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My Mother Needs Me! Is It Possible to Stay Connected While Being My Own Person? The Object Relations of the Latina “Dutiful Daughter”

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MY MOTHER NEEDS ME! IS IT POSSIBLE TO STAY CONNECTED WHILE BEING MY
OWN PERSON?
THE OBJECT RELATIONS OF THE LATINA “DUTIFUL DAUGHTER”

BY JULIANA MARTINEZ

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

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Abstract

THE OBJECT RELATIONS OF THE LATINA DUTIFUL DAUGHTER

by

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Background: Latinas are culturally expected to be “dutiful daughters” establishing strong attachments and adhering to the traditional values characterized by loyalty, cooperation, respect and interdependence within family members. Conventional Latina mother-daughter bonds, therefore, are expected to be exceptionally close. Healthy mother-daughter closeness can be a valuable source of support while closeness without differentiation from the mother may result in a lack of independence and poor interpersonal and personal growth. Mutuality of autonomy, a dimension of object relations (OR) theory, focuses on the progression of separation – individuation from developmentally normative fused representations in infancy to highly differentiated self-other representations as the individual matures. Latinas have rarely been investigated using an object relations approach and the current study is the first to investigate the interactions of family dutifulness, mother-daughter bonds, and quality of OR in a Latina sample. Methods: In addition to administering two self-report measures looking at mother-daughter relations and Latina values respectively, this research applied the adapted Mutuality of Autonomy Scale (MOA-TAT) to examine verbal narratives on the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) in a sample of thirty college-aged Latinas. Mother-daughter closeness was determined using the Mother-Adult Daughter Questionnaire (MAD) and the degree of dutifulness was established using the Latina Values Scale (LVS). Included in the LVS was a conflict scale, which measured the respondents’ conflict with the traditional values they endorsed. Pearson correlation analyses were used to examine the relationships between the study variables. Results: Participants with MOA

scores reflecting more adaptive object relations also exhibited a greater degree of connection with their mothers as well as lower degree of conflict with the traditional values they endorsed.

Furthermore, a disproportionately high number of MOA Level 3 scores indicated a response style favoring a dependent relationship in which the maintenance of self is highly related to sustenance from another person. Conclusions: The continuum of mother-daughter connectedness *vis a vis* quality of object relations in the Latina "dutiful daughter" was illustrated. The degree of connectedness, more than any other factor in the mother-daughter dyad, relates to stable and adaptive self-other representations. Traditional values favoring interdependency over autonomy are culturally mediated and should not be pathologized.

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INTRODUCTION

Strong attachments characterized by loyalty, cooperation, and interdependence within family members, and particularly within female members, are important cultural values in many Hispanic and Latino communities (Espinoza, 2010). These cultural concepts are often referred to in the literature as *familism* (Vega, 1990) and “*respeto*” (Marin & Marin, 1991); and the distinct traditional gender roles that accompany it are deemed *machismo* and *marianismo* for men and women respectively (Gil & Vazquez, 1996; Marrano, 2000). “Dutiful daughter” is a concept crafted for the purpose of this investigation to denote Latinas who adhere to these cultural ideals. Given that family relationships supersede all others, and that one of the marianismo conventions requires women to take on the responsibility of maintaining the family’s intactness (Gil & Vazquez, 1996), conventional Latina mother-daughter bonds are expected to be exceptionally close. Healthy mother-daughter closeness can be a valuable source of support for Latinas attempting to balance personal achievement with family demands (Rastogi, 2002; Espinoza, 2010). However, closeness without differentiation from the mother may result in lack of autonomy and poor interpersonal and personal growth.

Object Relations (OR) is a school of thought that broadly refers to the theory regarding mental representations one has developed of the self and others as a result of early interactions with caregivers. Mature interpersonal relatedness and a cohesive sense of identity are the main ideas of OR theory. Mutuality of autonomy, a dimension of OR, derives from the developmental object relation theories construed by Kernberg, Kohut, Mayman and Mahler which focus on the progression of separation-individuation from developmentally normative engulfing/fused representations in infancy to highly differentiated self-other representations (Fowler & Erdberg,

2005) as the individual matures. Latinas are an under researched population in the field of clinical psychology and have very seldom been investigated using an object relations approach. The proposed research seeks to investigate the interaction of family dutifulness, quality of object relations (OR), and mother-daughter bonds in a Latina sample.

Chapter One presents a review of the literature and relevant research related to Latino cultural concepts, OR theory, and mother-daughter relationships. Chapter Two describes the current study's methodology. Chapter Three provides an overview of the statistical analyses and results of the study. The final chapter focuses on a discussion of the study findings considered within the context of the existing literature. Lastly, the clinical implications, methodological limitations, and recommendations for future research are also addressed in Chapter Four.

CHAPTER 1 – LITERATURE REVIEW

Latino Cultural Concepts:

Familism

Familism or *familismo*, in Spanish, refers to a family-centered model rather than an individualistic or autonomy-based model (Peterson-Iyer, 2010). It emphasizes family cohesiveness, one of the fundamental and distinguishing characteristics of Latino culture. For Latinos, family is the quintessential social unit and it includes nuclear and extended relatives (sometimes even neighbors and close community members). Relying heavily on this institution for every aspect of one's psychosocial and emotional well-being is the norm. Traditionally, the idea of defining oneself by family membership, as opposed to individual achievement, and placing value on interdependence instead of autonomy and independence, differentiates Latinos from people of Northern European backgrounds (Cofresi, 2002; Dennis, Basañez & Farahmand, 2010). The use

of both parents' last name, for example, following their children's first name (i.e. Juliana Martinez Piovanetti vs. Juliana Martinez) is still practiced in Latino cultures, highlighting the importance of demarcating the family unit.

Familism emphasizes loyalty, reciprocity, solidarity, cooperation, and interdependence (Vega, 1990; Espinoza, 2010). Research findings reveal that familism serves protective functions for adolescents (Betterndorf & Fischer 2009) and has positive effects on Latino youth, such as enhancing self-esteem (Smokowski & Bacallao, 2007). However other studies indicate that high levels of familism and difference in familism values between family members, and in particular between mothers and daughters, can also be a strain in family dynamics (Bauman, Kuhlberg, & Zayas, 2010; Rodriguez et al., 2007). The mixed findings suggest that the effects of familism are variable and context dependent and require further understanding.

Historically, family cohesiveness has been maintained through the ideology of self-sacrifice and the transgenerational persistence of distinct and complementary gender roles. Although every member is expected to place the family before their own personal needs, it is generally the women in the family who end up sacrificing the most (Cofresi, 2002). This is a result of traditional gender roles (machismo and marianismo) that are set up in a way that socializes men with a sense of entitlement and authority and, in turn, socializes women to outwardly accept and propagate this inequality. In other words *machismo* and *marianismo* ideals work jointly to keep the family united. In turn, the family is the cultural mediator responsible for maintaining traditional gender roles.

Traditional Gender Roles - Machismo and Marianismo

Machismo

The term Machismo is recognized internationally and it is used in the contemporary

context to refer to the oftentimes dominant adherence to masculine preference. However the term is derived from the Spanish word *macho*, which means male in Spanish and is therefore more pertinent to Hispanic and Latino males. Victor de la Cancela (1986), a Puerto Rican psychologist, defined machismo as a socially learned and reinforced set of behaviors in Latino society which men are expected to follow. As an overarching concept, machismo dictates that men have options and women have duties and that “a man’s place” is in the world and a “woman’s place” is at the home (Gill & Vazquez, 1996).

Most people have come to understand machismo as a synonym for oppressive male supremacy due to the aggressive and sexual behaviors that are made culturally sanctioned. However, there is another side of machismo that has garnered less awareness in the general public. Machismo culture also includes some positive aspects that are connected to being a *caballero* - a gentleman. A caballero is worthy, honorable, chivalrous, has a strong work ethic, provides financially for the family, and protects and defends the family from any kind of danger (Cofresi, 2002). “The caballero personifies the sensitive side of a man who deifies rather than denigrates his wife.” (Gil & Vazquez, 1996).

There are several models that attempt an explanation of how machismo became a part of the Latino culture. The compensatory deficit model, based on a psychoanalytic perspective, describes machismo as a defense mechanism. Instead of being an assertion of masculinity, the expression of machismo is seen as an unconscious cover up for inferiority feelings, unresolved gender identity issues or shame (Gilmore & Gilmore, 1972; Mirande, 1997). This sense of inferiority has historical roots related to being the victims of colonization and exploitation by the Spaniards. In this model machismo is seen as a reaction (compensatory response) to conquest, “Machismo is nothing more than a futile attempt to mask a profound sense of impotence”

(Mirande, 1997, p.36). Another theory presents the idea that machismo traits may be a colonial inheritance from the Spanish conquest of Latin America (Mirande', 1997) because Spanish conquistadores embodied many of the machismo traits themselves. For example, *El Diablo Nunca Duerme*, the devil never sleeps, is what the Indians said about the Spanish: "the White devil is up to no good, always stealing, pilfering and taking our women." (Falicov, 2010). Other theories range from a biologic explanation about men's hard-wired inclinations, to patriarchal entitlement theories, patriarchy as reinforced by Roman Catholic doctrine, psychoanalytic explanations appealing to an unresolved Oedipus conflict and a reaction formation to formalized religion. Finally, other theorists have argued for a social class inequity compensation theory, whereby disempowered men express in the domestic domain their frustrated need for power by oppressing women. (Falicov, 2010).

Marianismo

Marianismo as a term has achieved less familiarity outside the multicultural and Latino literature than its counterpart – machismo. Nevertheless, marianismo is often referred to as the other side of the coin in that it holds the same cultural, sociological and psychological value. Political scientist Evelyn Stevens coined the term marianismo in the seventies to bring attention to women's subordinate position in Latin America and to describe the culture's idealized belief of Latina gender role expectations. Marianismo is derived from the word Maria, the Spanish name for Mary, because it is based on the cult of the Virgin Mary (noteworthy, Catholicism is another central aspect of traditional Latino culture). It calls for the purity and passivity of women, on the one hand, and the power to produce life, on the other. It specifies the traditional sexual code of behavior for Latinas (chastity before marriage and sexual passivity in general, even after marriage) and the subordination of women to men; but it also calls for the superior spiritual strength of

women and the resignation in the face of adverse events, “It is through this superiority of spirit, based on an identification with a deified spiritual mother, that Latinas are to find the strength to bear their multiple and conflicting demands and to tolerate abuse or mistreatment by the men in their lives.” (Cofresi, 2002, p.441). The duality of overt submission and covert power is played out throughout all aspects of the Latina’s life and in particular her sexuality. She is supposed to be sexually attractive and meet the sexual demands of her husband but she is not supposed to enjoy sex or have any sexual urges of her own. If she does she is a “bad” woman and belongs to a lower social status. This split is what psychoanalysts dating back to Freud have referred to as the “Madonna-whore complex” (Cofresi, 2002).

Women socialized as *marianistas* are just as responsible as the men in permeating the traditional gender roles. In their book, *The Maria Paradox: How Latinas Can Merge Old World Traditions with New World Self-Esteem*, Gil & Vasquez (1996) compiled the marianismo mandates into 10 “commandments” that are passed down by mothers, grandmothers, and aunts through generations:

- 1) *Do not forget a woman’s place.*
- 2) *Do not forsake tradition.*
- 3) *Do not be single, self-supported, and independent.*
- 4) *Do not put your own needs first.*
- 5) *Do not wish for more in life than being a housewife.*
- 6) *Do not forget that sex is for making babies- not for pleasure.*
- 7) *Do not be unhappy with your man or criticize him for infidelity, gambling, verbal and physical abuse, alcohol or drug abuse.*
- 8) *Do not ask for help.*
- 9) *Do not discuss personal problems outside the home*
- 10) *Do not change things that make you unhappy that you can realistically change.*

While machismo has positive and negative qualities, (traditional machismo vs. caballerismo), marianismo is a dichotomous lifestyle you either follow making you a “good” woman or you ignore making you a “bad” woman. In other words, in the traditional sense, a

"good" woman follows the "ten commandments" and puts her family first while a "bad" woman does anything to suggest she thinks about herself first. In reality, most Latinas probably fall somewhere in between.

Respeto

Respeto, the Spanish word for *respect*, is another important value in Latino culture, and it emphasizes obedience in the family. *Respeto* mandates that children be highly considerate of adults by, for example, not interrupting or arguing with them (Delgado & Gaitan, 1994). It is also linked to familism in that *respeto* ultimately serves as a means of maintaining harmony and cohesion within the extended family (Marin & Marin, 1991). *Respeto*, therefore, is an important basis of parenting practices and plays a role in the instruction of what are appropriate and non-appropriate behaviors for children. Findings of cross-cultural parenting research indicate that Latina mothers generally attend more to dimensions of respect, such as obedience, than to personal development, such as independence; they discourage their children's autonomous and exploratory behavior by asserting their authority; and they more often use direct interventions, such as physical restraint, more than European American mothers (Harwood, 1992; Harwood, Schoelmerich, Schulze, & Gonzalez, 1999).

Calzada, Fernandez & Cortes (2010) examined cultural values of Dominican and Mexican mothers of preschoolers through focus groups in which they described their core values as related to their parenting role. Results showed that *respeto*, family and religion were the most important values for the Latina mothers in the groups. Regarding what they wanted for their children, one Dominican mother stated, "The most important thing is that they (children) have values and that those values be that they respect their parents, respect others." Similarly another Latina mother explained, "One struggles so much to inculcate in them that respect of behaving well, of listening to their elders, of listening to their parents when we speak to them. That is the ultimate goal."

Respeto was manifested in several domains, including obedience to authority, deference, decorum, and public behavior.

The focus groups also revealed generation shifts in the concept of *respeto*. Many of the mothers described how growing up they were expected to follow strict and unquestioning obedience in a way they, consciously, do not demand from their children. Instead they value their children's thoughts and opinions. For example one participant stated, "we want respect but we also want communication." Another mother believed that she would be showing her own child a lack of respect if she were to prohibit him from communicating openly to her, "because that would be a lack of respect on my part, to not listen to his needs". Interestingly generational shifts are a trend seen in each of the cultural concepts described above, at times, resulting in conflict between parent-child relationships.

The "Dutiful Daughter"

"Latina children and adolescents value their duty to respect the family more than their peers from European American backgrounds, driven by cultural values which emphasize the importance of parental authority in the family." (Romo, Mireles-Rios & Lopez-Tello, 2013).

The "dutiful daughter", therefore, is the product of cultural concepts such as familism, the traditional gender roles, and *respeto*; and it refers to Latinas who, adhering to these cultural values, have internalized a set of obligations and ideals that become important for them to fulfill throughout their lives. Some of the concrete obligations daughters in Latino households in the U.S. are often confronted with include language brokering, sibling caretaking, and financial contributions (Espinoza, 2010). Less concrete but equally important obligations take on more of a psychological toll and include demands and expectations of spending a lot of time with the family and staying close to home (Cammarota, 2004). Latino parents hold clear expectations that daughters should participate in household chores during adolescence (Romo, Mireles-Rios &

Lopez-Tello, 2013) and several studies have confirmed that girls are more likely than boys to take on the responsibility for family duties in Latino households (Buriel et al., 1998; Raffaelli & Ontani, 2004; Suárez-Orozco, 2001).

While a central feature of adolescence in mainstream America is the development of behavioral autonomy (Steinberg & Silk, 2002), Latino parents engage in less autonomy-granting and more authoritarian parenting practices exerting control over their adolescent's behavior, particularly with their daughters (Romo, Mireles-Rios & Lopez-Tello, 2013). One reason Latino immigrant parents exercise more authoritarian practices may be to reinforce the values of familism and *respeto*, which can often be at tension with individualistic American values. A common concern of immigrant parents is that their children will become too Americanized and ignore or forget their cultural traditions and values (Romo, Mireles-Rios & Lopez-Tello, 2013). Interestingly, a study comparing Mexican parents in Mexico and in the US found that Mexican parents residing in the US are stricter and engage in more authoritarian parenting than Mexican parents residing in Mexico (Varela et al, 2004).

Protectiveness over their daughters is another reason Latina mothers and fathers are less willing to grant their daughters too much independence, thus instilling in them a sense of dutifulness. Following traditional gender roles, sons are allowed more social freedom and less supervision than daughters. This is true even when the boys are the younger sibling, in that they receive more social privileges than their older sisters (McHale, Updegraff, Crouter & Killoren, 2005). Based on the marianismo ideal that women should be chaste and naive, parents also hold different standards for daughters and sons related to dating. Latina daughters are faced with strict rules about when they are allowed to start dating and about boys not allowed to visit their homes. Also related to traditional gender roles, communication between Latina adolescents and their

mothers often consist of messages about responsibilities related to how to cook, clean, and how to take care of the family (Ayala, 2006).

The Dutiful Daughter and The Maria Paradox

Although societal changes have evolved with each new generation, with more women in higher education in the work field and more single parent households than ever, internalized remnants of traditional gender roles are still present and active in Latin American and Caribbean cultures today. However, the range and “degree to which women are expected to obey *Marianista* ideas depends on race, social class, and appraisal of their place in society” (Flores-Ortiz, 2000, p.62). In the United States, for example, it is more likely to find first-generation immigrants supporting traditional gender roles than second and third generation Latinas (those who were born in the US but whose parents were born outside of the US), who in being confronted with different social expectations have become influenced by modern feminist Anglo-Saxon ideologies.

Many of the Latina students at City University of New York (CUNY), for example, belong to this group: second or later generation Latinas who have begun to break away from the marianista mindset but who are navigating the separation and cultural gap created between them and their families. Gil & Vazquez (1996) wrote *The Maria Paradox* as a guidebook for Latinas with the goal of achieving a satisfying bicultural lifestyle. It deals with integration into North American society without sacrificing the familial Hispanic or Latino traditions. However, this paradox, the struggle to introduce North American ideas while maintaining Latino tradition, can produce a great deal of psychological conflict, unhappiness and self-doubt. Clinical work with Latina/os often revolves around self-esteem problems resulting from challenges integrating the two cultures (Gil & Vazquez, 1996).

