on the other hand, may have more difficulty leaving the relationship initially. Once having left, however, she may be less likely to return as she would not necessarily idealize her partner, nor be moved to adopt a compulsive caretaking role to influence relationship change. Therefore, we hypothesized that fearfulness would be related to longer relationship length and negatively related to the number of previous relationship separations.

Attachment Ratings and Resolution of Separation

We hypothesized that attachment security would be related to a cleaner break from the relationship (lower scores on continuing emotional involvement, less desire for reconciliation, and less partner contact). Because we expected low mean ratings and little variability on the dismissing scale, we did not make specific predictions for the dismissing pattern with outcome variables.

We did, however, expect particular profiles to emerge for the preoccupied and fearful patterns. Though both patterns are characterized by a negative self-model, they differ in terms of the valence of the other model, which has implications for how these two patterns might correlate with experiences of separation resolution in abusive relationships. Research indicates that the prototypically preoccupied individual, with a positive view of others, is approach oriented, active, expressive, caregiving, and idealizing about his or her romantic relationships (Bartholomew and Horowitz, 1991). Preoccupied individuals are familiar with a parenting style that involves inconsistent reinforcement of attachment needs, where separations or threats of abandonment are used as a means of control (Mayseless, 1991). Such internal representation of an attachment figure who is unpredictably available and responsive may make the process of separation especially difficult for the preoccupied woman in an abusive relationship. She may be less likely to see the relationship as truly over, and remain emotionally involved even after she has left the relationship.

In contrast, fearful participants, characterized by a negative view of others and an avoidance rather than approach orientation, are shy, withdrawn, nondisclosing, and low idealizers (Bartholomew, 1993; Bartholomew and Horowitz, 1991). Fearful individuals, with an internal working model based on caregiving that is consistently and predictably hostile, have little confidence that their cries for help will meet a helpful response. An internal representation of others as rejecting may make the fearful woman at lower risk than the preoccupied for returning to an abusive relationship as she holds no idealized belief that things could change for the better.

Thus, we expected that preoccupation would be associated with less successful separation resolution and fearfulness with more successful separation resolution.

METHOD

Fifty nine women were followed over a 6-month period. Time 1 questionnaires, completed shortly after participants had left their abusive rela-

tionships, included measures about the course of the relationship, the severity and frequency of both received and inflicted physical abuse, as well as a measure of psychological abuse. At time 1, participants also responded to an extensive, semi-structured, audio taped interview about their most recent and prior relationships. We assessed women's attachment patterns (based on their time 1 interviews), conceptualized in terms of Bartholomew's four-category model (1990; Bartholomew and Horowitz, 1991). At time 2, 6 months later, participants completed questionnaires examining their resolution of separation from their abusive partners.

PARTICIPANTS

This study is part of a larger project that looked at 75 abused women over a 6-month period. Complete data for this study were available for 63 participants. Physically abused women were recruited through transition houses and shelters or were partners of men who were clients in a spousal abuse treatment programme ($n = 40$). Psychologically abused women (though some were also battered) were recruited through newspaper advertisements ($n = 23$). The average age of participants was 31.4 years, and the average time in the abusive relationship was 11.5 years. On average these women had initiated 2.1 prior separations, and half had experienced some form of abuse in a previous romantic relationship. The characteristics of this sample of abused women are comparable to those studied in other abuse samples (e.g., Follingstad *et al.*, 1991; Rosen, 1995; Rusbult and Martz, 1995).

The psychologically abused women, recruited through a newspaper advertisement, were considered psychologically abused by their own criteria. However, four women indicated, on the self-report measures as well as in their interviews, that they had experienced no physical abuse and very little psychological abuse. Since there was no evidence that these women were indeed physically or psychologically abused, they were dropped from the study. With the four "nonabused" women excluded, the total sample was 59. Also, numbers vary across analyses due to missing data (n 's are reported in the tables).

MEASURES

Interview Ratings of Attachment

Attachment ratings were derived from the time 1 interview. This semi-structured 60- to 90-min interview was conducted in the women's homes.

It included information about the women's relationship history, but focused primarily on the course of the recent abusive relationship, the nature and duration of the abuse, and the power dynamic between the couple. Based on these interviews, participants were rated (on 9-point scales) on the degree to which they corresponded to a prototype for each attachment pattern according to Bartholomew's four-category model (Bartholomew, 1990; Bartholomew and Horowitz, 1991): *secure* (low anxiety and low avoidance), *fearful* (high anxiety and high avoidance), *preoccupied* (high anxiety and low avoidance), and *dismissing* (low anxiety and high avoidance). We also classified participants into a best fitting attachment category. The highest of the four continuous attachment ratings was taken as an indicator of the individual's predominant attachment representation.

Each interview was rated by one previously trained coder (the first author). A reliability check was done by a second, previously trained, independent coder on 22 of the taped interviews. Correlations between the two coders were .63 for the secure rating, .82 for the fearful rating, .85 for the preoccupied rating, and .85 for the dismissing rating. For information on the reliability and validity of the coding system, the convergence of interview ratings with other methods of assessing adult attachment, and stability of the interview ratings, see Bartholomew and Shaver (in press), Griffin and Bartholomew (1994a, 1994b), and Scharfe and Bartholomew (1994).

Relationship Variables

In the time 1 questionnaire, participants were asked a number of demographic questions including length of the relationship and number of prior separations from the recent relationship. To control for relationship length, the number of separations was divided by relationship length. Measures concerning the nature of the abuse (both physical and psychological) were also collected at time 1.

The Conflict Tactics Scale

The CTS (CTS; Straus, 1979) contains three subscales: reasoning (3 items), verbal aggression (7 items), and violence (10 items). For the purposes of this study, only the violence subscale was used. Potential conflict behaviors are listed and respondents are asked how often they and their partners have used these behaviors during the past year, ranging from a = never, to e = 6-10 times, to g = more than 21 times. Thus, a score for both receipt of abuse and infliction of abuse is calculated. In the vio-

lence subscale, items range in severity from “Threw, smashed, hit, or kicked something” to “Beat up the other one” and finally, “Used a gun or a knife.” Items in the violence subscale were summed to produce an overall score of received and inflicted physical abuse.

The Psychological Maltreatment of Women Inventory

This scale (PMWI; Tolman, 1989) provides an extensive assessment of non-physical abuse. These items are rated from 1 = never to 5 = very frequently and form two subscales: dominance/isolation (26 items), and emotional/verbal abuse (23 items). Dominance/isolation items indicate rigid adherence to traditional sex roles (“My partner became upset if dinner, housework, or laundry was not done when he thought it should be”), demands for subservience (“My partner demanded obedience to his whims”), and isolation from resources (“My partner refused to let me work outside of the home”). The emotional/verbal items include withholding emotional resources (“My partner withheld affection from me”), verbal attacks (“My partner put down my physical appearance”), and degrading behavior (“My partner treated me like I was stupid”). Cronbach’s alphas for the two subscales in the present sample were .82 for the dominance/isolation subscale and .93 for the emotional /verbal subscale.

Separation Resolution Variables

Separation resolution variables were collected from the questionnaire at time 2 in order to assess these women’s feelings and behaviors about the separation 6 months after the event.

Continuing Emotional Involvement Scale

The CEI (Dutton and Painter, 1993) scale is a 20-item measure adapted from Kitson (1982) and NiCarthy (1982). The Kitson scale is composed of a bereavement aspect of separation (e.g., “I spend a lot of time still thinking about him”), and the NiCarthy scale adds an element of idealized obsession with the partner (e.g., “No one could ever understand him the way I do,” and “Without him I have nothing to live for”). Subjects are asked to respond to these statements as 1 = not at all my feelings, to 5 = very much my feelings. High scores on this measure indicate a continuing obsession with the partner. Cronbach’s alpha for the entire scale in this sample was .93.

Continuing emotional involvement was also examined with two additional questions. Participants were asked to rate the degree to which they felt they were moving emotionally closer to their partner or emotionally further away (1 = moving closer, to 5 = moving away). A second question asked participants the degree to which they endorsed the following statement: "I still love my partner and I want to get back together" (1 = strongly disagree to 4 = strongly agree).

Contact

Subjects were asked if they had contact with their partner within the last 6 months (0 = no, 1 = yes), and the reasons for the contact (children, business, social, or other) (Dutton and Painter, 1993). The reasons for contact were included in order to indicate whether the contact was unavoidable, such as business or custody issues, or social, which may be a more accurate indicator of lack of separation resolution. Hence contact was recorded as 0 = no social contact, or 1 = social contact. Finally, participants were asked if they had been, or were currently, sexually involved with their partner during the last 6 months (0 = no, 1 = yes).

DATA ANALYSIS

With Bartholomew's attachment coding system, continuous ratings for each of the four attachment patterns are available, as well as categories. Rather than using the attachment categories to conduct group analyses, we used the continuous ratings to calculate correlations for several reasons. Theoretically, there was no reason to believe that there would be an even distribution among the four attachment categories. In fact, we had hypothesized that positive self-dimension patterns would be under-represented. Continuous ratings allowed us to examine associations with all attachment patterns in a predominantly insecure sample. For example, the mean security rating in this group of abused women was 2.98 on a 9-point scale.