Clinical and Mental Health Issues for the Latina “Dutiful Daughter”

Acculturation Conflicts

As described earlier, transitioning and adapting from one culture and set of ideologies and expectations to another is not an easy and seamless task. It can take a toll on one's emotional and physiological well-being. "Children in Latino families may find themselves caught between the more traditional values that their parents encourage in them at home and the more individualistic American values they are exposed to through school and the media" (Dennis, Basañez & Farahmand, 2010, p.119). This in-between-area is sometimes referred to as the "acculturation gap" and it represents the differences between the levels of acculturation in younger versus older members of the family. This gap has been found to sometimes lead to family stress and is particularly problematic when it threatens family cohesion by young people adopting individualistic ideas that conflict with the traditional family-centered values of their parents (Dennis, Basañez & Farahmand, 2010).

In their guidebook, Gil and Vazquez educate Latinas about the differences between assimilation and acculturation. They explain that assimilation ignores all aspects of the native culture and demands total adaptation to the new culture, whereas acculturation is a more gentle and gradual process in which a shift in attitudes and behaviors towards the dominant culture occurs over time and without disregard of the native culture. A Latina who has successfully acculturated to North American culture, may therefore continue to experience the "dutiful daughter" effect.

Gil and Vazquez advise their readers against assimilation, warning that one adverse result is a paradoxical backlash reaction in which the opposite of assimilation occurs and the woman becomes more marianista than ever. This puts the immigrant woman at risk for many psychological and even physiological problems. A combination of marianismo beliefs and other

factors that affect immigrants (such as acculturation stress, loss of social support and conflicts between collectivist and individualist values) adversely influences physical and psychological behaviors of immigrant Latinas. One example is the sedentary lifestyles found in some Latina women that lead to obesity and health complications (D'Alonzo, 2012). HIV/AIDS, other STDs, and intimate partner violence are other examples that are linked to adherence to marianismo beliefs (Moreno, 2007).

Latinas and Depression

Latino youth in the U.S. are at a high risk for negative behavioral and mental health outcomes (Bamaca-Colbert, Umana-Taylor, Espinosa-Hernandez, Brown, 2012). For example, Latino adolescents in the U.S. report higher levels of depression compared to other youths (Twenge & Nolen-Hoeksema, 2002). Furthermore, compared to those who were born outside of the United States, the prevalence of lifetime major depression for Latinas/os in the U.S. is significantly higher for those who are born in the United States (González, Tarraf, Whitfield, and Vega, 2010). This is not a surprising trend considering the acculturation conflicts described above. Interestingly regarding gender, however, Cespedes & Huey (2008) investigated the link between cultural discrepancy and depression in immigrant Latino youth and found that gender role discrepancy between parents and children was associated with poorer family functions for *girls* but not for boys. Compared to boys, Latina high-school girls reported more differences in traditional gender role beliefs between themselves and their parents and showed higher levels of depression. Moreover, the relationship between gender role discrepancy and depression was mediated by increases in family dysfunction (Cespedes & Huey, 2008). These findings illustrate the importance of family cohesion and traditional gender roles institutionalized to maintain family unity in some traditional Latino families; and the additional tensions experienced in particular by

“dutiful daughters” of Latino immigrants who face counter-demands by their families and the host American culture.

It is important to note that the clinical presentation of depression may appear differently in the Latino/Hispanic population. According to Koss-Chioino (1999), somatic complaints are more central to the depressive experience of Latinas. He identifies four primary depressive symptom complaints: nervousness or intranquility; sleep disturbances and hallucinations; crying spells; and headaches and other pains. These different clinical presentations make sense in the context of marianismo since the loss of agency for the woman is bound to take a toll on psychological well being but the subjective expression (feelings of sadness and hopelessness) would put the woman at risk of breaking the marianismo commandments of expressing their owns needs first.

Latinas and Suicide

Distressingly, Latina adolescents have a higher risk of suicide than adolescent females of other ethnicities (Baumann et al, 2010; Humensky, Gil, Coronel, Cifre, Mazzula, & Lewis-Fernandez, 2013). The 2011 Youth Risk and Behavior Survey found that 13.8 percent of Latinas vs. 5.3 percent of Caucasian females attempted suicide in the past year (Centers for Disease Control, 2011). In order words, compared to non-Latina whites, Latinas are more than twice as likely to have attempted to take their own life than girls from other ethnic groups.

The Center of Excellence for Cultural Competence (2011) identified four risk factors that result in high rates of suicidal ideation and behavior among Latina adolescents. First, they indicate that low levels of mutuality, or feelings of empathy and reciprocity, between mothers and daughters is associated with internalized (anxiety, depression) and externalized (aggression, rule-breaking) behaviors which are linked to suicidal behavior. Second, they found a link between high suicide rates among Latina adolescents and low levels of support, affection, and

communication between mother-daughter pairs. Incidentally, these first two factors are closely connected to the aim of this proposed study in which the interaction of mother-daughter closeness and the mutuality of autonomy of the “dutiful daughter” will be explored. Third, family conflict was found to be associated with low self-esteem and internalizing behaviors, which are linked to suicide behaviors. Finally, the fourth factor to be associated with a high incidence of suicidal risk is generational status, meaning that second and later generations are more likely to attempt suicide than first generation Latinas. The high incidence of suicide attempts among Latina adolescents and the related finding that mother-daughter conflict is predictive of suicide behavior and attempts in this population, demands a better and more nuanced understanding of the quality of mother-daughter relationships and of Latina daughters’ object relations.

The “Dutiful Daughter” and the Student Role Conflict

The school setting is another important area in which the “dutiful daughter” is confronted with the dilemma of prioritizing personal growth over family demands. Studies have consistently showed that this “good daughter dilemma” can be a “double edge sword” for Latinas, meaning that while on the one hand, family demands may detract from time and energy that could be devoted to the school setting, on the other hand, strong family ties have been shown to positively affect academic outcome and adjustment to the educational environments (Tseng, 2004; Espinozo, 2010). In other words, the family may simultaneously both interfere and promote Latinas in the process of pursuing higher education. Research taking a closer look at family and work influences on the transition to college among Latinas found that students who spent more time language brokering had higher school related stress while students who spent more time “hanging out” with the family had lower school-related stress and higher academic achievement (Sy, 2006). This finding suggests distinct qualitative effects to the different types of family demands and

expectations. For example, family connection and reciprocity, which involves mutuality of autonomy, may have an empowering effect on Latinas; while specific labor demands, such as language brokering, involve a greater sense of duty and may have a hindering effect.

Another study looked at two distinct manners in which “dutiful daughters” navigate family and school demands in graduate school (Espinoza, 2010). They conducted in-depth interviews about relationships with family as graduate students and found that some women integrate family and school by explicitly communicating the demands placed on them to enlist support, while others keep the worlds separate by switching between them to minimize conflict. The different response outcomes highlight the emotional complexity of the continuum of the “dutiful daughter”. This proposed study aims at gaining a better perspective of how Latinas’ object relations, or their internalized representation of self and others (see section on OR below), play a role in the distinct emotional response outcomes of the “good daughter dilemma”.

Object Relations Theory:

Object Relations (OR), a school of thought within the psychodynamic/psychoanalytic orientation, broadly refers to the theory regarding mental representations one has developed of oneself and of others as a result of early interactions with caregivers (the objects). According to the theory, these mental representations of early infant experiences become templates or prototypes that later play a significant role in how one interacts, thinks, and feels about the self and others (Diamond, Blatt, Stayner & Kaslow, 1995; Huprich & Greenberg, 2003). Central to being a stable and psychologically healthy person, mature interpersonal relatedness and a cohesive sense of identity are the main ideas of object relations theory.

Although the origins of the term *object* (an unfortunate term because it typically is

referring to a person) can be traced back to Freud, his theory was focused on the impact of instinctual drives more so than on the relational sphere. Objects, in Freud's early theory, were the targets for the sexual and aggressive drives inherent to the psychology of everyone starting in infancy. Subsequent theorists are the ones credited with emphasizing the role of intrapsychic object representations and the emergence of object relations theory. Fairbairn and other members from the British Psychoanalytic Society in the 1940s were some of the first to challenge the dominance of drives by proposing object-seeking as opposed to pleasure-seeking behaviors as the fundamental motivational system. In other words, feeling closeness and warmth in relating to others (the objects, in this case), and not just simply being fed to satiate hunger, is what motivates one to act or behave in certain ways.

Object relations theory postulates that objects, or parts of the object, become internalized and then object relation dyads (which refer to units of the self, the other, and the affect linking them) are used unconsciously by people to make sense of relationships and the other's behaviors. These units, however, do not contain accurate or even whole internal representations of self and other. Instead they are representations of how self and other were once affectively experienced at specific moments in time during infancy and early childhood. Since the infant's experience will inevitably vary throughout the course of early development, multiple internal dyads are therefore created. The experiences that occurred during periods of "peak affective intensity" (experiences related to a desire for pleasure or a fear of pain) are responsible for producing "affect-laden memory structures." This means an infant who experiences satisfaction during peak affective periods will develop an ideal image of a nurturing other and satisfied self, while an infant who experiences frustration will develop an image of a depriving, abusive other and a needy, helpless self.

Winnicott (1954) introduced the concept of the “good enough mother” because he believed that instead of being perfectly attuned, which is an impossible task, caregivers who are generally attentive, loving and responsible would protect the infant from often experiencing these peak affective periods of discomfort or distress. Without “good enough” parenting, however, a false sense of self would develop as a defense to an environment that often felt unsafe or chaotic.

Throughout the course of normal development and with “good enough” parenting, however, gradual integration of the extreme representations of the good and bad self and other occur. Integration allows for more a cohesive identity and mature, complex representations in which good and bad qualities can coexist. For some individuals the challenge is that integration has yet to occur and the internal representation of self and other remains split between all good or all bad. These individuals are usually organized at a borderline level of personality structure. Melanie Klein (1946) referred to this split internal world as the “paranoid schizoid position” because of the tendency to project the “bad” onto external objects, thereby causing the individual to live in fear of aggression from the outside. Resolution of the “paranoid schizoid position” leads to the emergence of the “depressive position.” Integration can begin to occur as the individual mourns the loss of the ideal other and experiences guilt for the aggression directed towards others who were previously treated as “all bad.” During the depressive position, the individual realizes (whether in fact or imagined) the capacity to harm or drive away a person who one ambivalently loves.

Object relations theory has greatly impacted advances in both the clinical and research settings. For example, Kernberg (1977) and Loewald (1960) have described how the phenomena of transference and countertransference can be understood in terms of internalized object relationships, making these phenomena productive tools to be utilized in the treatment.

Researchers concerned with understanding identity and/or disorders of the self, utilize projective techniques (such as the Rorschach and the TAT) in their assessment of object representations because of their ability to tap into unconscious phenomena and evoke the projection of one's internal representational world onto the cards.

Mutuality of Autonomy (MOA)

Mutuality implies bidirectionality, it refers to a reciprocal exchange of feelings, thoughts, and actions between people in a relationship (Peña, Zayas, Hausmann-Stabile, & Kuhlberg, 2011).

Crucial to a mature sense of mutuality is an appreciation of the wholeness of the other person with a special awareness of the other's subjective experience. Thus, the other person is not there merely to take care of one's needs, to become a vessel for one's projections or transferences, nor to be the object of discharge of instinctual impulses. Through empathy, and an active interest in the other as a different, complex person, one develops the capacity at first to allow the other's differentness and ultimately to value and encourage those qualities which make that person different and unique. (Jordan, 1986)

As the quote above by psychologist Judith Jordan implies, for mutuality to be possible, a cohesive sense of independence of the self and other must first be established. Mutuality of autonomy, a dimension of OR, derives from the developmental object relation theories construed by Kernberg, Kohut, Mayman and Mahler which focus on the progression of separation-individuation from developmentally normative engulfing/fused representations in infancy to highly differentiated self-other representations (Fowler & Erdberg, 2005) as the individual matures. Urist & Shill, 1982, define Mutuality of Autonomy as:

the degree to which people in relationships are conceived of, by the subject, as psychologically autonomous; as possessing an enduring, inherent psychic existence. The subject experiences others as possessing a self, while at the same time objectively recognizes his or her own existence as one object among many. Both self and others are simultaneously experienced by the subject as possessing an identity, a will, and the subjective, affective experience of selfhood.

Self-object differentiation and self-object mutuality have been linked theoretically with degree of psychological development (Kernberg, 1976) and psychopathology. Urist's MOA scale, developed in 1977, assesses these dimensions and indicates relational capacities and overall psychic health. The 7 point Likert-type scale was originally developed to be used with Rorschach percepts but has been recently adapted to be used with the TAT (Eiges, 2014). The scale measures the extent to which figures are construed simultaneously as psychologically autonomous, yet capable of reciprocal interaction (Urist, 1977; Urist & Shill, 1982). The seven points of the scale represent a continuum of developmental stages of OR, with lower scores reflecting mutual, empathic relatedness to higher scores indicating loss of distinct boundaries or primary narcissism. Based on the assumption that the portrayal of relationships on the Rorschach (or TAT) resembles past experience and current characterization of human relationships, the scale assesses the degree of malevolent control and destructiveness perceived in imbalanced object relations. In other words, it aims to analyze the degree to which relationships are perceived as mutually enriching, safe, and well-balanced, as opposed to destructive, dangerous, and overwhelming (Fowler & Erdberg, 2005).

Mother-Daughter Relationships:

The relationship between mothers and daughters is unique and significant for both women in the dyad (Rastogi, 2002; Fischer 1991; Kretchmar & Jacobvitz, 2002). In comparison to other intergenerational relationships, this same-sex, parent-child relationship has the highest intensity, interdependence, and emotional connection (Fischer, 1991). One reason for this heightened emotional intensity may be that in many cultures mothers are commonly the primer caregivers for all children, and moreover they are often the primary object of identification and role models for

daughters of social and psychological well-being (Shrier, Thompson & Shrier, 2004; Onayli & Erdur-Baker, 2013). Effects of the mother-daughter relationship include how daughters feel about their bodies, self-esteem regulation, and career choices (Fischer, 1991). Furthermore, attachment styles to the mothers may predict quality of future relationships (Bowlby, 1988).

Historically some classical psychoanalytic theories on female development and mother-daughter relationships have a reputation of portraying mothers as responsible for their daughters' oppression (Shrier, Thompson & Shrier, 2004). For example, Freud's famous "penis envy" theory related that as a result of not having a penis, girls felt inferior to boys and blamed their defective mothers for their same "misfortune". Furthermore, Helene Deutsch, one of the early female psychoanalysts to focus on women's psychology, wrote about how the mother-daughter relationship is problematic to the daughter's healthy development into adulthood (Deutsch, 1945). Although these theories on femininity and female development are richly complex and nuanced, plus rooted in a particular historical time period, many readers today view psychoanalytic theories as mostly pejorative towards women. Notably, however, not all analysts shared Deutsch or Freud's views on women. Melanie Klein (1975) and Karen Horney (1967), for example, challenged the predominant psychoanalytic views on female psychology.

Nevertheless, stemming from the second feminist revolution of the 1970s, a number of different perspectives ranging from the empirical, theoretical, to clinical venues convey the undeniable value of the mother-daughter bond. The feminist object relations approach, spearheaded by Nancy Chodorow (1978), focuses on the process of identification and closeness between mothers and daughters and delineates how increasing psychological separation-individuation and autonomy are indicative of healthy development. The relationist approach led by Jean Baker Miller (1973) and The Stone Center at Wellesley College, on the other hand,

challenges western notions of individuation and instead emphasized human relatedness and attachment as equally important aspects of development. They propose a theory about the “self-in-relation” and a developing capacity for complexity in relationships, mutuality and empathy. Attachment theorists focus on the balance between intimacy and autonomy in healthy relationships, and similarly family systems theorists and intergenerational family therapy looks at differentiation in adult relationships with their parents and examines autonomy and hierarchy (Kerr & Bowen, 1988; Kretchmar & Jacobvitz, 2002).

Interdependence vs. MOA in Mother-Daughter Relationships

From an OR and relational perspective, whenever the mother or daughter is prevented from participating in a “mutually responsible and mutually enhancing” relationship, a disconnection occurs in the mother-daughter dyad (Garcia-Rodriguez & Rodriguez, 2013). The result of this disconnection will be an (mostly unconscious) attempt to change herself (or create a false self), which will involve altering her object relational templates, thus altering her internal view of self, others, and the relations between herself and others. The cost then becomes a lack of authenticity in the relationship with her mother/daughter and with others because she is “trying to please others by not being herself” (Garcia-Rodriguez & Rodriguez, 2013). This is often the case for Latina “dutiful daughters” who sacrifice authenticity in order to maintain traditional cultural norms.

In a sample of 426 female students with a mean age of 21, Onayli and Erdur -Baker (2013) found that connectedness was positively related to self-esteem while daughters who had higher interdependence in their relationship with their mothers had lower self-esteem. Emotional closeness and interdependence often seem to go hand in hand, specifically in Latino households; however these findings suggest the value of separating the two and further understanding the

meaning of interdependence in relation to mutuality of autonomy.

Latina Mothers and “dutiful daughters”

The cultural concepts of *familism*, *marianismo*, and *respeto* described earlier (see section on Latino Cultural Concepts) directly impacts the nature of Latina mother-daughter relationships. Although parenting includes both mothers and fathers, *marianismo* dictates that in Latino household mothers are often responsible with communicating and seeing through the parenting responsibilities. Similarly, while both Latino sons and daughters experience less autonomy than their peers of European American backgrounds, Latina daughters are expect to take on more familial responsibilities and enjoy less social privileges than their brothers (see section on The “Dutiful Daughter”). Therefore, whether as mothers or as daughters, Latinas are faced with the most demanding role of the Latino parent-child relationship. It is no coincidence then, that the mother-daughter relationship has been a dominant theme in the literature of Caribbean women of the diaspora (Garcia-Rodriguez & Rodriguez, 2013).

Protective factors of the Latina mother-daughter relationship:

While high levels of parental control can be associated with negative outcomes for European American adolescents, there is less evidence of detrimental effects in Latino adolescents (Romo, Mireles-Rios & Lopez-Tello, 2013). On the contrary, a number of studies on this topic revealed that Latino adolescents often recognize that parental control contributes to their well-being and they internalize their parents’ strict rules as messages that their parents care about them (Crockett et al, 2007; Giulamo-Ramos et al., 2007; Villaruel, 1998). Furthermore, studies among Mexican American preadolescents indicate that high levels of parental control are positively related to perceived maternal acceptance (Gonzales, Pitts, Hill, & Roosa, 2000) and to increased

self-esteem among Mexican American girls (Bush, Supple, & Lash, 2004).