We ran the analyses looking at the two samples of participants separately—those that came from transition houses and spouses of abusive husbands in treatment, and those that responded to the newspaper advertisement. Results for the transition house sample, the advertisement sample, and the combined sample were generally consistent. Thus, here we present the findings for the combined sample.

RESULTS

Attachment Ratings

As expected, attachment patterns associated with a positive self-model showed low mean values (2.98 for the secure, and 2.41 for the dismissing), and attachment patterns associated with a negative self-model had higher mean values (4.21 for fearful, and 4.81 for preoccupied). Correspondingly, 21 women were rated as predominantly fearful (35%), 31 as preoccupied (53%), 4 as secure (7%), and 3 as dismissing (5%). Thus, 88% had a predominant attachment pattern with a negative self-model.

Abuse Ratings

The mean for the receipt of abuse in the violence subscale of the Conflicts Tactics Scale was 3.96 ($SD = 4.5$). This mean places this sample beyond the 95th percentile according to population norms published by Straus (1979). Ninety six percent of the women had experienced at least some violence from their partners. The mean for the infliction of abuse in the violence subscale was .57 ($SD = 1.60$). The mean for the dominance/isolation subscale of the Tolman was 69.75 ($SD = 29.12$), and the mean for the emotional/verbal subscale was 89.03 ($SD = 19.1$). These means are comparable to those reported by Tolman (1989) for a sample of women whose partners had been clients in a domestic violence programme.

Attachment Ratings and Relationship Variables

The associations between attachment ratings and relationship variables for the entire sample are shown in Table I. There were no significant associations between security and any of the abuse variables. An un hypothesized and counter-intuitive finding was the relationship between security and longer relationship length ($r = .34, p < .01$). As hypothesized, preoccupation was related to shorter relationship length ($r = -.45, p < .001$) and more frequent separations from the current relationship ($r = .30, p < .01$). Also as hypothesized, fearfulness was related to longer relationship length ($r = .24, p < .05$), but not related to fewer previous separations. An un hypothesized finding was the association between fearfulness and receipt of greater physical abuse ($r = .23, p < .05$).

Though we had not made specific predictions concerning dismissingness and relationship variables, dismissingness was negatively related to the dominance/isolation subscale of the Tolman ($r = -.23, p < .05$).

Table I. Associations Between Attachment Ratings and Relationship Variables^a

Relationship Variables	Attachment Ratings			
	Secure	Fearful	Preoccupied	Dismissing
Relationship length	.34**	.24*	-.45***	.04
Previous separations	-.04	-.16	.30**	-.17
Physical abuse (CTS)				
Receipt of abuse	-.04	.23*	-.13	.02
Infliction of abuse	-.01	.07	.11	-.03
Psychological abuse (Tolman)				
Dominance/isolation	-.05	.06	.08	-.23*
Emotional/verbal	-.13	.04	.06	-.11

^aSample sizes vary from 53 to 59. + $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Attachment Ratings and Separation Resolution

Table II shows the associations between attachment ratings and separation resolution variables. The hypothesis that greater security would be related to more successful separation resolution was not supported. The one significant relationship that emerged was in a counter hypothesized direction showing security to be positively related to social contact with partners ($r = .27$, $p < .05$).

We had expected that preoccupation would be associated with greater emotional involvement and more partner contact, and that fearfulness would be negatively associated with these variables. These hypotheses received only very limited support. Fearfulness was negatively associated with partner social contact ($r = -.24$, $p < .05$). Also, trends indicated that fearfulness was positively associated with wanting more emotional distance from partners ($r = .19$, $p < .10$), while preoccupation was negatively associated with this variable ($r = -.20$, $p < .10$).

Secondary Analyses

It could be argued that any associations between attachment ratings and separation resolution variables are due, in part, to the quality of the abusive relationships that these women have left. For example, perhaps preoccupation is related to poorer separation resolution because these relationships are simply not as severely abusive as those of more fearful women, therefore giving these women more hope for the future and more reason to want to try again. Therefore, all the analyses were run again, controlling for both physical and psychological abuse.

Table II. Associations Between Attachment Ratings and Separation Resolution Variables^a

Separation Resolution Variables	Attachment Ratings			
	Secure	Fearful	Preoccupied	Dismissing
Emotional involvement				
CEI scale	-.00	-.13	.15	-.06
Emotional distance	.06	.19+	-.20+	-.06
Still love	-.03	-.08	.16	-.12
Partner contact				
Social	.27*	-.24*	.05	.06
Sexual	.02	-.03	.10	-.13

^aSample sizes vary from 50 to 55. + $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table III shows the associations between attachment patterns and separation resolution, controlling for abuse. As can be seen from this table, all the previous relationships have held and, in some cases, new relationships have surfaced. Though there is still no evidence of security being related to more successful separation resolution, a stronger and more consistent picture emerges for the insecure patterns. Consistent with predictions, preoccupation was related to greater involvement, both emotionally and actually, with abusive partners, while fearfulness was related to less involvement. Specifically, preoccupation was negatively associated with wanting emotional distance from partners ($r = -.42, p < .001$) and was positively associated with still loving partners and wanting to get back together ($r = .37, p < .01$). Preoccupation was also positively related to sexual contact with partners ($r = .35, p < .01$), and a trend linked preoccupation with greater emotional involvement with partners ($r = .22, p < .10$). Also consistent with predictions, fearfulness was positively related to wanting emotional distance from partners ($r = .39, p < .01$), negatively associated with partner social contact ($r = -.32, p < .05$), and a trend showed fearfulness to be negatively related to still loving partners and wanting to get back together with them ($r = -.21, p < .10$).

DISCUSSION

The hypothesis that attachment patterns associated with a negative self-model (fearful and preoccupied) would be over-represented in this sample of abused women was supported. Eighty eight percent of the sample had a predominant attachment pattern with a negative self-model, a much higher proportion than one generally sees in non-clinical samples. Though we had predicted an over-representation of fearful and preoccupied

Table III. Associations Between Attachment Ratings and Separation Resolution Variables, Controlling for Physical and Psychological Abuse

Separation Resolution Variables	Attachment Ratings			
	Secure	Fearful	Preoccupied	Dismissing
Emotional involvement				
CEI scale	-.03	-.19	.22+	.03
Emotional distance	.15	.39**	-.42***	-.14
Still love	-.20+	-.21+	.37**	-.06
Partner contact				
Social	.22+	-.32*	.19	.05
Sexual	-.07	-.17	.35**	-.11

^a*n* = 47. +*p* < .10, **p* < .05, ***p* < .01, ****p* < .001.

women, we did not anticipate the disproportionately larger numbers of preoccupied women compared to fearful (preoccupied = 53% vs. fearful = 35%). The first and most obvious explanation for this finding is self selection. It is highly consistent with the approach orientation of the prototypical preoccupied individual to want to talk about their problems, and of the prototypically fearful to do the opposite. Thus, it is not surprising that in this sample we see more preoccupied women than fearful. A second, and less obvious, explanation may be that fearful women do not leave abusive relationships as readily as preoccupied women do. The finding that fearfulness is associated with longer relationship length suggests that these women may have a more difficult time leaving initially. However, once they do leave, it is possible that they may not have the kind of disposition that draws them back in. The preoccupied individual, on the other hand, may be more adept at getting out (as the findings linking preoccupation to more frequent separations and shorter relationship length would suggest) and, unfortunately, getting back in.

The hypotheses that security would be associated with less abuse and more successful separation resolution were not supported. There were no significant associations in the expected directions between security and any of the relationship or separation resolution variables. Though continuous measures provide some variability that would not be apparent using categorical measures, the low mean ratings and restricted range of the security ratings may explain in part why relationships did not emerge here.

We also hypothesized that preoccupation would be positively related to continuing involvement with partners and less successful separation resolution, while fearfulness would be negatively related to these variables. These hypotheses received only limited support in the original analyses. However, when the effects of abuse were partialled out, preoccupation was

positively related to three of the five separation resolution variables, and one more variable showed a trend in the expected direction. Fearfulness was negatively related to two of the five separation resolution variables, and one more variable showed a trend supporting the hypothesis that fearfulness would be related to less involvement with partners. In addition, preoccupation was related to shorter relationship length and more frequent previous separations, and fearfulness was associated with longer relationship length.

Thus, overall, there was some evidence that preoccupation may be related to less successful separation resolution. Shorter relationships coupled with frequent leave-takings and reconciliations seem to trap these women in an ambivalent struggle of leaving and returning several times throughout the course of the abusive relationship. Perhaps preoccupied women tend to use leaving as a strategy to induce changes in the relationship, whereas fearful women may leave solely to end the relationship. This hypothesis is consistent with Smith and Chalmers' (1984) findings that multiple leavers have as their primary objective a desire to stop the violence, whereas single leavers have as their aim a re-evaluation of the relationship or a desire to establish their own residence. The ambivalent struggle of the prototypical preoccupied individual is clearly illustrated in this interview excerpt: "I want to leave my husband so badly, but I don't *want* to want to leave."