Risk factors of the Latina Mother- Daughter Relationship:

While some studies found that high levels of parental control and aspects of familism are linked to positive effects in Latino children and adolescents, a few recent studies also found that discrepancies in the mothers' and daughters' expectations of autonomy can be associated with increased mother-daughter conflict (Bamaca-Colbert, Umana-Taylor, & Gayles, 2012). As mentioned earlier, Latinas have higher rates of suicide attempts than females of other ethnic and racial groups, and low mutuality in their relationship with their mothers is predictive of suicide risk. This troubling finding has prompted the emergence of community based suicide prevention programs in New York to help at risk Latina adolescents and their families. Dr. Rosa Gil, president and CEO of an organization that runs a comprehensive suicide intervention program, called Life is Precious, describes how Latina adolescents experience "an inordinate amount of emotional stress" due to conflicts with their mothers. She explains that daughters are often put in the position of being their mother's translator, and this role often undermines the mother's authority resulting in lack of guidance and feelings of isolation for the Latina girl due to uncertainty over their ethnic and racial identity.

Clinical relevance of the "dutiful daughter" and Hypotheses

Familiarizing oneself with cultural constructs is important when doing clinical work with any population. In the case of Latino immigrants, the cultural constructs of familism, *respeto*, and the traditional gender roles may influence the clinical presentations in a direct or indirect fashion. Depending on factors such as generational status, acculturation, socialization within their nuclear family and SES, some Latino/as may be more directly affected by these cultural constructs than

others; however since these concepts continue to be present in the culture as a whole, it will undoubtedly have an impact on all of its cultural members. For example, a Latina “dutiful daughter” may be holding on tightly to marianismo ideals in an effort to stay close to her family, while at the same time paying the price of losing her agency and having trouble adjusting or adapting to her new cultural environment. On the other hand, a Latina of a similar setting may adamantly reject anything to do with her cultural background at the cost of an identity crisis (disowning parts of her self) and complete estrangement from her family. Both may be grappling with identity struggles and low self-esteem instilled by internalized rigid “dutiful” ideals. Similarly, males (albeit they have more freedom than Latina women) may have an equally difficult time navigating what is culturally expected from them with what they wish for themselves. The picture gets further complicated for how these traditional constructs affect LGBTQ males and females and more research is necessary for a better understanding of these cases. Nevertheless, helping Latinas find a balanced and nuanced understanding of what it means to separate and be autonomous, while staying connected and enjoy mutuality with their mothers (and other family members), could be a challenging but attainable and productive goal with positive implications towards mental health.

Hypotheses

As the proposed study aims to explore the continuum of connectedness *vis a vis* object relations pathology in the "dutiful daughter", it hypothesizes that participants reflecting healthier object relations will also exhibit a degree of conflict with their adherence to “dutifulness”, and will perceive a close but differentiated relationship with their mothers; while maladaptive OR scores will be correlated to a strong adherence and satisfaction with their sense of “dutifulness”, and an even closer or enmeshed relationship with their mothers:

Hypothesis 1: Latinas endorsing beliefs of marianismo will also report close relationships with their mothers.

Hypothesis 2: Latinas who experience a quality of interdependence in the relationships with their mothers will also endorse beliefs of marianismo, but will evidence more adaptive OR scores

Hypothesis 3: Latinas who experience conflict with their sense of “dutifulness”, will evidence more adaptive OR scores

Hypothesis 4: Latinas who experience low conflict while endorsing beliefs of marianismo will evidence less adaptive OR scores

Hypothesis 5: Latinas who strongly adhere to the cultural value of *respeto* will also endorse greater beliefs of marianismo and will evidence less adaptive OR scores

Hypothesis 6: Latina daughters who feel connected to their mothers, will evidence more adaptive OR scores and more conflict with their “dutifulness”

CHAPTER 2- METHODOLOGY

Participants

Thirty Latina college students, ages 18-30, attending the City University of New York (CUNY) participated in this study. Recruitment was pursued through the subject pool and through fliers posted around the CUNY campuses with a general description of the study. Participation in the study was completely voluntary and confidential. As a compensation for their time, participants who came via the subject pool received extra credit for a class and they took part in a lottery for an Amazon gift card.

Procedure

Data collection consisted of interviews with the approximate duration of 45-60 minutes per participant in which a demographic questionnaire (Rivera-Marano, 2000); two self-report measures: The Latina Values Scale Revised (LVS- R) (Marrano, 2000) and the Mother-Adult Daughter Questionnaire (MAD) (Rastogi, 2002); and The Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) was administered. Administration of the TAT was audio-recorded with the participants' consent, and responses were transcribed and then scored by an independent, reliable coder using the adapted Mutuality of Autonomy scale (MOA-TAT) as part of this study's investigation of object relations (Urist, 1977; Urist & Shill, 1982). Statistical analyses were performed in order to obtain descriptive information of the study variables, hypothesis testing, and ancillary explorative analyses.

Instruments and Measures:

Demographics Form (Rivera-Marano, 2000)

Adapted from Rivera-Marano's (2000) demographic questionnaire, the 34-item questionnaire obtained information on socio-demographic variables such as: age, sexual orientation, marital status, number of children, education level, income, ancestry, generational status, and religious identification. Two questions relevant to the focus of this study were added to this form; one asked about any extended separation from their mothers and the other inquired about their involvement in family duties. (Appendix III)

The Latina Values Scale- Revised (LVS-R; Rivera-Marano, 2000)

The LVS-R is a cultural-specific instrument developed to measure beliefs about

marianismo among Latinas in the US. The revised version contains 27 items in two stages and it is answered using a Likert scale from 1- "strongly disagree" to 5- "strongly agree". The scale was derived from the literature on marianismo including the "How Marianista Are You?" table in *The Maria Paradox* (Gil & Vasquez, 1996). Three goals were identified in its development: to assess the degree to which a Latina adheres to marianismo values, to assess whether the Latina perceived conflict with these values, and to identify the marianismo values that were a source of strength and satisfaction (Rivera-Marano). The LVS has demonstrated an inter-item reliability of .87, based on the 27 items extracted from the original 40-item scale (Rivera-Marano). Initial exploratory factor analysis revealed three subscales: Responsibility, Assertion and Satisfaction. Further exploratory analyses yielded seven factors related to core marianismo beliefs (Melendez, 2004): *Conflict, Self-sacrifice, Assertion toward authority, Guilt, putting family needs ahead of ones own, Responsibility.*

The LVS-R includes a satisfaction/conflict scale, which directly measures the respondents' satisfaction or conflict with their responses to the marianismo scale. The "Satisfaction" scale contains 27 items, which correspond to the items in the main scale. In the revised version of the scale, the wording for the "Satisfaction" scale has been modified from "*how satisfied are you with your response?*" to "*Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?*" The modification more accurately captures the respondents' conflict as it relates to their responses on the LVS-R. The satisfaction /conflict scale provides a subjective response regarding the marianista values, while identifying issues and conflicts with it. The satisfaction/conflict scale was reported to have an inter-item reliability of .86 (Rivera-Marano). The relationship between marianismo and satisfaction with marianismo responses was reported as a significant negative

correlation ($r = -.441, p < .01$) (Rivera-Mariano). Therefore, as the number of marianismo items endorsed increased, the level of satisfaction decreased. (Appendix IV)

The Mother-Adult Daughter Questionnaire (MAD; Rastogi, 2002)

Developed to measure aspects of the current mother-daughter relationship, the MAD questionnaire is a culturally sensitive instrument validated with a Mexican American sample (Rastogi, 2002). The MAD measures the adult daughter's perception of different factors related to her relationship with their mothers. It consists of 25 items and 3 subscales. Eight of the items are in multiple-choice format and the other 17 items are on a 5-point Likert-type scale. The three dimensions of the mother-daughter relationship assessed by this measure are: connectedness (9 items; e.g. "I can share my personal feelings with my mother." and "My mother can share her personal feelings with me."), interdependence (3 items; "I feel the need to consult my mother when making a hard decision", "I often depend on my mother for advice.") and trust in hierarchy (6 items; "My mother always knows what is good for me", "I always trust my mother's judgment"). The remaining 7 items do not fall under any subscale but provide more information on the mother-daughter relationship. Participants respond to these statements using a scale from 1 (very false) to 5 (very true). Subscales were calculated by adding all relevant items, resulting in good reliabilities for all three. (Appendix V)

The Thematic Apperception Test (TAT)

The Thematic Apperception Test (TAT; Morgan & Murray, 1935) is a projective test that consists of a series of cards that portray characters in various vague and ambiguous situations. All the cards are in black-and-white and contain evocative scenarios. Participants are asked to create a narrative for each card that covers the following five story elements:

- 1. What's going on now?*

2. *What led up to the event?*
3. *What are the characters thinking?*
4. *How are the characters feeling?*
5. *What is going to happen?*

The participant's responses to the cards are considered to reflect, and therefore assess, thought patterns, attitudes, behaviors, and the quality and nature of affect. McClelland, Koestner, and Weinberger (1989) suggest that the TAT measures implicit motives as opposed to more conscious self-attributions" (referenced in Groth-Marnat p. 484, 2003). As such, they tend to represent the unconscious, symbolized experience of one's inner life (Groth-Marnat 2003).

For the purposes of this study, the TAT was utilized to assess mutuality of autonomy, particularly in relation to mothers. As such, ten TAT cards, which are believed to best assess mutuality in relation to mothers, were presented to the participants. Below are the ten TAT cards that were presented to all participants in this study together with Murray's description of each card:

- 1) *A young boy is contemplating a violin, which rests on a table in front of him. (Drawing by Christiana D. Morgan after a photograph of Jehudi Menuhin.)*
- 2) *Country scene: in the foreground is a young woman with books in her hand; in the background a man is working in the fields and an older woman is looking on. (Mural "Fertility." By Leon Kroll).*
- 3) *3BM) On the floor against a couch is the huddled form of a boy with his head bowed on his right arm. Beside him on the floor is a revolver. (Drawing by Christiana D. Morgan.)*

- 4)** *A woman is clutching the shoulder of a man whose face and body are averted as if he were trying to pull away from her. (illustration by C.C. Beall, From Collier's, 1940).*
- 5)** *A middle-aged woman is standing on the threshold of a half-opened door looking into a room. (Drawing by Samuel Thal.)*
- 7GF)** *An older woman is sitting on a sofa close beside a girl, speaking or reading to her. The girl, who holds a doll in her lap, is looking away. ("Fairy Tales" by Shulkin, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.)*
- 8GF)** *A young woman sits with her chin in her hand looking off into space. ("Lili" by Taubes, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.)*
- 9GF)** *A young woman with a magazine and a purse in her hand looks from behind a tree at another young woman in a party dress running along a beach. (Illustration from Colliers, 1950).*
- 12F)** *The portrait of a young woman. A weird old woman with a shawl over her head is grimacing in the background. (Drawing by Christiana D. Morgan after a painting by Augustus John).*
- 18GF)** *A woman has her hands squeezed around the throat of another woman whom she appears to be pushing backwards across the banister of a stairway. (Drawing by Samuel Thal)*

The Mutuality of Autonomy Scale

The MOA scale (Urist, 1977; Urist & Shill, 1982) is a seven-point rating system that assesses the developmental maturity of object relations (OR). Based on the theories developed by

Kernberg (1966, 1985) and Kohut (1966; Kohut & Wolf, 1978), the scale is guided by the belief that individuals represent and construe self-other relationships in a consistent, enduring manner.

The MOA scale has most often been used to interpret the Rorschach Inkblot Test by assessing the thematic content of stated or implied relationships between human, animal, and inanimate movement responses. The seven-point ordinal thematic scale represents the developmental progression of separation-individuation, while also capturing the degree of malevolent control and destructiveness perceived in imbalanced object relations.

Developmentally higher scores (Scale Points 1 and 2) are the most adaptive scores, representing the capacity to construe self-and other representations as structurally differentiated and engaged in mutually interactive or parallel activity (e.g., two bears clapping hands). The autonomy and interaction between figures remains balanced and secure. Middle scores (Scale points 3 and 4) capture dependent and mirroring object relationships and typically reveal an emerging loss of autonomy in interaction between figures (Coates & Tuber, 1989). The autonomy of the figures is compromised. Developmentally lower scores (Scale points 5, 6, and 7) reflect not only the loss of the capacity for separateness, but also increasing malevolence (Coates & Tuber, 1989). The autonomy of the figures is attacked.

The MOA Scale has respectable psychometric properties and is considered a valid assessment of object relations quality (Bombel et al., 2009; Holaday & Sparks, 2001). Convergent validity with other measures of object relations is supported (Ackerman et al., 2001; Blatt et al., 1990; Hibbard et al., 1995), and discriminant validity between object relations quality and IQ is consistently demonstrated (Blatt et al., 1990; Harder et al., 1984; Ryan et al., 1985; Tuber, 1989).

Bombel et al. (2009) conducted a meta-analysis using 31 independent data sets from 35 studies, which revealed excellent inter-rater reliability at the response level ($K = .82$) and protocol

level (ICC = .90). Even raters without previous knowledge in object relations theory are able to achieve an exact agreement rate of 80% (Holaday & Sparks, 2001), indicating that with the appropriate training, raters should be able to score the MOA with a high degree of reliability.

The literature about the construct validity of the MOA is inconsistent. Despite the substantial evidence to support that the MOA Scale does in fact measure OR quality, some researchers note that at the pathological end of the scale it can be difficult to distinguish OR quality from pathological functioning (Berg et al., 1993; Blatt et al., 1990). An examination of the construct validity revealed that while the MOA Scale is an equally potent measure of OR quality and psychopathology, it does not cleanly discriminate between the two constructs (Bombel et al., 2009). However, while the overlap raises questions with regard to construct validity, authors argue that it is consistent with the theoretical foundation, meaning that OR maturity corresponds with the level of psychological functioning.

Calculating and Summarizing MOA Data

Several calculation procedures exist for deriving MOA summary scores. The following summary scores will be used in the present study:

1. Each participant's single most adaptive MOA score (Lowest Object Relations Score - LORS).
2. Each participant's single most pathological MOA score (Highest Object Relations Score – HORS).
3. The mode response for each participant's protocol (MOA-Mode).
4. The arithmetic mean for each participant's protocol (MOA-Mean).

5. The pathological score or number of responses assigned scores 5, 6, or 7 (MOA-PATH).

Adapted MOA for the TAT (MOA-TAT)

To this date the MOA scale has most frequently been used as a tool to interpret the quality of object relations in the Rorschach Inkblot Test percepts. However, in its conception, the MOA scale was applied to other sources such as autobiographical descriptions of patients' relationships (Murray, 1938), staff ratings of patients' interpersonal behavior on the ward, clinical charts, and therapist ratings of patients (Urist, 1977; Urist & Shill, 1982). The TAT with its depictions of characters in evocative, ambiguous scenarios, makes for a prime context for the utilization of the MOA scale.

In her dissertation, *The Reciprocal Relationship Among Object Relations, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder and Specific Language Impairments in School-Aged Children*, Eiges (2014) adapted the MOA scale to the TAT (MOA-TAT). Other dissertations are currently being conducted with the MOA-TAT (Thom, 2014); and this study will be the first to use the adapted MOA scale in an adult sample and in a Latina sample. The MOA-TAT is an optimal measure for this study because of the number of TAT cards that portray images that elicit mother-daughter content.

Eiges (2014) made a few modifications in the adaptation of the MOA scale for the TAT, but retained as much of the original MOA scale as possible. The greatest modification was made to scale point 4. Instead of reflection and mirror responses, which make sense for the Rorschach but do not readily translate to the TAT, scale point 4 on the MOA-TAT aims to capture a fundamental failure in self-other differentiation: "Characters are described as mirror-objects or are ascribed the same thoughts, feelings, and behaviors...Scale Point 4 fails to differentiate each

character's experience." Scale points 5 and 6 were generally maintained, but the following dimensions were added in order to capture themes of loss and abandonment:

5: Intended to capture themes of loss and abandonment in which one character who is characterized as being in a conventional caregiver role (e.g. parent) threatens to leave or abandon the other in a helpless state. Temporary abandonment and /or neglect during an intense period of distress and/or need is also relevant to this category

6: Is intended to capture a relationship in which the abandonment and/or severe neglect blatantly occur within the context of a caregiving relationship, and the dependent character is literally left in an extremely helpless and/or defenseless state.

Themes of loss and abandonment are thought to be especially relevant to the TAT, while also remaining consistent with the imbalance of power, lack of mutuality, and malevolence that are characteristic of these scale points. (Appendix I)

Hypotheses

As the proposed study aims to explore the continuum of connectedness *vis a vis* object relations pathology in the "dutiful daughter", it hypothesizes that participants with MOA scores reflecting healthier object relations will also exhibit a degree of conflict with their adherence to "dutifulness" on the LVS, and will perceive a close but differentiated relationship with their mothers; while maladaptive MOA scores will be correlated with a strong adherence and satisfaction with their sense of "dutifulness", and an even closer or enmeshed relationship with their mothers:

Hypothesis 1: Latinas endorsing beliefs of marianismo, as measured on the LVS, will also report close relationships with their mothers on the MAD questionnaire,

- Total LVS scores will be significantly correlated with the overall score on the MAD questionnaire.

Hypothesis 2: Latinas who experience a quality of interdependence in the relationships with their mothers, as measured on the MAD questionnaire, will also endorse beliefs of marianismo but will evidence more adaptive MOA scores on the TAT,

- Interdependence, as measured on the MAD questionnaire, will be significantly correlated with OR quality and with LVS scores.

Hypothesis 3: Latinas who experience conflict with their sense of “dutifulness”, as measured on the conflict scale of the LVS, will evidence more adaptive MOA scores on the TAT,

- The conflict scale of the LVS will be significantly correlated with OR quality.

Hypothesis 4: Latinas who experience low conflict while endorsing beliefs of marianismo, as measured on the LVS, will evidence less adaptive MOA scores on the TAT,

- Inverse scores on the LVS scale and the LVS conflict scale will be negatively correlated with OR quality.

Hypothesis 5: Latinas who strongly adhere to the cultural value of *respeto*, as measured by the subscale of trust in hierarchy on the MAD questionnaire, will also endorse greater beliefs of marianismo on the LVS and will evidence less adaptive MOA scores on the TAT.