Though these results suggest that individual differences in attachment may be associated with greater or lesser vulnerability for returning to abusive partners, we cannot determine from these findings whether attachment patterns are formed before, or as a result of, the violence. Attachment theory does not posit that individuals necessarily follow a set path with models fixed from childhood experiences. Rather, Bowlby's theory allows for influences from the environment, in particular the abusive partner, which serve to guide and shape internal working models. It could be that these models are formed as a consequence of adult attachment relationships that have little to do with childhood experiences. In a retrospective study such as this, it is impossible to determine whether a woman with an insecure attachment pattern finds herself in an abusive relationship because it is consistent with her negative self-model, or if her model changes as a result of having been with an abusive partner. Most likely, both past and current experiences serve to create, shape, and maintain attachment representations. Low frequencies of secure and dismissing individuals found in this study suggest that the more positive the self-model, the less the likelihood of becoming involved with abusive partners initially and the greater the likelihood of leaving the relationship at the first indication of abuse. However, once the relationship has become abusive, the victim is likely to

become more insecure over time, regardless of her initial attachment pattern:

Over the process of time . . . it happens slowly. There is the honeymoon stage and then he slowly knocks the energy, the self-esteem, the self-worth. And so pretty soon I'm on the floor dying, and so it's really hard to see that there is a way out . . . I was knocked so far down that the 'ways out' closed down. (Study participant)

Unfortunately, our findings do not address the risk of returning to abusive relationships beyond the six month follow-up. Painter (1985) comments that abused women are typically categorized according to their decision to leave or to stay, though the decision process itself is fluid and dynamic. This study only addresses the relative success of leaving abusive partners in the short term. Which pattern may be more adaptive in the longer term is a question for future research. In a study of 300 abused women, Okun (1986) found that on average women left and returned five times before the final termination of the relationship. Okun and other researchers (see also Ulrich, 1991) suggest that through this extended leave-taking process a woman can test both her situational and emotional resources until she is convinced that she can manage on her own. Maybe the preoccupied individual's ability to leave and return several times throughout the relationship may be the very factor that eventually precipitates her success. Yet another factor that might mediate preoccupied women getting out of abusive relationships is their willingness to utilize available social support (Bartholomew *et al.*, 1995). In this study, only four women returned to their partners at the 6-month follow-up: two with predominantly preoccupied profiles, and two with predominantly fearful profiles. Subsequent research could look at not only how these decisions to leave or stay have fluctuated over time, but also how those decisions have impacted on the attachment profiles that we see years after the initial separation.

Future research also needs to look at both partners in the abusive relationship. Initial investigations looking at abusive men from an attachment perspective indicate that the two attachment patterns associated with a negative self-model (preoccupied and fearful) show moderate to strong correlations with partners' reports of psychological and physical abuse (Dutton *et al.*, 1994). Dutton *et al.* explain these findings from an attachment perspective, suggesting that assaultive men's violent episodes are a protest behavior precipitated by the perceived threat of abandonment by their partners who function as their primary attachment figures. The attachment system is thus activated in order to regain the attachment figure. It is noteworthy that the negative self-model also predominates in the victims of abuse. Here, the negative self-model of the preoccupied and fearful patterns serves to exacerbate the conditions necessary for traumatic bonding to operate. The power relationship can easily become pathologically

unbalanced when the abused woman feels that she is unworthy of her assaulter, and her assaulter (who also holds a negative view of himself) seizes this advantage to live out the illusion of his own power. Intermittency of abuse is likely to have a stronger impact still on a woman who holds not only a negative model of herself, but a positive model of others. Not only is this kind of woman more likely to believe that violence is justifiable, but she is also more likely to trustingly respond to her partner's affection and apologies that typically occur after the violent episodes (Walker, 1979).

Thus, to fully understand the dynamics of abusive relationships, it will be necessary to look at both partners. Berscheid's (1983) work on emotions and couple interactions offers insight as to how couples' behavioral repertoires can become increasingly interconnected over time, where particular behaviors of one individual will illicit predictable patterns of behavior from his or her partner. This meshing or linking process may play a mediating role in attachment processes and women's separation from abusive partners. Consistent with this perspective, Mayseless (1991) has suggested that an individual with an insecure attachment pattern will more readily exhibit violence in relationship with a partner having a "complementary triggering pattern" (p. 24). For example, the explosive episodes exhibited by a fearful man when he feels threatened that his partner is drawing away from him may well be exacerbated by a fearful partner who reacts to his over-control by increasing withdrawal.

Though this study offers information about what kinds of women may be at higher risk for returning to an abusive relationship, certain caveats must be considered. First, the sample is necessarily selective, although this limitation has been somewhat circumvented by recruiting from a variety of sources (advertisements, shelters, and intervention programmes). Second, since this study was adapted from a larger project with different research questions in mind at its conception, the design and measures used were not always ideal. For example, the questionnaire package did not adequately assess external resources, such as social and economic support, that may have mediated the process of women's separation from abusive partners. Clearly, future research needs to look at the role of both internal and external variables, and their interaction, in the study of attachment relationships. It would also have been preferable to have had multiple indicators of attachment, ideally including self report and partner report measures to supplement the interview ratings (cf. Griffin and Bartholomew, 1994a,b). Results may also have been complicated by the timing of the interview, as it occurred at the peak of a major life transition. Transition has been theorized to be a time when internal working models are particularly susceptible to change (Main *et al.*, 1985; Scharfe and Bartholomew, 1994)

and thus potentially a less than ideal time for measuring attachment patterns.