- The subscale of trust in hierarchy, on the MAD questionnaire, will be significantly correlated with LVS and negatively correlated with OR quality.

Hypothesis 6: Latina daughters who feel connected to their mothers, as measured by the MAD questionnaire will evidence more adaptive MOA scores on the TAT and more conflict with their “dutifulness” as measured by the conflict scale of the LVS,

- Connectedness will be significantly correlated with OR quality and the conflict scale on the LV

CHAPTER THREE – RESULTS

The focus of this study is on the object relations of the Latina dutiful daughter. Participants were asked to complete measures on their adult relationship with their mothers, on traditional values, and on demographic information. Additionally they were asked to come up with stories for ten TAT cards, which were later scored by an independent coder using the MOA-TAT scale. The data gathered from their responses was analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, version 20.0. Preliminary analyses were performed to obtain descriptive information for each of the variables included in the present study. Finally, correlational analyses were conducted to investigate the current study’s hypotheses and exploratory data.

Sample Description

Thirty Latina students of the City University of New York participated in this study. The main demographic characteristics of the sample are illustrated in Table 1. All participants were between the ages of 18 and 30 years old ($M = 20.17$; $SD = 4.7$). The sample encompassed a diverse representation of Latino ancestry with the largest group being from the Dominican

Republic (30%) followed by Mexico (16.7%). Most of the women were born in the United States (76.7%) and identified as second-generation Latina (66.7%), meaning at least one parent was born in a different country; yet seven of the participants (23.3%) identified as belonging to the first generation in their family to move to the United States. Not surprisingly the majority of the sample (90%) identified as bilingual.

Table 1. *Main Demographic Characteristics of Participants*

	All Participants (N=30)
<u>Mean Age (Std Dev.)</u>	20.17 (4.7)
<u>Ancestry</u>	
Dominican	9 (30%)
Mexican	5 (16.7%)
Puerto Rican	3 (10%)
Salvadorian	2 (6.7%)
Colombian	2 (6.7%)
Ecuadorian	3 (10%)
Honduran	1 (3.3%)
Nicaraguan	1 (3.3%)
Panamanian	1 (3.3%)
Dominican/Ecuadorian	1 (3.3%)
Mexican/Puerto Rican	1 (3.3%)
Puerto Rican/Dominican	1 (3.3%)
<u>US Born</u>	23 (76.7%)

<u>Generation</u>	
First	7 (23.3%)
Second	20 (66.7%)
Third	2 (6.7%)
Fourth	1 (3.3%)
<u>Bilingual</u>	27 (90%)

Additional descriptive information of the participants is displayed in Table 2. None of the young women in the sample were married and only one participant had children of her own. The majority of the women identified as heterosexual (93.3%). As for religious identification, most of the women identified as Catholic (60%) while 30% identified as “Other”, which included no religious affiliation. Household income ranged from less than \$15,000 to more than \$106,000, though many of the participants came from lower income households (30% marked \$15,000 or less).

Given that the current study investigated mother-daughter relationships and its impact on object relations and that separations from family members are an unfortunate reality for many immigrant populations, participants were also asked if they had ever experienced an extended separation from their mothers. A significant amount (36.7%) of the sample responded in the affirmative. The length of time of the separations ranged from one month to four years.

Table 2. *Additional Demographic Characteristics*

All Participants

(N=30)

Relationship Status

Cohabiting	2(6.7%)
Single	28(93.3%)

Sexual Orientation

Heterosexual	28(93.3%)
Questioning	2(6.7%)

<u>Children</u>	1(3.3%)
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Religion

Catholic	18 (60%)
Protestant	3(10%)
Other	9(30%)

Household Income

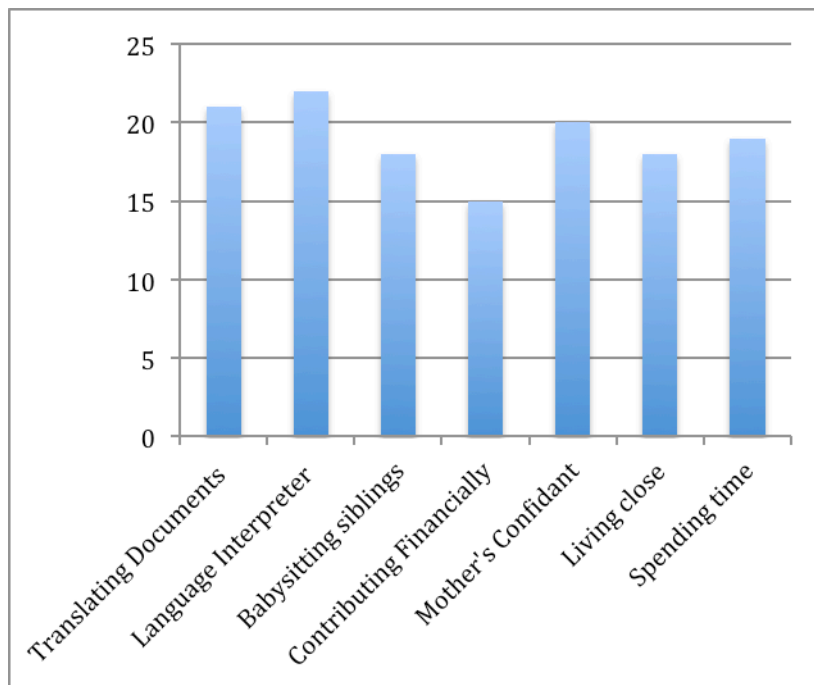
\$0-\$15,000	9(30%)
\$16,000-\$25,000	6(20%)
\$26,000-\$40,000	6(20%)
\$41,000-\$55,000	5(16.7%)
\$56,000-\$75,000	1(3.3%)
\$91,000- \$105,000	1(3.3%)
>\$106,000	2(6.7%)

Extended Separation	11(36.7%)
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In order to assess the validity of the “dutiful daughter” concept and its relevance to this particular sample, participants were asked to select from a list of traditional family duties, activities that they regularly engage in to help or support the family because it is expected of them

(they could select multiple responses). Graph 1 illustrates the number of participants that marked each activity. All of the women marked at least one activity and the majority (66%) chose more than four family duties. This suggests that the concept of “dutiful daughter” is applicable to the Latinas in this sample and, moreover, that it is currently relevant in our society. Out of thirty participants, half responded that they are expected to contribute financially to the household; and more than half of the sample is engaging in activities such as being the language interpreter for a member of the family, being their mother’s confidant, translating documents and spending most of their free time with their families.

Graph 1. *Frequency per Family Duty*



Mutuality of Autonomy Data

Six TAT protocols (60 TAT cards) were selected at random and scored by Dr. Eiges,

developer of the adapted MOA-TAT, and this author to calculate inter-rater agreement using the overall correct classification formula (Kessel & Zimmerman, 1993), which assesses how frequently raters agreed across the entire MOA scale (scale points 1 through 7), rather than a single (or average) MOA score. Inter-rater agreement was found to be excellent (.87). Dr. Eiges then scored all remaining TAT protocols (a total of 30 protocols and 300 TAT cards). She was blind to the study hypotheses and all other test data.

The MOA-TAT scales were used to determine each participant's OR quality. Table 5 provides an overview of the frequencies and percentages of each response level on the MOA-TAT scales and Table 6 shows a breakdown of the response-level frequencies for each individual TAT card. As a reminder, MOA scores are inverted so it is important to note that the quality of OR generally declines as the level increases. Given that the TAT generally pulls for OR responses, and lack of a response may represent conscious suppression or unconscious repression of more pathological responses (Tuber & Eiges, 2015), scores of 8 were assigned to TAT cards that did not contain an OR response as suggested by Eiges (2015).

Descriptive results of the MOA-TAT reveal that the study sample had an adaptive OR skew, which is consistent with it being a non-clinical sample. When divided into three categories (Levels 1+2, Levels 3+4 and Levels 5+6 +7) the average number of responses decreased as the maladaptive levels increased (MOA1-2, M=4.2; MOA3-4, M=2.87; MOA5-6, M=1.03), once again implying the lack of pathology in the sample as a whole. No participant provided a Level 7 response, which would be indicative of severe psychopathology; and less than 10% of the total responses were levels 5 or 6. The low frequency of pathological responses again suggests that this is a "healthy" sample of college students. The greatest response frequency rate overall was Level 2, which captured 33% of the responses, followed closely by Level 3, with 25.6% of the

responses. The relatively high number of level 3 responses for this sample is of great relevance to this study and the important implications of this finding will be discussed further below.

Interestingly Level 8 encompassed 18.6% of the total responses, which may provide evidence for the validity of this scale point as some form of defensive response (whether conscious or unconscious) style in a healthy sample.

When broken down specifically by TAT Card¹ the response trends varied. Since each card pulls for different themes and interpersonal or intrapsychic scenarios, a card-by-card analysis may be a more accurate reflection of the participants' response style. Participants produced the most OR responses on Card 4 (n =29) and Card 18GF (n = 29), and the fewest on Card 1 (n = 19) and Card 8GF (n = 16). Of note, Card 1 and Card 8GF have only one character depicted in the picture resulting oftentimes in stories about the self rather than relationships. The range of responses was broadest for Cards 12 and 18GF (MOA-TAT 1-6,8) and narrowest for Card 1 (MOA-TAT 1-3,8). The greatest frequency of maladaptive responses was evidenced on Card 18GF (9 total responses scored at Levels 5 or 6) and Card 3BM (6 responses at Level 5), and the most adaptive responses were reported on Card 4 (6 Level 1 responses), Card 9GF (5 Level 1 responses), and Card 12 (also 5 Level 1 responses).

Four of the cards (Cards 1,3BM, 12, and 18GF) had a greater or equal number of Level 3 (responses that evoked one figure leaning on or dependent on the other) than Level 2 responses. Given that this is a relatively healthy sample, the high frequency of Level 3 responses may reflect a culturally normative response style for Latinas. This is a potentially meaningful correlate in object relational data from a projective measure with actual, culturally fostered behavior. It may also have practical implications for the clinical treatment and psychology of Latinas for it would

¹ See methods section for a description of each card used in this protocol.

be a grave mistake to pathologize a culturally syntonic object relational style that values interdependence more than independence or mutuality over autonomy.

Table 3. *Response Level Frequency for the MOA-T*

Level 1	27 (9%)
Level 2	99 (33%)
Level 3	77 (25.6%)
Level 4	10 (3.3%)
Level 5	23 (7.6%)
Level 6	8 (2.6%)
Level 8	56 (18.6%)

Table 4. *Response Level Frequency for the MOA-T per TAT Card*

	C1	C2	C3BM	C4	C5
Level 1	3(10%)	1(3.3%)	1(3.3%)	6(20%)	1(3.3%)
Level 2	5(16.70%)	16(53.3%)	6(20%)	11(36.70%)	13(43.3%)
Level 3	11(36.70%)	5(16.7%)	9(30%)	10(36.7%)	7 (23.3%)
Level 4	0	0	0	0	0
Level 5	0	1(3.3%)	6(20%)	2(6.7%)	2(6.7%)
Level 6	0	0	0	0	1(3.3%)
Level 8	11(36.70%)	7 (23.3%)	8(26.7%)	1(3.3%)	6(20%)
	C7GF	C8GF	C9GF	C12	C18GF
Level 1	2(6.7%)	1(3.3%)	5(16.70%)	5(16.70%)	2(6.7%)
Level 2	15 (50%)	7 (23.3%)	13(43.3%)	8(26.7%)	5(16.70%)

Level 3	7 (23.3%)	5(16.70%)	3(10%)	8(26.7%)	12 (40%)
Level 4	0	3(10%)	3(10%)	3(10%)	1(3.3%)
Level 5	3(10%)	0	3(10%)	3(10%)	3(10%)
Level 6	0	0	0	1(3.3%)	6(20%)
Level 8	3(10%)	14 (46.7%)	3(10%)	2(6.7%)	1(3.3%)

Preliminary analyses of study variables

The Mother Adult-Daughter (MAD) Scale produced a total score (M=76.77, SD=13.32) in addition to three subscales scores measuring Trust in Hierarchy (M=21.6, SD=5.11) Interdependence (11.33, SD=2.83), and Connectedness (M=35.6, SD=6.53) respectively. The Latina Value Scale yielded a total score (M=98.7, SD=16.33), a total conflict score (M=83.4, SD=21.85), a family value score (M=30.93, SD=5.52) and a family value conflict score (23.17, SD=6.73). The large standard deviation for the total conflict score is worth noting since it indicates that the measure pulled for extreme responses from the participants. The gathered psychometric data for each of the variables is presented in Table 3 below.

Table 5. Preliminary Analysis (N=30)

	Min	Max	Mean	SD	Skewness	Kurtosis
MAD Total	47	96	76.77	13.32	-0.359	-0.586
Trust in Hierarchy	10	29	21.6	5.11	-0.579	-0.437
Interdependence	5	15	11.33	2.83	-0.51	-0.597
Connectedness	20	45	35.6	6.53	-0.348	-0.452
Latino Value Total	61	125	98.7	16.33	-0.361	-0.088
LV Conflict	33	127	83.4	21.85	-0.308	0.238
LV Family	18	39	30.93	5.52	-0.689	-0.239

LV Family Conflict	8	34	23.17	6.73	-0.746	0.169
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Note: MADTotal= Mother Adult Daughter Total Score, LVTotal= Latina Values Total Score, LVcon= Latina Values Conflict Score, LVfam= Latina Values Family Subscale, LVfamcon= Latina Values Family Conflict Subscale

Correlations among all of the variables included in the analyses were calculated and are illustrated in Table 4 below.

Table 6. Variable Inter-correlations (N=30)

Subscales	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. MADTotal	1									
2. TIH	.779**	1								
3. Interdep	.867**	.650**	1							
4. Connect	.884**	.428*	.693**	1						
5. LVTotal	-0.018	0.069	0.042	-0.1	1					
6. LVcon	-.390*	-0.175	-0.273	-.456*	.493**	1				
7. LVfam	0.239	0.126	0.242	0.209	.723**	0.154	1			
8. LVfamcon	-.535**	-0.341	-.441*	-.540**	0.36	.847**	0.109	1		
9. MOAMean ²	-.370*	-0.136	-0.29	-.447*	-0.156	0.043	-0.227	0.044	1	
10. MOAMode ³	-.486**	-0.199	-0.297	-.582**	-0.018	0.275	-0.247	0.214	.720**	1

Note: MADTotal= Mother Adult Daughter Total, TIH= Trust in Hierarchy Subscale, InterDep= Interdependence Subscale, Connect= Connectedness Subscale, LVTotal= Latina Values Total, LVcon= Latina Values Conflict, LVfam= Latina Values Family Subscale, LVfamcon= Latina Values Family Conflict Subscale, MOA Mean= Mutuality of Autonomy Mean (Inverse score), MOAMode= Mutuality of Autonomy Mode (Inverse score)

² Scores are inverted for the MOA scale so that low scores reflect more adaptive OR responses than high scores. Therefore a lower MOAMean indicates healthier object relations.

³ Lower MOAMode indicates more adaptive OR response style.

Results indicated that the subscales of the Mother-Adult Daughter measure are intercorrelated and similarly that the MOA mean and mode scores are also significantly correlated. These results speak to the internal validity of both instruments. However on the MAD scale the significance level dropped from .05 to .01 for Connectedness and Trust in Hierarchy indicating a greater distinction between the two constructs. Latina Values Total was also unexpectedly significantly correlated to the Latina Value Conflict score suggesting, as mentioned above, that the measure incites strong responses so that higher scores on total values are related to higher scores on overall conflict regarding those values endorsed.

Additionally there were significant negative correlations between the total Mother-Adult Daughter (MAD) score and Latino Family Values Conflict ($r = -.53, p < .05$) and between MAD and MOA Mode ($r = -.49, p < .05$) indicating that greater mother-daughter closeness is related to a decrease in conflict regarding endorsed family values and to more adaptive OR. The variable of Family Values Conflict was also negatively correlated to the subscales of Interdependence ($r = -.44, p < .01$) and in its inverse relationship to Connectedness ($r = -.54, p < .05$); interestingly there was no significant relationship between family values conflict and the subscale of Trust in Hierarchy ($r = .34$). These findings suggest that more than the value of respect and deference due to age, it is the degree of connection and mutuality the daughter feels towards her mother that has an impact on how much conflict she perceives in holding traditional family values (i.e. being a dutiful daughter). Furthermore, connectedness was also significantly negative correlated to MOAMean ($r = -.45, p < .05$) and MOAMode ($r = -.58, p < .05$) suggesting that a greater connection in the mother-daughter dyad is associated with more adaptive OR responses on the TAT (see hypothesis analyses section for more details on these findings).

Hypothesis Analyses

In order to examine the hypotheses exploring the continuum of connectedness *vis a vis* object relations pathology in the "dutiful daughter", correlational analyses were conducted for the Mother-Adult Daughter subscales and the Latina Values subscales in relation to MOA-TAT summary scores. Correlations are illustrated in Table 4 above.

Hypothesis 1: Latinas endorsing beliefs of marianismo, as measured on the Latina Values Scale (LVTotal), will also report close relationships with their mothers on the Mother Adult-Daughter (MAD) questionnaire.

No relationship was found between the Latina Values Total score and the Mother-Adult-Daughter Total score. In other words, the number of marianismo beliefs endorsed did not change as a result of mother-daughter closeness or vice-versa. However, MADtotal was negatively correlated with the Latina Values Conflict scores, LVconflict ($r = -.39, p < .01$) and LVfamcon ($r = -.54, p < .05$), suggesting that greater overall mother-daughter closeness is related to a lower amount of conflict experienced regarding general marianismo beliefs and family dutifulness.

Hypothesis 2: Latinas who experience a quality of interdependence in the relationships with their mothers, as measured on the MAD questionnaire, will also endorse beliefs of marianismo (Latina Values Total) but will evidence more adaptive MOA scores on the TAT.

Although not significant, correlation analyses revealed a positive trend between the subscale of interdependence and Latina Values indicating that the value of mutuality is consistent with marianismo beliefs. Similarly negative trends were evidenced with MOA summary scores suggesting that the quality of interdependence is associated with lower and therefore more

adaptive OR scores. Furthermore, the analyses indicated that as the quality of interdependence increased the degree of conflict towards family values or dutifulness decreased ($r = -.44, p < .01$).

Hypothesis 3: Latinas who experience conflict with their sense of “dutifulness”, as measured on the conflict scale of the LVS, will evidence more adaptive MOA scores on the TAT.

Hypothesis 4: Latinas who experience low conflict while endorsing beliefs of marianismo, as measured on the LVS, will evidence less adaptive MOA scores on the TAT.

Hypotheses 3 and 4 both have to do with conflict and OR specifically consequently they were examined together. There was no direct relationship found between conflict and MOA scores. Conflict scores, however, were significantly negatively correlated to the subscale of Connectedness (see hypothesis 6 below) which was significantly correlated to healthier or more adaptive MOA scores. Conflict was also significantly related to the amount of marianismo values endorsed in that as the total values score increased so did the conflict experienced on such values. Total Latina Values was negatively correlated to the highest object relation score (HORS) for a given participant ($r = -.37, p < .01$). Since MOA has inverse scoring this finding indicates that as the number of Latina values endorsed increases, the HORS score decreases; or in other words, higher scores on traditional cultural values are associated with more adaptive OR scores. Indirectly it appears that OR and conflict may be related in that participants with more adaptive OR response styles are also experiencing a decrease in conflict related to the marianismo values they endorse.

Hypothesis 5: Latinas who strongly adhere to the cultural value of *respeto*, as measured by the subscale of trust in hierarchy on the MAD questionnaire, will also endorse greater beliefs of marianismo on the LVS and will evidence less adaptive MOA scores on the TAT.

Though it did not reach statistical significance, the subscale of Trust in Hierarchy appeared to have, as expected, a positive trend in relationship to the number of marianismo beliefs endorsed. Similar to interdependence, this trend suggests that trust in hierarchy or the value of respect is consistent with traditional Latina values. As mentioned earlier, it is notable that unlike the other two subtests of the MAD questionnaire (Connectedness and Interdependence) there was no significant relationship between family values conflict and Trust in Hierarchy suggesting that it is the other two subscales and values that account for decrease in conflict and possibly more adaptive OR responses.

Hypothesis 6: Latina daughters who feel connected to their mothers, as measured by the MAD questionnaire will evidence more adaptive MOA scores on the TAT and more conflict with their “dutifulness” as measured by the conflict scale of the LVS.

Correlational analyses revealed a significant positive relationship between the MAD subscale of Connectedness and OR quality. Due to inverse scoring on the MOA-TAT scale, significant negative correlations for MOAMean ($r = -.45, p < .05$), MOAMode ($r = -.58, p < .05$), and MOANs (no score) ($r = -.38, p < .01$), indicate that healthier/more adaptive OR scores are associated with the degree of connection perceived by daughters in relation to their mothers. In other words, more than any other factor in the mother-daughter dyad, it is the degree of connectedness that correlates with stable self and other interpretations of the world around them.

Furthermore, significant negative correlations between Connectedness and the two conflict scales LVcon ($r = -.46, p < .01$) and LVfamcon ($r = -.54, p < .05$), reveal that the amount of conflict related to marianismo and dutifulness decreases as the level of connection (and not just closeness) with their mother increases.

Ancillary Analysis

In *The Latina Value Scale Revised: A Cross-sectional analysis of Marianismo in Latino Women*, Melendez (2004) conducted factor analyses for the scale, which yielded 7 factors related to core themes of marianismo: (1) *Conflict*, (2) *Self-sacrifice*, putting others' needs before one's own, (i.e., "I try to make others happy at all costs), (3) *Assertion toward authority* (i.e., "I have difficulty expressing my self to those in authority"), indicating that self-assertion may be perceived as threatening, (4) *Guilt*, (i.e. "I feel guilty when I ask others for help"). (5) *Self-Blame*, how the subject relates to significant others in relationships, (6) The joys of putting *family needs* ahead of ones own, (i.e. "I believe that sacrificing for others will eventually be rewarded"), and (7) *Responsibility*, conflict in doing for others, ("At times I find myself doing for others, when I prefer not to").

Exploratory correlational analyses were performed for this study investigating these specific factors in relation to the MOA-TAT summary scores and the mother-adult daughter subscales scales. Because these analyses were purely exploratory in nature, no particular hypotheses were generated. Results revealed that the factor related to issues with "assertion toward authority" was significantly negative correlated to HORS ($r = -.45, p < .01$) and to the subscale of Connectedness ($r = -.37, p < .01$). Due to inverse scoring, this signifies that the women who perceive self-assertion as threatening have less adaptive OR responses on the TAT and are feeling less connected to their mothers; and vice versa, Latinas who are more assertive are also more connected with their mothers and have more adaptive responses measuring object relations on the TAT.

Additionally, the factor of "self-sacrifice" was significantly correlated to the MOA Levels 3+4 ($r = .34, p < .01$). It is important to note that Level 4 only comprised 10 scores while level 3 was

made up 77 scores, therefore level 4's contribution to this statistic is minimal. This finding provides validation for the MOA-TAT scale level 3: Anaclictic-Dependent. The MOA-TAT manual states that Level 3 responses reveal a clearly dependent relationship, in which the maintenance of self is highly related to sustenance from another person (Eiges, 2015). This significant correlation also corroborates the idea that dependence on others, or interdependence, is a traditional cultural value and therefore a Level 3 response in a Latina sample may be just as adaptive as a Level 1 or Level 2 response.

Summary of findings

The statistical analyses conducted provided partial support for the study hypotheses and revealed additional significant findings that had not been anticipated.

Although hypothesized that Latinas who endorsed a higher number of traditional values would also experience closer bonds with their mothers, the relationship between levels of marianismo and the overall mother-daughter closeness was not statistically supported. Interestingly, however, an inverse relationship was found between overall mother-daughter closeness and the amount of conflict experienced regarding general marianismo beliefs and family dutifulness. In other words, while mother-daughter closeness does not appear to be related to the amount of marianismo values endorsed, closeness does appear to play a positive role lessening the conflict that may arise from such traditional values.

Partial support was found for the hypothesis regarding the quality of interdependence in the mother-daughter relationship. A positive trend in the expected direction found between the subscale of interdependence and Latina Values suggests that the value of mutuality is consistent with marianismo beliefs. Trends also showed that the quality of interdependence is associated with

lower and therefore more adaptive OR scores. Furthermore, the analyses indicated a significant inverse relationship between the quality of interdependence and the degree of conflict towards family values or dutifulness.

Contrary to the hypotheses focused on the role of conflict in Latina values *vis a vis* OR quality, results did not evidence a direct significant relationship between values conflict and MOA scores. Indirectly, however, OR and conflict appear to be related in an unexpected yet constructive manner. Participants with more adaptive OR response styles are also experiencing a decrease in conflict related to the marianismo values they endorse. The relationship between Latina values and conflict was significant; the implication being that there is an inherent amount of conflict experienced with traditional values endorsed. Higher scores on traditional cultural values were associated with more adaptive OR score via their negative relationship to the HORS scores. As for conflict, specifically, results indicated significant inverse relationships with mother-daughter closeness and connectedness, which, in turn, were correlated to more adaptive MOA scores. Therefore, contrary to how it was hypothesized that Latinas who experience conflict with their sense of “dutifulness” would evidence more adaptive MOA scores on the TAT, Latinas with more adaptive MOA scores appear to experience less conflict regarding their marianismo values endorsed. Similarly results revealed the opposite direction than what was hypothesized for Latinas with low conflict who were expected to evidence less adaptive MOA scores on the TAT. Results revealed that lower conflict was indirectly associated with more adaptive OR.

Partial support was also found for the hypothesis regarding the value of *respeto* measured by the quality of Trust in Hierarchy (TIH) in the mother-daughter relationship. It was hypothesized that TIH would be correlated to the number of beliefs of marianismo endorsed on the LVS, as well as to less adaptive MOA scores on the TAT. A positive trend was found in the

expected direction for the subscale of TIH in relationship to the number of marianismo beliefs endorsed, suggesting that the value of respect is consistent with traditional Latina values. As for the quality of trust in hierarchy and OR quality no direct relationship was found. However, unlike the other two subscales that made up the mother-daughter scale, there was no significant relationship between conflict regarding family values, or “dutifulness”, and TIH.

Correlational analyses revealed full support for the first half of the final hypothesis, which indicated that Latina daughters who feel connected to their mothers evidenced significantly more adaptive MOA scores on the TAT. This significant finding represents the core of this study because it provides evidence for the importance of emotional closeness, or *connection*, for the Latina “dutiful” daughters. Support was found in the opposite direction, again, for the relationship of conflict with the quality of connection in the mother-daughter dyad. Encouragingly, the amount of conflict related to marianismo and dutifulness decreased significantly as the level of connection with their mother increased.

Furthermore, exploratory correlational analyses looking specifically at factors that make up the Latina Values Scale revealed significant findings for the factors of “assertion toward authority” and “self-sacrifice”. As for the issue of “assertion toward authority”, results indicated that Latinas who are more assertive are also more connected with their mothers and have more adaptive OR responses on the TAT. The factor of “self-sacrifice” was significantly correlated to MOA Level 3 providing validation for the Anaclitic-Dependent scale level and corroborating the idea that dependence on others, or interdependence, is a traditional cultural value and therefore an adaptive response style.

CHAPTER FOUR- DISCUSSION

The present study investigated the relationships among traditional Latino values, adult mother-daughter bonds, and quality of object relations (OR) in a sample of female college students identifying with Latino ethnic or cultural backgrounds. Despite increased treatment demands for Latinos as reflected by a higher rate of visits to clinics and mental health facilities, issues related specifically to Latinos continue to be underrepresented in the scientific community. Moreover, very few studies have researched object relations using a Latino sample specifically. This is the first study analyzing these variables together. Therefore, the nature of this investigation was mostly inherently exploratory. Nevertheless, based on independent existing literature focused on Latino culture and on object relations theory respectively, it was hypothesized that participants with MOA scores reflecting more adaptive OR would experience closer and more emotionally sophisticated bonds with their mothers plus a greater degree of conflict with traditional values endorsing dependency over autonomy.

The results of the study provide statistical evidence revealing the continuum of connectedness *vis a vis* quality of object relations in the Latina "dutiful daughter". In other words, participants with more adaptive OR scores indicated experiencing greater emotional connection with their mothers at this stage in their life. Disconfirming evidence, however, emerged for the hypothesis that MOA scores reflecting adaptive OR would be related to a greater degree of conflict with traditional values. Although contrary to what was expected, this is an ultimately encouraging finding because it suggests that Latinas with healthier OR are better equipped to adapt to their cultural expectations and, furthermore, that traditional values favoring interdependency over autonomy are culturally mediated and should not be pathologized. This latter point was also made evident by the proportionally significant number of MOA Level 3

responses in this largely healthy non-clinical sample. Additionally, the results of the study provide further support for the MOA-TAT scale as a reliable and valid measurement of OR while also adding to it a more nuanced application based on a cultural interpretation. Herein, the implications of these findings will be discussed within the context of the existing literature and their relevance to clinical practice. Methodological limitations of the study and suggestions for future research will also be addressed at the end of this chapter.

Latina mother-adult daughter relationships

The MAD questionnaire is a culturally sensitive measure comprised of three key constructs that make up the mother-adult daughter relationship: Trust in Hierarchy, Interdependence, and Connectedness. More than assessing the real relationship itself, it is a measure of the daughters' perspective or internal experience of their bonds with their mothers and therefore an interesting correlate to an object relations approach in which the internalized fantasy of the relation matters more than the actual reality of the pair.

Trust in Hierarchy (TIH) represents the respect attributed to mothers for their wisdom and higher status in the family hierarchy. According to the scale developer, Rastogi (2002), women who score high on the subscale of TIH defer to their mothers regardless of their own (the daughters') age. The construct of Interdependence as measured by the MAD refers to mutual dependence in emotional and practical ways, which includes feeling free to seek out mother's help and advice. Within the context of the adult daughter-mother relationship, connectedness refers to emotional closeness and practical and behavioral indicators of care expressions regardless of physical distance. Women who score high on connectedness combine the ability to share feelings and opinions, as well as to make sacrifices for her mother (Rastogi, 2002).

The three subscales were significantly correlated in the study sample indicating that a high

score on one variable meant a high score on the other two as well. However the significance level dropped from .05 to .01 for the correlation between Connectedness and Trust in Hierarchy indicating a greater distinction between respect and emotional connection. For example, the degree of connectedness and interdependence both correlated with lower conflict experienced regarding family values endorsed; yet the degree of trust in hierarchy did not show the same effect. Therefore one may extrapolate that “dutiful daughters” who simply defer to their mothers due to respect without fostering emotional dependence or connection in the relationship, are likely to experience a greater level conflict and therefore more discomfort regarding their dutiful identity. Fortunately it isn’t often the case, and certainly not for this sample, that Latinas experience respect without also experiencing a degree of interdependence and connectedness since the constructs are, after all, interlinked. However, when this imbalance occurs, as exemplified by the following TAT response on Card 12F⁴, the outcome may be disheartening.

Oh that’s so creepy. Maybe [this is] a man who is very attached to his mother, his mother is the one who makes all the decisions. And whatever his mother says he’ll do – she’ll dictate who he dates, what he does in the future, where he goes, if he will go to school, if he’ll work. She’ll dictate every part of his life and he’ll let her because that is his attachment to her, she was everything to him. So he will sacrifice his needs for what she wants. I don’t think he is necessarily upset about it, I just don’t think he realizes what he is doing and maybe he never will. But currently he is not necessarily unhappy, he might just be content with the situation at hand right now, but maybe she will do something that will make him realize that he shouldn’t listen to everything she says, my mother isn’t always right. And she thinks she knows what is best for him no matter what because she gave birth to him and she has the right to dictate his life. Afterwards this will probably continue for a while until something happens that triggers him that she is not always right.

The Significance of Connectedness

The results of the study highlight the importance and potential protective role of emotional

⁴ Description of Card 12F: The portrait of a young woman. A weird old woman with a shawl over her head is grimacing in the background.

connection in Latina mother-daughter relationships. Connectedness was the only subscale of the MAD questionnaire that revealed significant correlations with MOA scores. Daughters who perceive greater emotional connection in their adult relationship with their mothers also exhibited more adaptive MOA scores on the TAT as well as less overall conflict regarding the Latina values they endorsed. Given that mutuality of autonomy derives from the school of object relations which has been linked theoretically with psychological development and degree of psychopathology, and since OR disturbances are shown to be implicated in the full gamut of psychological disorders (Blatt, Wild, & Ritzler, 1975; Fowler, Brunnschweiler, & Brock, 2002; Goddard & Tuber, 1989; Heesacker & Neimeyer, 1990; Rutherford et al., 1996; Strauss & Ryan, 1987; Tuber & Coates, 1989), *the central findings related to connectedness suggest that Latina “dutiful daughters” may be in effect psychologically protected by their current strong attachment with their mothers.* This is important evidence given the existing research that indicates that acculturation stress and discrepancies between parents and children, put Latino youth in the U.S., and particularly the females, at a higher risk for negative behavioral and mental health outcomes (Cespedes & Huey, 2008; Bamaca-Colbert, Umana-Taylor, Espinosa-Hernandez, Brown, 2012), and given the higher prevalence of lifetime major depression for Latinas/os born in the U.S. (González, Tarraf, Whitfield, and Vega, 2010) as were most of the Latinas in this sample.

Even more strikingly, the finding regarding how the emotional connection to mothers is correlated to MOA scores can be applied to the growing research on Latinas’ increased suicide rates. Since the 1990s research on suicide has identified young Latinas as having a higher risk for suicide behaviors than any other racial, ethnic, or cultural group in the U.S. (Zayas, 2011). In 75% of cases Latinas attributed a suicide attempt to conflicts with either mothers or boyfriends (Berne, 1983; Marttunen et al., 1993). Furthermore, researchers directly establish low levels of mutuality

and low levels of support, affection, and communication between mother-daughter pairs as risk factors for suicidal ideation and behavior among Latina adolescents (Baumann et al, 2010; Humensky, Gil, Coronel, Cifre, Mazzula, & Lewis-Fernandez, 2013; Centers for Disease Control, 2011). Zayas (2011) explains that conflicts with parents that strain the autonomy-relatedness process play important roles in suicide attempts. This central current finding using the MOA-TAT provides additional evidence for the significance of the role of mutuality in Latina mother-daughter relationships. Given the current findings and the empirical evidence on suicide attempts, it is crucial that the relationships between at-risk Latinas and their maternal figures take central stage in clinical settings.

Additionally regarding the construct of connectedness, ancillary analyses revealed that emotional connection with mothers was also correlated with viewing assertion as less threatening. The marianismo commandments promote self-silencing/self-sacrificing behaviors for Latinas (Sanchez, 2003; Comas-Diaz, 1988; Gil & Vasquez, 1996). Through this behavior Latinas tend to put the needs of others before their own, and tend to inhibit their self expression and action fearing the possible loss of their significant others (Sanchez, 2003; Rivera Marano, 2000; Gil & Vasquez, 1996). In an effort to maintain intimate relationships, Latinas may lose their sense of self, which may lead to the experience of poor self-image and depression (Garcia & Zea, 1997; Melendez, 2004; Sanchez, 2003). This study provides a hopeful finding regarding self-silencing behaviors among Latinas. Possibly aided by the emotional support from their mothers, Latinas may feel empowered to channel healthy aggression and find a voice rather than silencing the self. Feeling connected to their mothers may allow them the courage to voice their opinions without fearing the relational consequences, which may be experienced as potentially threatening to the self.

In sum, dutiful daughters benefit from the emotional support and experience of dutiful mothers (or maternal figures). The intergenerational transmission of the value of maternal support is best described by one of the participants' answers to card 12F on the TAT:

This goes more into the Hispanic culture - what I see [here]. A young lady and a grandmother, the mother-daughter ties. Not matter what, the grandmother, or mother, will be there to support the child; and I see the grandmother in the back - so it's more of a support system, in that "if you fall back I'll catch you". [What will happen] ... the bond will just continue throughout generations and learning to understand that, the ties of family.

Latina Traditional Values (Marianismo) and Conflict

When responding to the Latina values scale, participants were asked to rate the level of conflict each marianismo item produced for them (*"Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?"*). Results showed that total Latina values scores were significantly correlated to total conflict scores; generally a high score on one variable meant a high score on the other. As previous studies using this scale have suggested, Latinas who are highly acculturated in the American culture are also likely to experience varying degrees of marianismo; and women with high levels of marianismo will experience greater conflict (Melendez, 2004; Rivera Marano, 2000). As Gil and Vazquez (1996) explain in *The Maria Paradox*, acculturation is a gentle and gradual process in which a shift in attitudes and behaviors towards the dominant culture occurs over time and without disregard of the native culture.