Finally, though this study focused primarily on psychological variables that leave women at risk for returning to an abusive relationship, this is not to suggest that environmental factors such as economic stability and the availability of social support networks are unimportant variables for women facing the decision of returning. Crittenden and Ainsworth (1989) suggest that attachment theory allows for an integration of interpersonal and environmental events which influence the development of attachment relationships.

The advantage of combining these perspectives in the context of . . . attachment is that risk status can be considered to vary across both families and time depending upon individuals' past experiences, current contextual factors, and developmental processes as well as random (or unexpected) events, without collapsing the model into an overly simplistic everything-is-interconnected approach. (p. 434)

The fact that the attachment system integrates both past and present interpersonal and environmental events is most clearly demonstrated when examining instances of intergenerational discontinuity of abusive relationships. Clearly, questions concerning the family history of abused individuals need to be addressed in order to more fully understand to what extent these maladaptive patterns change over the life span. There is evidence that those in abusive relationships are more likely to have had a history of child abuse themselves (Gelles, 1972; Strauss, 1979). However, many individuals from punitive backgrounds do not end up in abusive relationships (Fleming, 1979). These examples of discontinuity of abuse suggest that the internal working model has changed, perhaps as a result of a mediating attachment relationship (Egeland *et al.*, 1988). The idea that insecure attachment representations may be changed by the positive influence of a secure relationship, as Bowlby and others have suggested (1973; Egeland *et al.*, 1988), has potential utility in guiding future clinical intervention and treatment.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This article is based, in part, on Antonia Henderson's master's thesis. The project was supported by a grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada to Don Dutton. We thank Barbara McGregor for her organizational help, Jennifer Poole for her assistance in data analysis, and Cheryl Heinzl for the many hours she spent coding interviews. We are also grateful to Becky Cobb, Elaine Scharfe, and two

anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

REFERENCES

- Aguilar, R. J., and Nightingale, N. N. (1994). The impact of specific battering experiences on the self-esteem of abused women. *J. Fam. Viol.* 9: 35-45.
- Ainsworth, M. D. S., Blehar, M. C., Waters, E., and Wall, S. (1978). *Patterns of Attachment: A Psychological Study of the Strange Situation*, Erlbaum, Hillsdale, NJ.
- Ainsworth, M. D. S., (1989). Attachments beyond infancy. *Am. Psychologist* 44: 709-716.
- Alexander, P. C. (1992). Application of attachment theory to the study of sexual abuse. *J. Consult. Clin. Psychol.* 60: 185-195.
- Alexander, P. C. (1993). The differential effects of abuse characteristics and attachment in the prediction of long-term effects of sexual abuse. *J. Interpers. Viol.* 3: 346-362.
- Apt, C., and Hurlbert, D. F. (1993). The sexuality of women in physically abusive marriages: A comparative study. *J. Fam. Viol.* 8: 57-69.
- Bartholomew, K., and Bartel, P. (1994). *Interpersonal Dependency and Attachment in Adulthood*, Unpublished manuscript, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, British Columbia.
- Bartholomew, K. (1990). Avoidance of intimacy: An attachment perspective. *J. Personal. Social Psychol.* 7: 147-178.
- Bartholomew, K. (1993). From childhood to adult relationships: Attachment theory and research. In Duck, S. (ed.) *Understanding Relationship Processes: Vol. 2. Learning About Relationships*, Sage, Newbury Park.
- Bartholomew, K., and Horowitz, L. (1991). Attachment styles among young adults: A test of a four-category model. *J. Personal. Social Psychol.* 61: 226-244.
- Bartholomew, K., Poole, J., and Cobb, R. J., (1995). Adult attachment patterns and social support processes. To appear in G. Pierce, B. Lakely, I. Sarason, and B. Saranson (eds.), *Social Support and Personality: Structure, Process, and Change*, Plenum, New York.
- Bartholomew, K., and Shaver, P. R. (in press). *Methods of assessing adult attachment: Do they converge?* In Simpson, J. A., and Rholes, W. S. (eds.), *Attachment Theory and Close Relationships*, Guilford Press, New York.
- Berscheid, E. (1983). Emotion. In Kelly, H. et al. (eds.), *Close Relationships*, W. H. Freeman, New York.
- Bowlby, J. (1969). *Attachment and Loss: Vol. 1. Attachment*, Basic Books, New York.
- Bowlby, J. (1973). *Attachment and Loss: Vol. 2. Separation*, Basic Books, New York.
- Bowlby, J. (1988). *A Secure Base*, Basic Books, New York.
- Bretherton, I. (1985). Attachment theory: Retrospect and prospect. In Bretherton, I., and Waters, E. (eds.), *Growing points in attachment theory and research, Monogr. Soc. Res. Child Devel.* 50: 3-38.
- Carnelly, K., Petromonica, P., and Jaffe, K. (1994). Depression, working models of others, and relationship functioning. *J. Personal. Social Psychol.* 16: 127-140.
- Cascardi, M., and O'Leary, K. D. (1992). Depression symptomology, self-esteem, and self-blame in battered women. *J. Emerg. Nurs.* 15: 12-17.
- Cicchetti, D., and Barnett, D. (1992). Attachment organization in maltreated preschoolers. *Devel. Psychopathol.* 3: 397-411.
- Collins, N. L., and Read, S. J. (1990). Adult attachment, working models, and relationship quality in dating couples. *J. Personal. Social Psychol.* 58: 644-663.
- Crittenden, P. M. (1992). Children's strategies for coping with adverse home environments: An interpretation using attachment theory. *Child Abuse Negl.* 16: 329-343.
- Crittenden, P. M., and Ainsworth, M. D. S. (1989). Child maltreatment and attachment theory. In Cicchetti, D., and Carlson, V. (eds.), *Child Maltreatment: Theory and Research on the Causes and Consequences of Child Abuse and Neglect*, Cambridge University Press, New York, pp. 432-463.