Initially in the design stage of this study it was hypothesized that greater conflict would be correlated with more adaptive MOA scores based on the inaccurate and misguided notion that conflict would somehow be related to greater autonomy and therefore healthier object relations. However, as previously stated, conflict scores did not have a direct significant relationship with

MOA scores. Nevertheless, conflict scores did correlate inversely with mother-daughter closeness including the subscales of connectedness and interdependence signaling, once again, that emotional closeness and mutuality with mothers may have served as a psychic protection from experiencing greater levels of conflict or problems with the given marianismo items. Latinas who feel emotionally close and interdependent with their mothers are more likely to be content with being “dutiful daughters” and making sacrifices for their families. This unexpected finding further challenges the notion that assimilation into an autonomous driven world-view is the desired outcome for Latinas balancing individualistic and collectivistic cultural demands.

Remarkably, many of the TAT stories provided by the participants in this sample speak directly to their marianismo values and how they manage the inherent conflicts of holding traditional values while living in an individualized driven culture⁵. For example, on card 8GF⁶ one of the participants expresses the value of sacrifice for the well being of the family, yet the character in her story feels unsatisfied and guilty for having separate needs. She ultimately resolves in a compromise by going after her dreams once her family no longer needs her:

... she had just finished cleaning and organizing and she is thinking of her dreams ...- the dreams she had before she became a wife and a mom. She wanted to become a writer. And she also wanted to be a painter and have her own gallery. (What happened?) She thinks that in order to be a good woman - she is defining a good woman as in staying at home and looking after her kids - she doesn't think a good woman is also a woman who follows her dreams. So once she got pregnant she left it and forgot about it. She is feeling melancholic; and I think that she feels like now that her kids are older it is not fair. While her husband was able to follow his dreams, she was not able to follow hers. Um, she is going to cry but she is going to feel like she is a bad mom and bad wife for thinking like that and she is going to try to get over it and act like it didn't happen. (Long pause) But I think that a few years after that maybe she is going to leave everything and at least become a writer.

⁵ See Appendix II for more TAT examples

⁶ Description of Card 8GF: A young woman sits with her chin in her hand looking off into space.

Another example on the same card describes the passivity and fantasy of one conflicted “dutiful daughter”:

This young woman she is 25. She lives with her mom and her mom is a single parent. And she is the oldest out of three. She has two younger siblings: a 17y/o sister and a 13 y/o sister. So she feels responsible to stay with her mother and help her mother raise her 2 younger siblings. And then one day she is cleaning the house and decides to sit down and kind of like, um, ask herself ... how would her life be if she wasn't so selfless... if she would think more of herself than of her mom and her sisters. So she is kind of looking out the window to see when is the love of her life going to come around and sweep her off her feet. (What happens after?) Sooner or later she does end up meeting a man and decides to leave her mom and her sisters and she starts her own life. She starts her own family. (What are her thoughts and feelings?) She is very selfless and she um she takes on a lot of responsibility.

Additionally, below are examples of two very different resolutions on Card 12F to the conflict experienced by the value of respect and trust in hierarchy. The first chooses a more autonomous route,

This is probably a grandma advising her granddaughter. (On what?) On not working and being a good stay at home mom. She is telling her ... “to follow your dreams is such an American way of thinking”, “You need to get married, and clean and cook and raise some good children and go to Church on Sundays”. And she is tired of hearing it. She didn't see anything good about witnessing that kind of lifestyle growing up; she saw it as being weak and needy and so she still decides to pursue her dreams while her grandma goes back to church to pray for her and her sanity.

while the second considers her grandmother's advice,

...it seems as though maybe her daughter um is thinking about something...that her mom or her grandma is in a way by her side or telling her certain advice or discouraging her. (from what?) Maybe like making a life decision. Like of marriage of a certain guy or if

grandmother likes the certain guy the daughter or granddaughter doesn't. Um or children or just a career path. So that the grandmother seems to be pushing her. [After] I think maybe the granddaughter or daughter will continue to keep her grandmother's perception or opinions in mind even if the grandmother isn't physically there. [thinking] I think the grandmother is thinking she has her daughter or granddaughter's best interest at heart. And the daughter or granddaughter is thinking that she seems torn with what to do while still trying to keep her grandmother's options in mind I guess. (Does she end up making those choices?) Yeah I think she will give in to her grandmother's ideas just to keep her grandmother happy.

The MOA-TAT for Latina “dutiful daughters”

The MOA-TAT, as a measure of OR, is in its early stages of materialization having recently been developed (Eiges, 2015). The MOA scale used on the Rorschach, on the other hand, is a well-established assessment tool that has been used for decades (Bombel et al., 2009; Graceffo, Mihura, & Meyer, 2014; Holaday & Sparks, 2001; Monroe, Diener, Fowler, Sexton, & Hilsenroth, 2013). Eiges, 2015, examined the MOA-TAT in relation to the MOA scale, investigating convergent validity and determining whether OR differences exist between the Rorschach and TAT in general, and with respect to attention and language functioning. Her findings provided the first evidence in support of the MOA-TAT as a reliable and valid measure of OR.

The current study is the first to utilize the MOA-TAT in an adult and in a Latina sample. Results provide further evidence in support of the MOA-TAT while also enriching its utility by adding a cultural lens. Consistent with the non-clinical nature of the sample, the MOA-TAT results revealed a general skew towards more adaptive scores, further demonstrating reliability and validity of the scale. Given the “healthy” nature of the sample, the disproportionately high number of Level 3 responses⁷ is of significant importance. Level 3 scores are credited to responses that

⁷ Four of the cards (Cards 1,3BM, 12, and 18GF) had a greater or equal number of Level 3 than Level 2 responses.

reveal a clearly dependent relationship, in which the maintenance of self is highly related to sustenance from another person. Interestingly, this scale level was also significantly correlated to the Latina value factor of “self-sacrifice” providing further support for the construct validity of the MOA-TAT Anaclitic-Dependent Level 3.

Interpretations based on a high number of MOA Level 3 scores had only been examined before in clinical samples. Goddard and Tuber (1989) found a relatively higher number MOA 3 responses in a sample of boys with Separation Anxiety Disorder compared to a control sample⁸. However, in this non-clinical, Latina sample the relatively high number of responses that evoked one figure leaning on or dependent on the other takes on a different meaning. Dependence on one another is a traditional cultural value. A growing body of research consistently affirms that people from more traditional cultural groups appear to more strongly endorse interdependent values, and give group goals a higher priority than individual goals (Masset, 2000; Kim et al. 2001). Therefore a Level 3 response may be understood as culturally syntonic and just as adaptive as other lower level responses. As previously stated, this is a potentially meaningful correlate in object relational data with possible practical and clinical ramifications for the psychological treatment of Latinas. Instead of striving for an autonomous self as the standard goal, treatment with Latinas should consider the value of balancing self and others’ needs.

Additional features of the MOA-TAT

Responses frequencies and summary scores of the MOA-TAT were also examined in relation to each individual TAT card revealing a strong relationship between OR responses and the stimulus pull from each particular card. Findings indicate that TAT Cards 4 and 18GF elicit the

⁸ Using the Rorschach

highest frequency of responses, and TAT Cards 1 and 8GF elicited the lowest. The most pathological responses emerged on TAT Cards 3BM and 18GF, and the most adaptive on TAT Cards 4, 9GF, and 12F. Some of these findings replicated Eiges (2015) results; specifically that Card 1 derived the fewest number of responses and that the most pathological responses emerged on Card 3BM. Most of the cards used in this sample frequently pulled for mother-daughter and marianismo themes. These findings offer additional normative data that may inform selection of cards to administer and interpretation of scores in such a way that takes the particular effects of each stimulus into account.

Another interesting finding was the relatively high number of Level 8 scores, assigned to TAT cards with no OR response. One reason for this may be that the two cards with the most Level 8 responses (Card 1 and Card 8GF) had only one character depicted in the picture limiting the potential for narratives using interpersonal dynamics. Nevertheless, given that the TAT primes for OR and that Level 8 responses were found across all cards the significance of a null response should not be underestimated. Eiges (2015) found that higher frequencies of Level 8 responses were related to more adaptive OR scores and lower frequencies of pathological scores, suggesting that the presence of MOA-TAT 8 may represent conscious suppression and/or unconscious repression of more pathological responses. Given once again the non-clinical nature of this sample, the relative high frequency of Level 8 responses provides evidence for the validity of this scale point as some form of defensive response style (whether conscious or unconscious) in a healthy sample.

Clinical Implications

The current study's findings regarding the object relations of the Latina "dutiful daughter" represent important distinct contributions to the literatures on Latina mental health and OR

assessment, respectively, and combined.

As for the psychology of Latinas specifically, the current findings provide empirical evidence for the perpetuation of traditional Latina values, such as putting the family's needs first, in a largely second-generation college educated sample. Furthermore, consistent with past research in this area, marianismo values are often at odds with the more Western individual values and therefore produce a level of conflict for bicultural Latinas. The current study is the first to specifically show that adult daughters' perception of emotional closeness in their relationship with mothers correlates with decreased conflict regarding traditional values. Current findings are also the first to empirically demonstrate a correlation between the perception of connectedness with mother and MOA/OR adaptive scores for the Latina "dutiful daughter". Further, the current findings additionally uncover how the role of connectedness specifically in the mother-adult daughter relationship positively relates to Latinas' capacity for assertion as oppose to self-silencing. These results signaling the psychic significance of mothers substantiate the important research on Latinas and suicide, wherein lack of mutuality with mothers is seen as a risk factor in this population.

Clinically, these findings may provide important information for mental health professionals working with Latinas. Interventions and conceptualizations should be made with this cultural knowledge in mind; and mental health practitioners working with Latinas of any age should be mindful to inquire about her subjective experience of traditional values and of her family relations. On a case-by-case basis, the inclusion of mothers and the potential for dyadic work should be considered in the treatment of Latinas, particularly for those endorsing risk behaviors or where safety is a primary concern.

Regarding OR assessment, the clinical implications of the results are two-fold. One, as the first study to utilize the MOA-TAT in an adult sample, the results provide further evidence in support of the applicability of the MOA-TAT as valid measure of OR beyond a pediatric sample. Second, given the relatively high number of Level 3 responses indicating a high level of themes that evoked interdependence, the results challenge what is considered “unhealthy” or “maladaptive” mutuality of autonomy in a Latino culture; and propose that special consideration should be given to culturally syntonic ways of relating when scoring and interpreting the results of the MOA-TAT. Clinically it is essential that psychologists become unbiased towards viewing a more interdependent relational style as less favorable compared to a primarily autonomous style when assessing self and other dynamics with Latina patients. Similarly working clinically with issues of separation and individuation and the dynamics of transference/countertransference may be enacted in a different tune. Cultural sensitivity and multicultural competence are crucial when working with Latinas and understanding the cultural context variables which may be influential for them. Multicultural competence is an ongoing and challenging process; but in order to work successfully with these cultural variations it is fundamental that clinicians continue to strive to enhance their awareness of their own attitudes, beliefs, and biases when working with diverse client populations. Empirical findings such as those gained from the present study can be helpful to individuals working with Latinas and may aid them in better understanding the cultural issues that can shape the ways in which relationships are experienced and managed.

Limitations of the Study

Limitations regarding the nature of the sample and methodology used in this study need to be considered when evaluating the impact and application of the findings. First, the use of a small sample is always problematic in that it reduces statistical power. Despite a number of significant

correlations found, some of the interpretations were based on statistical trends rather than significant results and a larger sample may have potentially increased the likelihood of those trends reaching the level of statistical significance. Additionally some of the interpretations conveyed a causal relationship yet this was merely speculative given that correlations do not imply causation and are limited in the ability to assert that one variable “predicts” another.

Second, the sample was not random in that it was comprised exclusively of college students who volunteered and received extra credit for a psychology course. This distinctive characteristic of the sample limits the external validity or generalizability of the findings to Latinas pursuing a higher education, which already puts them in a unique category. The fact that the participants volunteered and received course credit to participate in the study usually increases the potential for response bias as there may be underlying similarities in the characteristics of the women who agreed to participate, and/or were interested in the topic of concern in the present study. Similarly, the lack of diversity among the study’s participants in terms of other demographic variables (age, socio-economic status, relationship status, sexual orientation etc.) restricts the range of responses and likely reduces the potential for certain relationships to emerge in the study’s findings. Furthermore, without the use of a clinical comparison group or other methods to control for levels of psychopathology, it is impossible to distinguish the impact of Latina Values or the relationship with mothers versus general psychopathology on OR functioning in an already vulnerable sample.

The study’s methodology also brought about some limitations. As previously stated, the MOA-TAT is in its early stages of development and had only been used once before and with a pediatric sample. Although previous results revealed excellent reliability and significant convergent validity, its psychometric properties have not yet been fully established. Moreover,

there was only one blind rater used in the current study increasing the potential for inaccuracy in the scoring process. Adding a second rater blind to the study hypotheses would increase the reliability of the results. The study did not control for the individual stimulus effects of each TAT card, which were shown to differentially influence OR responses. Future studies should further explore the individual stimulus effects of each TAT card.

Lastly, due to the relative lack of empirical work that includes cultural context variables in the consideration of object relations, the relationships explored in this study were also mainly exploratory in nature, based on theoretical knowledge and clinical experience rather than previous empirical studies including similar variables. Further research is required to more comprehensively understand the important influence that cultural context variables may have in the ways in which mutuality of autonomy and object relations in general are experienced among Latinas.

Conclusions and Future Directions

The present study aimed to explore the continuum of connectedness *vis a vis* object relations in the Latina "dutiful daughter" by investigating the relationships of traditional Latino values, mother-daughter bonds, and degree of mutuality of autonomy in Latina college students. The results provide statistical evidence revealing how the daughters' perception of the degree of emotional connection with their mothers correlates with decreased conflict regarding their sense of family duty as well as more adaptive self and other representations. Contrary to the hypothesis that MOA scores reflecting adaptive OR would be related to a greater degree of conflict with traditional values and therefore more autonomy, value conflict did not significantly correlate with MOA summary scores. Conflict regarding general marianismo values and familism values, instead, was found to decrease as daughters revealed a greater sense of connection and

interdependence with their mothers. Although unexpected this was a significant finding for the psychology of Latinas because it suggests that a closer, interdependent and mutual relationship with a maternal figure may potentially mitigate difficulties (psychic and/or situational) associated with navigating traditional collectivist values in contemporary individualist times. Balancing these oftentimes opposing demands on their acculturating identities is a challenging task that has been linked to depression, anxiety, and even suicide for Latinas. Leading by example, mothers may be in a privileged position to impact how their daughters adapt to their environments. Adding to the culturally syntonetic notion of interdependence as an adaptive relational style was the relatively higher number of MOA Level 3 responses in this “healthy” non-clinical sample. Lastly, the current findings provide further psychometric support for the MOA-TAT scale as a reliable and valid measurement of OR assessment while also adding to its application supplementary interpretational practices based on a cultural knowledge.

Future research may consider further investigation of these relationships in a larger and more demographically diverse sample, which would enhance statistical power and generalizability. The use of a clinical comparison group is also recommended to better control for effects of general psychopathology, which has been linked to OR disturbances. Further studies are also needed to investigate how other important familial relations impact the “dutiful daughter”, such as relationships with fathers, siblings, and other maternal like figures such as a grandparent or an aunt. Studies researching mothers’ perception of their relationship with their “dutiful daughters” would also enrich our knowledge of Latina mental health.

Overall, the present study contributes to the emerging research that asserts that cultural context variables have an important influence on mental health and need to be considered in the treatment of Latinas. Moreover, these results also emphasize how the value of healthy attachment

and the importance of object relations span across cultural differences. Multicultural and theoretical competences therefore are essential in order to effectively support Latinas working towards staying connected to their mothers while striving to be their own person; helping them find a balance between caring for their families and asserting their own personal and interpersonal needs.

APPENDIX I

Mutuality of Autonomy Scale for the Thematic Apperception Test (MOA-TAT)

Coding Manual

Used with permission, the present manual was extended and extrapolated to the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) by Katherine Eiges, Ph.D. in collaboration with Steve Tuber, Ph.D. The descriptions for each of the scale points are based on the original Mutuality of Autonomy scale developed Dr. Jeffery Urist, Ph.D. (1977; Urist & Shill, 1982) that was further elaborated upon by Dr. Steven Tuber (Coates & Tuber, 1988).

Note: The relationships between characters can be explicitly referenced between characters on a card or between a character and an implied object (e.g. “the man shot the woman” and “the woman was shot” would be assigned the same score even though a second character is not explicitly mentioned).

Scale Point 1: Reciprocity-Mutuality; Collaboration-Cooperation

Characters are engaged in some relationship or activity in which they are together and involved with each other in such a way that conveys a reciprocal acknowledgement of their respective individuality. The narrative contains explicit or implicit reference to the fact that the characters are separate, autonomous, and involved with each other in a way that recognizes or expresses a sense of mutuality in the relationship.

Scale point 1 is the most adaptive response and, as such, should be scored conservatively (Coates & Tuber, 1988). The unique contributions of each individual character to the mutual interaction need to be emphasized. These responses reveal healthy relationships and show attainment of separation-individuation, cooperation, or reciprocity, with the suggestion of a high degree of autonomous functioning, mutual relatedness, and awareness of the other.

For example (Card 1): *“This boy looks like he’s tired. I think he’s tired because... it looks like he’s looking at the instrument and he’s tired of playing it and he probably got into a fight with one of his family members because they want him to play but he don’t. [He’s thinking] what should I do? My parents want me to play the instrument and I don’t. What should I do? Should I tell them how I feel or should I just go along and play? He’s feeling confused and upset. Confused that he wants to listen to the parents but he’s upset because he don’t want to play the instrument. [In the future] I think he and his parents are going to work out a different arrangement where he can play another instrument or do whatever else he wants to do.”*

As illustrated in the example above, the affective quality of the interaction does not need to be positively valenced in order to receive a 1. Though there is discord and conflict in the interaction, the child and parent are ascribed separate mental states that are elaborated upon and integrated into an interaction that, in this case, is ultimately collaborative. Such a resolution, however, is not necessarily intrinsic to a Level 1 response. The description of a highly charged verbal battle among equals that remains unresolved could be assigned a 1, despite significant disagreement, competition, or confrontation. It is only when the confrontation involves an imbalanced attack on one character by another that a more pathological score of 5, 6, or 7 is given.

The following is another example (13B): *“This kid is supposed to be inside and all that he wants to do is go and play outside. So he’s sitting inside his house, at the door of his house looking outside. But he’s not allowed to go. So he’s thinking that he’s mad at his dad who’s not letting him go. And what led up to this is that he got in trouble for doing something so he can’t go outside. And what’s going to happen is that he’s gonna run, he’s gonna go outside even though he’s not allowed to and he’s gonna get in even more trouble. So he’s feeling mad. And his dad is like, his dad doesn’t like punishing him but he does, he has to so his dad is upset at the same time.”*

Here, the affective quality of the interaction is not positive; however, father and son are depicted in an elaborate and differentiated way. There is recognition that the other character is a separate being with his/her own experience, and their emotional states bear some influence on the other character’s

psychological state and/or actions.

Scale Point 2: Parallel Activity-Simple Interaction

Characters are engaged together in some relationship or parallel activity, but there is no stated emphasis or highlighting of mutuality. A response is scored 2 when the integrity of the objects is maintained and there is also no indication that this dimension is compromised in any way within the relationship. Despite the lack of direct emphasis on mutuality, the response still conveys potential for mutuality in the relationship. For example (Card 4): *“These are two people in a movie, an actor and an actress, and they’re playing a dramatic scene in a 1950’s movie.”* Here, the characters are portrayed as interacting with one another, but without any emphasis on each character’s autonomy and/or unique contribution to the interaction.

Characters described in parallel activity who are not engaged or aware of one another would not receive a 2. For example (Card 2): *“I see a girl getting ready for school... I see a person, a man who can probably ride the horse. I see a man down there, a man all the way down there and next to him I saw a horse... The girl is probably thinking that she doesn’t want to go to school. Um maybe the person right here, the guy right here, is probably thinking that he wants to ride the horse.”* This description would not receive any score, for there is no recognition of the other characters, and they are not engaged or interacting in any sort of way.

The degree to which the unique contribution of each individual to the mutual interaction is highlighted is what distinguishes a score of 1 from 2. For example, the following response would receive a 2 (Card 1): *“There was a boy. He was playing the violin. He got bored of the violin. The people think he needs a break. The people feel bad for him.”* Here, the respondent describes the peoples’ awareness of the boy and aspects of his psychological state, while the boy is completely unaware of the other characters. There is no stated emphasis on the mutuality or reciprocal acknowledgement between the characters. If the boy were described in a way that conveys some recognition of the other characters (e.g. *“The boy could tell by the looks of their faces that they saw his frustration”*), the response would then receive a 1.

Finally, it is important to note that aggressive content in responses may also be scored a two if there is no power imbalance between the characters. For example, two people simply described as fighting would be scored a 2. Only if one figure has an unequal, controlling, or imbalanced advantage over the other is it then given a higher score.

Scale Point 3: Anaclitic-Dependent

Level 3 responses reveal a clearly dependent relationship in which the maintenance of self is highly related to sustenance from another person, suggesting difficulties in the cohesion of the self and the reliance on an external person for internal stability. Characters are portrayed as dependent on another, or without an internal sense of capacity to sustain themselves. The notion of autonomy is compromised and there is a stated or implicit sense that the characters cannot function independently without external support. For example (Card 18GF): *“Maybe um the lady, no wait, it’s a child holding a lady. Um maybe the lady, probably the child’s mother, is probably sick or dying. Maybe the lady collapsed in the stairs so she’s helping her.”*

Themes of illness and weakness in the context of being helped and/or taken care of by another person are common on the TAT, and often assigned a 3. For example, (Card 12M): *“This person got sick*

and I guess this is the father...trying to help him feel better. What led up to this was a virus. In the future they're going to make sure that if something happens to their son, or he gets a cold or something, to treat him with the right medicine so it doesn't get worse." Stories that incorporate doctors, ambulances, police, or other characters in traditional helping roles, in such a way that is integral to the survival or wellbeing of an otherwise helpless character are also typical of level 3 responses.

The highlighted absence of an external object, without whom the character cannot manage on his or her own or function independently, is also indicative of a level 3 response. For example, on Card 1: *"What's going on now is the boy is thinking about playing the violin. What happened right before this, he was doing his homework and he thought about music class and now he's trying he don't know how to use the violin. He got stuck. He's studying the violin because they are going to have a test. He is feeling that he wants to play the violin SO BAD but he don't have nobody to teach him."* Here, the emphasis on the boy's utter helplessness in the absence of a person he relies upon on highlights his dependency in such a central way that warrants a score of 3.

Scale Point 4: Reflection-Mirroring

The described relationship conveys a sense that the definition or stability of one character necessarily requires the other because it is merely an extension or reflection of the self. Some degree of fusion or lack of self-other differentiation between characters is central here. Characters are described as mirror-objects or are ascribed the exact same thoughts, feelings, and behaviors. For example, (Card 4): *"This looks like a portrait of a husband and wife...they are having a good time. They're thinking I'm happy I'm here with you and I love you and stuff like that. Next I think they're about to go outside so they might go out and have some dinner."* Here, the individual experiences of the characters are merged in such a way that diminishes their respective sense of individuality.

While Scale Point 3 implies that autonomy is precariously bound to the availability of another person, the two characters are still regarded as separate beings with their own individual psychological states. Scale Point 4, on the other hand, fails to differentiate each character's experience from the other. For example (Card 2): *"These people sort of look shocked. So um, I think what happened before was this wasn't here and they just came there because -- I see this guy -- he's like looking, and like um, he looks shocked. They might be feeling shocked. Like surprised."* Here, characters lack any individual autonomy, and are depicted in such a way that their experiences merge into one undifferentiated affective response.

Scale Point 5: Control-Coercion

The nature of the relationship between characters is characterized by a theme of malevolent control of one character by another. Level 5 describes intent, threat, or minor damage, and is assigned to responses depicting manipulation or coercion, one-sided fighting, or hurtful influence. Such themes portray a striking imbalance in the mutuality of relations between characters. One or more of the characters may be seen as helpless, while at the same time others are omnipotent and controlling. For example (Card 12M): *He is hypnotizing him. He is like when you hear someone snap their fingers, you will go on a rampage and say I like cheese. He went into his room while he was sleeping and probably hypnotized him. Like every time someone snaps their fingers or something he is going to be like, I like cheese!! He is feeling evil and he is feeling happy because he gets to eat cheese a lot, and he is thinking cheese, cheese, cheese.* In this example, coercion, manipulation, and control are expressed through the relationship of the hypnotizer being

fully in control of his subject. This clear imbalance of power warrants a score of 5.

Level 5 is also scored when there is equal but malevolent threat or intent, such as two characters trying to kill each other, because this reflects the effort of one or both to dominate and destroy one another. Responses such as, *people fighting*, are usually scored as scale point 2 responses because there is no distinct reference to a loss of intactness of either character. However, “*two people are fighting and bleeding from their forceful blows to one another*,” would qualify as a scale point 5 because there is clear and distinct indication that either one or both of the characters have sustained some damage or violation of intactness, although not severe.

Another way for a story to qualify for a score of “5” is when a character is described as taking something from or doing something to another character without overtly damaging the controlled or used character. Similarly, aggression can occur without explicit description of the destruction to the victim. For example (Card 3BM): *She’s in the bathroom putting her face in the toilet – toilet seat. Before she was getting picked on by kids. She’s feeling sad. She’s thinking she’s gonna hit the kids back and pick on them too.* Here there is a clear imbalance in power in the interaction, as reflected by themes of control and domination without the “victim’s” body integrity being *severely* damaged.

Themes of loss and abandonment are commonly expressed on the TAT, and often reflect some level of relational imbalance and distress. Depictions of characters who are in a conventional caregiving role (e.g. parent, significant other) and abandon their responsibility to care for a dependent in such a way that threatens the dependent’s safety and well-being warrants a score of 5. Threats to leave or abandon the dependent, or emotional neglect of the dependent during intense distress are also worthy of a 5. For example (Card 13): “*The boy is mad. He’s sitting in a farm – he lives in a farm. Before his mom kicked him out of her house. He’s thinking about going to the foster home and feeling mad.*” Here, the mother’s clear violation of her responsibility to care for her son leaves him in an abandoned state, thereby imposing significant threat to his general wellbeing and safety.

6: Severe Imbalance-Destruction (threat carried out and destruction)

The characters are described as engaging in activity that is clearly destructive or parasitic, and that compromises the autonomy or integrity of the victim. Not only is there a severe imbalance in the mutuality of relations between characters, but the imbalance is cast in *decidedly destructive* terms (Coates & Tuber, 1988). Two characters simply fighting is not ‘destructive’ in terms of the individuality of the characters, whereas one character being tortured or strangled by another is considered to reflect a serious attack on the autonomy of the victim. Of note, characters depicted as dying of a natural death, decaying, or aging would not receive a score because there is no malevolent other.

Malevolent one-sided aggression and domination is the major difference between responses receiving a scale point of 5 versus 6. Not only is there a severe imbalance in the mutuality of relations between characters in a “6” response; the imbalance involves a distinct perpetrator that caused damage or death. This contrasts a level 7 responses, for which annihilation results from an undefined, overwhelming force.

A malevolent character can be implied if only one damaged or destroyed character is depicted on the card. If someone is described as having been shot, it can be assumed that he or she was shot by a malevolent other. For example (Card 3BM): “*I see a lady crying on a bench. I see keys on the floor. Wait that key looks*

like, never mind, that key looks like a weapon. Yeah that's a weapon. Maybe she got hurt or shot... probably inside a building. Maybe she's feeling hurt and probably furious cause it might hurt. Maybe she's wondering why her. It looks like a church because it looks like a church bench. Next maybe she'll try to get up but probably fall." Even though this response does not explicitly reference a shooter, the woman was shot and harmed by a powerful and destructive character, which warrants a 6.

Depictions of relationships in which flagrant themes of abandonment, abuse, or severe neglect occur within the context of a caregiving relationship, leaving the dependent character in an extremely helpless, defenseless, and/or precarious state are assigned a score of 6. For example (13B): *That kid is alone by himself. He thinks that he's a lonely kid and he's very, very small compared to the door... And then I think he's feeling kind of sad that he's small, and he has no shoes, and he doesn't have enough money to afford them. I think, before he probably, his family probably was not home and he was the only one. When he left for a few minutes, probably someone took stuff from his house. And now, his family got mad at him when they came back, and they told him to sit outside in the sizzling, burning hot sun. And then, and then next, the family might punish him for two years for letting him do that.* Here, the severe neglect and abuse depicted towards this utterly helpless child deserves a score of 6.

7: Envelopment-Incorporation

Level 7 is assigned to pathological responses in which a character is or has been contaminated, dominated, overwhelmed, or destroyed by catastrophically malevolent, engulfing, or inhuman forces. Characters are seen as swallowed up, devoured, or generally overwhelmed by *"forces completely beyond their control"* (Urist, 1977). Explosions, fires, bombs, hurricanes, destructive forces of nature, alien invasions, warfare, etc. may be referenced, and characters are usually seen as destroyed, dead, mangled, evaporated or burned as a result. For example (Card 7BM): *"This guy, he doesn't have any clothes on and he's tied up by a rope. He's hanging by a rope and there's all kinds of stuff in that hole that's gonna try and eat him up and he let go. He's dead and all the animals down -there eat him and snakes go up the rope and that man they ate all of him. He got ate up, all or him and he don't got no socks on and no shirt on and no pants and all the animals ate him up all in pieces and stuff and that man was dead forever!"* Here, the level of parasitic envelopment and evisceration described is a perfect example of a Level 7 response.

Appendix II

TAT EXAMPLES:

ID:1

7GF) I think here the little girl is trying to hold on to her childhood while her mother is trying to convince her to grow up. Cause it looks like older times so you had to start working pretty early. Um, I think that yeah before she was giving her a talk as to why she has to grow up so the family can have money. I think what is going to happen after is that the girl is going to hide her toys but still play with them. The girl is feeling angry because she doesn't want to let go of her childhood because it is fun and she is thinking of all the fun she had playing with the toys. (2)

8GF) I think what is happening here is that the woman is resting after a long day at work. What happened before is that she worked in a factory supporting her many children. And what is happening after is that she going to have to continue on with her day even though she is tired to take care of her children at home cause she is a single mom. Um, she feels really tired but also feels proud of herself that she can maintain her children and raise them well. She is thinking that she can get her good days if she takes it step by step. She is doing her best. (3)

18GF) This woman just lost her mother. She, um yeah, she just lost her mother. What happened before is that she was walking with her mother up the stairs and the mother just collapsed. And what happened after is that she is going to call the ambulance and attempt to save her even though deep down she know her mother is gone. She is thinking that she does not know what she is going to do with her life without her mom cause she is such a big impact on her and she is feeling really sad and worrisome about what is going to happen next. (3)

ID:5

18GF) I see a mother and daughter and I see how distressed the mother is because of the mistake of what the daughter committed; but at the same time she is comforting her ,telling her that it will be ok about what happened. (What happened?) She is pregnant I guess. She got pregnant and they don't know what to do. The daughter is probably thinking about how her life is probably over and how she disappointed her mother. (What will happen?) They will talk through it and work through it and look at viable options about what they can do. But before that she was probably really distressed and crying about how disappointed and mad and how she was going to disappoint her mother. But the mother, as angry as she is, she has unconditional love for her daughter and they are going to work through it and a mother never leaves a daughter alone so they are going to work through it to the best of their abilities. (1)

ID:7

7GF) Is it a young mother or is it a baby sister? I guess my first reaction was that it is probably a young mother. And she is teaching her how to...this is so weird (*she starts tearing up*. Me: "Is this card upsetting you?" P: "*I guess...I guess because there are these values that we should be...we are expected to have kids young. And my mom has even asked me or said that she is ready for a grandchild but I'm not ready.*" Me: "*This picture hits close to home.*" P: "*Cause there is a value in being a mother, being a mom, a caretaker.*") Um, so she is teaching her how to be a mother. Um. What happened before? Was there pressure to be a mom? Was there um a desire to be a mother? She looks like 13 in the photo but I imagine that she is in her early 20s or 18. But it doesn't look like she wants to be a mom. What happens after?...There is no dad on the photo, so , I mean I don't know if... like who is to say if the dad is in their lives or not. (what do you think is going to happen?) I guess I would say like a miracle and that he is. (What are the characters thinking and feeling in this picture?) Um, She is uninterested, she does not want to be or feel ready to be a mom. Um, and then her mother... What is the baby thinking? I don't know, the baby looks helpless. And then the mom is, I mean seems passionate about it. She wants to... I mean the mother could take care of the baby herself, but she wants to teach her daughter how to take care of her. (2)

18GF) That granny is old – the woman in her arms. But she seems like she is trying to save her, she is trying to...yeah she looks like a granny in her arms. I guess that figuratively she doesn't want to let her go. (tearing up) What's coming up is the more, like the older I've gotten...my grandmother is sick so I'm seeing like this relationship between my mother and my grandmother and I've really paid attention to it. And it's true...she wants to preserve her and is so soft with her but yeah she doesn't want to let her go and I have a lot of aunts and uncles that probably feel the same way. What's going to happen is that she has to let her go, right? But I think that if she does let her go there is still a strong spiritual value, connection, feeling, which is maybe stronger. And then the daughter, I guess, keeps living...her life. And how they got there, well, the grandma is tired and... I don't know. She is tired and needs to be held. She took care of her daughter, her kids, and she is tired. (3)

ID:8

12F) This is probably a grandma advising her granddaughter. (On what?) On not working and being a good stay at home mom. She is telling her you know to follow your dreams is such an American way of thinking, You need to get married, and clean and cook and raise some good children and go to Church on Sundays. And she is tired of hearing it. She didn't see anything good about witnessing that kind of lifestyle growing up; she saw it as being weak and needy and so she still decides to pursue her dreams while her grandma goes back to church to pray for her and her sanity. (2)

ID10:

**12F) Um, for this one it seems as though maybe her daughter um is thinking about something or looking at something that her mom or her grandma is in a way by her side or telling her certain advise or discouraging her. (from what?) Maybe like making a life decision. Like of marriage of a certain guy or if grandmother likes the certain guy the daughter or granddaughter doesn't. Um or children or just a career path. So that the grandmother seems to be pushing her. For after this I think maybe the granddaughter or daughter will continue to keep her grandmother's perception or opinions in mind even if the grandmother isn't physically there. For thinking, I think the grandmother is thinking she has her daughter or granddaughter's best interest at heart. And the daughter or granddaughter is thinking that she seems torn with what to do while still trying to keep her grandmother's options in mind I guess. (does she end up making those choices?) Yeah I think she will give in to her grandmother's ideas just to keep her grandmother happy. (3)

ID:11

8GF) I think she is tired. She thinks she does everything at home. Before that she had just finished cleaning and organizing and she is thinking of her dreams - the dreams she had before she became a wife and a mom. (like what dreams?) She wanted to become a writer. And she also wanted to be a painter and have her own gallery. (what happened?) Se thinks that in order to be a good woman...like she is defining a good woman as in staying at home and looking after her kids, she doesn't think a good woman is also a woman who follows her dreams. So once she got pregnant she left it and forgot about it. She is feeling Idk I guess melancholic and I think that she fees like now that her kids are older it is not fair. While her husband was able to follow his dreams, she was not able to follow hers. Um she is going to cry but she is going to feel like she is a bad mom and bad wife for thinking like that and she is going to try to get over it and act like it didn't happen. (long pause) But I think that a few years after that maybe she is going to leave everything and at least become a writer. (3)

12F) This one is the granddaughter and the grandma. She is asking the grandmother for advice. Um. But her grandma is also like an image of what she doesn't want to become like she thinks that it is one of the options that she has, like she can be like her grandma or she can be like herself and she is different or at least she want to be different. (how?) She wants to be lawyer; she doesn't want to be at home. She wants to be able to have something that she can call her own but not kids she wants something else. Her grandma is like her future self if she doesn't change now; but also the grandma is advising her that maybe what she is doing is wrong, but she has something else in mind. She is going to go...her grandma is advising her that maybe being a lawyer is not for her it is not for a woman but she thinks that it is stupid and so she is going to go with her friends to law school. What happened before is that her mom told her that they didn't have money to send her to law school; and what is going to happen after is that she is going to move to a bigger city and get a

job and pay for it herself. (2)

2) This one also wants to go to school- cause I keep thinking of the time of the pictures- this one also wants to go to school. She also likes somebody but it is somebody that her family would not really like because he is of a different social class or something like that. So she is mad that she cannot have one or the other so she succumbs herself into books. Um. Before that she was talking to the guy that she likes but then he was called to do some job. Um she's thinking of how her life could be if she could go to school and also be with him. She is feeling disappointed at her life right now because it is not the way she would like it to be. And what's going to happen is um oh idk she is going to marry somebody that her parents chose for her. (why?) She doesn't have a choice. At the end she knows that the guy that she is going to marry is more responsible and has more money than her family does and her dad is sick so she wants to help her dad economically so he doesn't have to worry.