- Dutton, D. G. (1988). *The Domestic Assault of Women: Psychological and Criminal Justice Perspectives*, Allyn and Bacon, Boston.
- Dutton, D. G., and Painter, S. L. (1993). Emotional attachments in abusive relationships: A test of traumatic bonding theory. *Viol. Vict.* 8: 105-120.
- Dutton, D. G., Saunders, K., Starzomski, A., and Bartholomew, K. (1994). Intimacy-anger and insecure attachment as precursors of abuse in intimate relationships. *J. Appl. Social Psychol.* 24: 1367-1386.
- Egeland, B., Jacobvitz, D., and Sroufe, L. A. (1988). Breaking the cycle of abuse. *Child Devel.* 59: 1080-1088.
- Fleming, J. B. (1979). *Stopping Wife Abuse*, Anchor Books, Garden City, NY.
- Follingstad, D. R., Brennan, A. F., Hause, E. S., Polek, D. S., and Rutledge, L. L. (1991). Factors moderating physical and psychological symptoms of battered women. *J. Fam. Viol.* 6: 81-95.
- Fonagy, P., Steele, H., and Steele, M. (1991). Maternal representations of attachment during pregnancy predict the organization of infant-mother attachment at one year of age. *Child Devel.* 62: 891-905.
- Frisch, M. B., and MacKenzie, C. J. (1991). A comparison of formerly and chronically battered women on cognitive and situational dimensions. *Psychotherapy* 28: 339-344.
- Gelles, R. J. (1972). *The Violent Home: A Study of Physical Aggression Between Husbands and Wives*, Sage, Beverly Hills.
- Gelles, R. J. (1987). Abused wives: Why do they stay? In Gelles, R. J. (ed.), *Family Violence (second edition)*, Sage Publications, Newbury Park, CA, pp. 108-125.
- Gelles, R. J., and Harrop, J. W. (1989). Violence, battering, and psychological distress among women. *J. Interpers. Viol.* 4: 400-420.
- Gondolf, E. W. (1988). *Battered Women as Survivors*. Lexington Books, Toronto.
- Griffin, D. W., and Bartholomew, K. (1994a). Models of the self and other: Fundamental dimensions underlying measures of adult attachment. *J. Personal. Social Psychol.* 67: 430-445.
- Griffin, D. W., and Bartholomew, K. (1994b). The metaphysics of measurement: The case of adult attachment. In Bartholomew, K., and Perlman, D. (eds.), *Advances in Personal Relationships: Attachment Processes in Adulthood: Vol. 5*, Jessica Kingsley Publishers, London, pp. 17-52.
- Hazan, C., and Shaver, P. (1987). Romantic love conceptualized as an attachment process. *J. Personal. Social Psychol.* 52: 511-524.
- Hazan, C., and Zeifman, D. (1994). Sex and the psychological tether. In Bartholomew, K., and Perlman, D. (eds.), *Advances in Personal Relationships: Attachment Processes in Adulthood: Vol. 5*, Jessica Kingsley Publishers, London, pp. 151-177.
- Kirkpatrick, L. A., and Davis, K. E. (1994). Attachment style, gender, and relationship stability: A longitudinal analysis. *J. Personal. Social Psychol.* 66: 502-512.
- Kirkpatrick, L. A., and Hazan, C. (1994). Attachment styles and close relationships: A four-year prospective study. *Pers. Relat.* 1: 123-142.
- Kitson, G. C. (1982). Attachment to the spouse in divorce: A scale and its applications. *J. Marr. Fam.* 44: 379-393.
- Kunce, L. J., and Shaver, P. (1994). An attachment theoretical approach to caregiving in romantic relationships. In Bartholomew, K., and Perlman, D. (eds.), *Advances in Personal Relationships: Attachment Processes in Adulthood: Vol. 5*, Jessica Kingsley Publishers, London, pp. 205-237.
- Main, M., and Goldwyn, (1988). Predicting rejection of her infant from mother's representation of her own experience: Implications for the abused-abusing intergenerational cycle. *Child Abuse Negl.* 8: 203-217.
- Main, M., Kaplan, N., and Cassidy, J. (1985). Security in infancy, childhood, and adulthood: A move to the level of representation. In Bretherton, I., and Waters, E. (eds.), *Growing points in attachment theory and research. Monogr. Soc. Re. Child Devel.* 50: 66-104.
- Mayselless, O. (1991). Adult attachment patterns and courtship violence. *Fam. Relat.* 40: 21-28.
- Nicarthy, G. (1982). *Getting Free: A Handbook for Women in Abusive Relationships*, Seal Press, Seattle.

- Okun, L. E. (1986). *Woman Abuse: Facts Replacing Myths*, State University of New York Press, Albany.
- Pagelow, M. D. (1981). Factors affecting women's decisions to leave violent relationships. *J. Fam. Issues* 2: 391-414.
- Painter, S. L. (1985). Why do battered women stay? Theoretical perspectives. *Highlights: Newsletter of the Canadian Psychological Association*.
- Pistole, M. C. (1989). Attachment in adult romantic relationships: Style of conflict resolution and relationship satisfaction. *J. Social Pers. Relat.* 6: 505-510.
- Rosen, K. (1995, June). *The ties that bind women to violent premarital relationships: Process of seduction and entrapment*, Paper presented at the Annual conference of the International Network on Personal Relationships, Williamsburg, VA.
- Rounsaville, B. (1978). Theories in marital violence: Evidence from a study of battered women. *Victimol. Int. J.* 3(1, 2): 11-13.
- Rubin, J. Z., and Brockner, J. (1975). Factors affecting entrapment in waiting situations: The Rosencrantz and Guildenstern effect. *J. Personal. Social Psychol.* 31: 1054-1063.
- Rusbult, C. E., and Martz, J. M. (1995). Remaining in an abusive relationship: An investment model analysis of nonvoluntary dependence. *Personal. Social Psychol. Bull.* 21: 558-571.
- Scharfe, E., and Bartholomew, K., (1994). Reliability and stability of adult attachment patterns. *Pers. Relat.* 1: 23-43.
- Scott, J. P. (1963). The process of primary socialization in canine and human infants. *Monogr. Soc. Res. Child Devel.* 28: 311-322.
- Seligman, M. E. (1975). *On depression, development and death*. San Francisco: Freeman.
- Smith, P., and Chalmers, K. L. (1984). *Does Sheltering Help Abused Women?* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association, Guelph, Ontario.
- Sroufe, L., and Fleeson, J. (1986). Attachment and the construction of relationships. In Hartup, W., and Rubin, Z. (eds.), *Relationships and Development*, Erlbaum, Hillsdale, NJ, pp. 51-71.
- Straus, M. A. (1979). Measuring family conflict and violence: The conflict tactics scale. *J. Marr. Fam.* 41: 75-88.
- Strube, M. J. (1988). The decision to leave an abusive relationship: Empirical evidence and theoretical issues. *Psychological Bull.* 104: 236-250.
- Strube, M. J., and Barbour, L. S. (1983). The decision to leave an abusive relationship: Economic dependence and psychological commitment. *J. Marr. Fam.* 45: 785-793.
- Tolman, R. M. (1989). The development of a measure of psychological maltreatment of women by their male partners. *Viol. Vict.* 4: 159-177.
- Ulrich, Y. C. (1991). Women's reasons for leaving abusive spouses. *Health Care Wom. Int.* 12: 465-473.
- van IJzendoorn, M. H. (1995). Adult attachment representations, parental responsiveness, and infant attachment: A meta-analysis on the predictive validity of the Adult Attachment Interview. *Psychol. Bull.* 117: 387-403.
- Walker, L. E. (1979). *The Battered Woman*, Harper & Row, New York.