ID: 18

9GF) Umm ok that's the mom and the daughter. Where are they? Ok so last night they were at home talking about how life is always the same, how they do everything the same all the time. So they are tired about the routine. In the morning they were planning to do something else. So they go to the forest or something like that, to the park. And they are going to have a picnic. Just them two: mom and daughter. Girls time. So they are going to the picnic to talk about their lives, to talk about what the girl is going to do in the future, to talk about if the girl has a boyfriend or something cause the mom wants to know. And when they are talking the mom is telling her to be careful and um to be careful with the boys, "your school is first blah blab blah.." The girl gets upset and she is trying to run away from the mom because she was trying to have a nice conversation and it is not happening because the girl thinks that mom is trying to control herself but she is really not, she is trying to advise her. The girl is trying to run away and she (mom) is telling her to wait, that she didn't mean it in a bad way, she was trying to advise, that's it. Umm they couldn't eat cause she left so she has in her hand a piece of bread with a book on the bottom. And what's going to happen next is that they are going to get home and the daughter is going to – they haven't eaten – so they are going to have dinner and the girl is going to calm down and they are going to continue their conversation. Um she, they, are both going to be ok. (1)

ID:22

12) Oh that's so creepy. Maybe a man who is very attached to his mother, his mother is the one who makes all the decisions. And whatever his mother says he'll do – she'll dictate who he dates, what he does in the future, where he goes, if he will go to school, if he'll work. She'll dictate every part of his life and he'll let her because that is his attachment to her, she was everything to him. So he will sacrifice his needs for what she wants. I don't think he is necessarily upset about it, I just don't think he realizes what he is doing and maybe he never will. But currently he is not necessarily unhappy he might just be content with the situation at hand right now, but maybe she

will do something that will make him realize that he shouldn't listen to everything she says, my mother isn't always right. And she thinks she knows what is best for him not matter what because she gave birth to him and she has the right to dictate his life. Afterwards this will probably continue for a while until something happens that triggers him that she is not always right. (3)

18GF) Maybe a woman caring for her mother, her mother who is older and basically senile, and maybe she is close to death and she is realizing all the mistakes that she ever made and everything she should have done that she didn't to build that relationship and to make it stronger, between a mother and a daughter. She regrets a lot of things, everything she did to make her mother unhappy and everything she didn't do. (like what?) Maybe spend more time with her, visit her often, or something simple like watch a movie with her cause all the mother really wanted was more time with her children – for them to really care about her. And the daughter she could have proved to the mom that she really cared for her. (after?) I think the mother will pass a way and for a while the daughter will hold regret but eventually she will be able to move on but some part will always see that she missed out on something. (2) (I think 3)

ID:25

2) This girl is going to school or to go study somewhere. These are probably family members of hers. The man is doing the more rough work, usually farmers or hunters work without their shirts, he is with the horses so he is likely doing more physical work and labor inductive. And this woman is maybe pregnant and she is pretty much just overseeing what's going on since she cant do anything else cause she is pregnant. It looks like a farm. And this female is like I said going to school and turning her back o tis lifestyle of farming and agriculture and going towards are more academic route. and she's saddened by having to do this but she is still walking away. That also could have affected her family maybe her mother in going to say, her arms are crossed she is probably upset [the mother] at the fact that she deiced to go to school and not stay here, the mother is looking away from her and is disappointed. She is going towards a different lifestyle that the mother would have wanted. It looks like everyone is turning away form her, even the male figure as well. (2)

ID:26**

12) This goes more into the Hispanic culture - what I see. A young lady and a grandmother, the mother-daughter ties. Not matter what, the grandmother, or mother, will be there to support the child; and I see the grandmother in the back so it's more of a support system, in that "if you fall back I'll catch you". After, the bond will just continue throughout generations and learning to understand that, the ties of family. (1)

2) Looks like a young lady who is inspired to do more than work on a farm. Probably has a mother who doesn't need an education and she can just work because that's what a woman is support to

do, to take care of chores. She looks sad – the girl- she looks like she can feel that she can do more than what she does now and is inspired to be greater. And it looks like that is her mother who is satisfied with the life she lives and is ok with being a housewife and not educating herself. Eventually the daughter will go her separate way, become something great and show mom that there is more than just being a housewife. (how will mom respond?) in the beginning she doesn't understand her daughter's commitment or where she is coming from, she will be aggravated and will try to keep her daughter from going; but the daughter eventually goes and when she sees how successful her daughter is she will change her point of view and inspire more greatness, mom will inspire her to do greater. (1)

ID:27

12) Hm. I feel like this person in the background can act like the mom kind of always behind the daughter and telling them what's wrong and what's right. But it's kind of like a voice. She doesn't have to physically be there. maybe you are going to do something and you know that your mom may or might not approve. It's just lurking in the background. (before?) maybe this girl is thinking of doing something and she is thinking: what would her mom think? (what would she think?) the expression on this lady's face she is kind of like laughing or something maybe she thinks that her mom might think its foolish whatever she is going to do... she will probably do it anyway. Her face is...she looks determined. (2)

ID:30 **DD

8GF) This young woman she is 25. She lives with her mom and her mom is a single parent. And she is the oldest out of three. She has two younger siblings: a 17y/o sister and a 13 y/o sister. So she feels responsible to stay with her mother and help her mother raise her 2 younger siblings. And then one day she is cleaning the house and decides to sit down and kind of like um ask herself like how would her life be if she wasn't so selfless and maybe if she would think more of herself than of her mom and her sisters. So she is kind of looking out the window to see when is the love of her life going to come around and sweep her off her feet. (next?) Sooner or later she does end up meeting a man and decides to leave her mom and her sisters and she starts her own life. She starts her own family. (thoughts and feelings?) She is very selfless and she um she takes on a lot of responsibility. (2) (I think 3)

18GF) Looks like she is choking her? Um idk like I don't want to come with so many sad stories but... (yeah the cards are pretty intense). So this woman went (interrupted by phone). A mother and her daughter um they are both in the house one day and um they are both single and both live with each other. And um they both have similar personalities like they both are very dominant and they both work a lot. And um so this woman near the staircase is mom and that's the daughter. And um her daughter is now in her face yelling at her. Saying like "why aren't you in my life when I needed you?" why did you focus so much on work and not being there for me and everyone else?" And now she is blaming her because she is realizing that she is doing the same

with her kids that she has also become like a workaholic that what she needed from her mostly was her love and affection and she never got that. (after?) Mother realizes that she did make mistakes and that um even though that he daughter holds this anger towards her that she still loves her daughter and will be there for her no matter what. (4,1)

2) So this young girl she grew up in a very quiet town and she um where she comes from usually women don't go to school they just marry and decide to start a family. But she decided to not accept the norm and do her own thing. So she tells her fiancé that she wants to um kind of break the tradition and go off and her pursue her career even if that means waiting to start a family and because she decided to do so he turns her back on her and her mom as well. And um five years later um she comes back home and then... well she is very successful woman and completed school and has a mobile job and then her mom needs her help because they are going through an economic crisis and her mom apologizes to her daughter saying that "I should have supported you instead of giving you my back". Her daughter understand and helps out her family. (2) (other score?)

Appendix III

Demographics Form

Please complete the following questions by checking the box by your answer. ALL YOUR RESPONSES WILL BE ANONYMOUS. If you feel any discomfort while completing this, you have the right not to answer the questions on this form, and you can discontinue this questionnaire at any time by closing this website's window. Thank you!

1. Age: _____

2. Relationship status: (Please circle one)

Married

Cohabiting

Divorced

Widow

Single

3. Sexual Orientation (Please circle one):

Heterosexual

Lesbian

Transgender

Questioning

4. Do you have any children? (Please circle one) Yes No

If yes, how many children do you have? _____

5. How would you describe your ancestry?

_____ Mexican

_____ Puerto Rican

_____ Cuban

_____ Caribbean (Specify _____)

_____ Central American (Specify _____)

_____ South American (Specify _____)

Other: (please describe) _____

6. Were you born in the United States? (Please circle one) Yes No

If you were not born in the U.S., where were you born? _____

How long have you been in the U.S.? _____

7. Put a mark next to the generation description below that describes you the best.

___ 1st generation: You were born in another country.

___ 2nd generation: You were born in USA; either parent born in another country.

___ 3rd generation: You were born in USA, both parents born in USA and all grandparents born in another country.

___ 4th generation: You and your parents born in USA and at least one grandparent born in another country with remainder born in the USA.

___ 5th generation: You and your parents born in the USA and all grandparents born in the USA.

9. What languages do you speak? (Please circle all that apply)

English

Spanish

Other(s): _____

13. How many years of formal education have you completed? _____

Did you graduate and/or receive a diploma? Yes No

If yes, please specify which level(s) of education you have achieved.

___ Completed middle school

___ High school graduate or GED

___ AA degree, Technical or other certificate program

___ Bachelor's Degree

___ Master's Degree

___ Advanced Degree (PhD., MD, JD)

14. Religious Identification (Please indicate one):

Catholic

Protestant

Other: _____

16. What is your household income (before taxes)? (Please indicate one)

- (1) \$0 - \$15,000
- (2) \$16,000 – \$25,000
- (3) \$26,000 - \$40,000
- (4) \$41,000 - \$55,000
- (5) \$56,000 - \$75,000
- (6) \$76,000 - \$80,000
- (7) \$91,000 - \$105,000
- (8) \$106,000 – higher

17. Have you ever had an extended separation from your mother?

Yes

No

17b. If yes, how long did the separation last? _____

18. Have you ever engaged in any of these tasks or activities to help or support your family or because it was expected of you? (Please circle all that apply)

Translating documents

Being the language interpreter for a member of the family

Taking care/babysitting siblings

Contributing financially to the household

Being your mother's confidant

Living close to home

Spending most of your free time with your family

Appendix IV

Latina Value Scale-Revised (Rivera-Marano, 2000)

Please circle the number the best describes how you feel. Please note, that each sentence has two parts.

1) Strongly disagree 2) Somewhat disagree 3) Do not agree or disagree
4) Somewhat Agree 5) Strongly Agree

1) I find myself doing things for others I prefer not to do.

1 2 3 4 5

1b) Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1 2 3 4 5

2) I feel guilty when I ask others to do things for me.

1 2 3 4 5

2b) Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1 2 3 4 5

3) I feel proud when others praise me for the sacrifices I have made.

1 2 3 4 5

3b) Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1 2 3 4 5

4) I often take on responsibilities having to do with my family.

1 2 3 4 5

4b) Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1 2 3 4 5

5) I often find myself doing things that will make my family happy even when I knew it's not what I want to do.

1 2 3 4 5

1) Strongly disagree 2) Somewhat disagree 3) Do not agree or disagree 4) Somewhat Agree 5) Strongly Agree

5b) *Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?*

1 2 3 4 5

6) I have difficulty expressing my anger.

1 2 3 4 5

6b) *Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?*

1 2 3 4 5

7) I often take on responsibilities with my family, that I'd rather not take, because it makes me feel like a better person.

1 2 3 4 5

7b) *Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?*

1 2 3 4 5

8) I often feel inferior in comparison to men.

1 2 3 4 5

8b) *Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?*

1 2 3 4 5

9) I consider my family a great source of support.

1 2 3 4 5

9b) *Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?*

1 2 3 4 5

10) I find it difficult to say "no" to people even when it is clear that "no" is what I should be saying.

1 2 3 4 5

*1) Strongly disagree 2) Somewhat disagree 3) Do not agree or disagree
4) Somewhat Agree 5) Strongly Agree*

10b) Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1 2 3 4 5

11) Family is very important to me.

1 2 3 4 5

11b) Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1 2 3 4 5

12) I feel guilty when I go against my parent's wishes.

1 2 3 4 5

12b) Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1 2 3 4 5

13) I have difficulty asserting myself to figures of authority.

1 2 3 4 5

13b) Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1 2 3 4 5

14) I often put myself down in relation to figures of authority.

1 2 3 4 5

14b) Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1 2 3 4 5

15) I try to make others happy at all costs.

1 2 3 4 5

15b) Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1 2 3 4 5

*1) Strongly disagree 2) Somewhat disagree 3) Do not agree or disagree
4) Somewhat Agree 5) Strongly Agree*

16) I try to make my family happy at all costs.

1 2 3 4 5

16b) Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1 2 3 4 5

17) I believe sacrificing yourself for others makes you a better person.

1 2 3 4 5

17b) Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1 2 3 4 5

18) I find myself putting others' needs in front of my own.

1 2 3 4 5

18b) Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1 2 3 4 5

19) Being seen as a "good" person by others is very important to me.

1 2 3 4 5

19b) Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1 2 3 4 5

20) I find myself putting my family's needs in front of my own.

1 2 3 4 5

20b) Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1 2 3 4 5

21) I find myself believing that any criticism or conflict is caused by own faults.

1 2 3 4 5

*1) Strongly disagree 2) Somewhat disagree 3) Do not agree or disagree
4) Somewhat Agree 5) Strongly Agree*

21b) Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1 2 3 4 5

22) I believe that sacrificing for others will eventually be rewarded.

1 2 3 4 5

22b) Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1 2 3 4 5

23) Making my partner happy makes me feel good about myself.

1 2 3 4 5

23b) Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1 2 3 4 5

24) I feel like a terrible person when I know someone is upset or disappointed with me.

1 2 3 4 5

24b) Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1 2 3 4 5

25) I find myself accepting maltreatment from a partner (i.e., cheating, physical abuse, emotional abuse, etc).

1 2 3 4 5

25b) Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1 2 3 4 5

26) I can express my needs to my partner.

1 2 3 4 5

26b) Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1 2 3 4 5

*1) Strongly disagree 2) Somewhat disagree 3) Do not agree or disagree
4) Somewhat Agree 5) Strongly Agree*

27) I have allowed partners to take sexual liberties with me even when I did not want to.

1 2 3 4 5

27b) Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1 2 3 4 5

Appendix V

Mother and Adult Daughter Questionnaire (MAD)

Note: (c) = Connectedness; (t) = Trust in Hierarchy; (i) = Interdependence; * = reverse scored.

To begin with, I would like to ask you some questions about the relationship you have with your mother right now. Please answer all questions and choose the answer that applies best to you. Keep in mind your CURRENT relationship with your mother.

For questions 1 through 5, circle the best answer.

1. I have lived with my mother:
 - a. More than 25 years
 - b. Up to 25 years
 - c. Less than 15 years

2. To visit my mother, I have to travel:
 - a. 3 miles or less
 - b. 30 miles or less but more than 3 miles
 - c. 200 miles or less but more than 30 miles
 - d. 800 miles or less but more than 200 miles
 - e. 3,000 miles or less but more than 800 miles
 - f. More than 3,000 miles

3. I see my mother:
 - a. Almost every day
 - b. About once a week
 - c. About once a month
 - d. About once every few months
 - e. Once or twice a year
 - f. Less than once a year
 - g. Never

4. I communicate (call, write/receive letters) with my mother at least:
 - a. Daily
 - b. Weekly
 - c. Monthly
 - d. Less than monthly
 - e. Never

5. If cost were not an issue, I would communicate (call/write) with my mother:
 - a. About the same
 - b. A little more
 - c. Much more

For questions 6 through 22, refer to the scale below and choose the answer that describes you best.

- 1 = Very false
- 2 = Somewhat false
- 3 = Maybe
- 4 = Somewhat true
- 5 = Very true

6. I can share my intimate secrets with my mother. _____ (c)
7. My mother can share her intimate secrets with me. _____ (c)
8. I can share my personal feelings with my mother. _____ (c)
9. My mother can share her personal feelings with me. _____ (c)
10. I can share my opinions and values with my mother. _____ (c)
11. My mother can share her opinions and values with me. _____ (c)
12. If my mother ever needs anything, I help in whatever way I can even if it means making huge sacrifices. _____ (c)
13. If I ever need any kind of help, I do not hesitate to ask my mother for advice. _____ (i)
14. I often depend on my mother for advice. _____ (i)
15. My mother will always love me regardless of what I do. _____ (c)
16. My mother always knows best. _____ (t)
17. My mother always knows what is good for me. _____ (t)
18. I do what my mother suggests because it takes away the hassle of having to figure it out for myself. ____ (t)
19. I always trust my mother's judgment. _____ (t)
20. I feel I can use my mother's wisdom as a resource when making decisions. _____ (t)
21. Sometimes I will give in to my mother out of my respect for her. _____ (t)
22. I feel the need to consult my mother when making a hard decision. _____ (i)

For questions 23 through 25, choose the answer that describes you best, and circle your response.

23. I consider my mother and I to be: (c) *
 - a. Very close
 - b. Close
 - c. Somewhat close
 - d. Not very close
 - e. Not close at all
24. Compared to other ordinary families of my culture that I have known, my relationship with my mother is:
 - a. More close than others
 - b. About the same as others

c. Less close than others

25. My overall relationship with my mother is:

- a. Very satisfying
- b. Satisfying
- c. Neither satisfying nor dissatisfying
- d. Dissatisfying
- e. Very dissatisfying

Scoring Key

1. Connectedness Subscale
Items 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, and 23
Reverse score item 23.
Add all scores to obtain total.
2. Interdependence Subscale
Items 13, 14, and 22
Add all scores to obtain total.
3. Trust in Hierarchy Subscale
Items 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, and 21
Add all scores to obtain total.

Source: Rastogi, 1995.

Note: Items 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 24, and 25 provide helpful information. They are not part of the three subscales.

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