

# Adult Attachment Interview (AAI)

## (George, Kaplan, and Main 1996)

### The AAI Questions

1. To begin with, could you just help me to get a little bit oriented to your family—for example, who was in your immediate family, and where you lived?
2. Now I'd like you to try to describe your relationship with your parents as a young child, starting as far back as you can remember.
- 3–4. Could you give me five adjectives or phrases to describe your relationship with your mother/ father during childhood? I'll write them down, and when we have all five I'll ask you to tell me what memories or experiences led you to choose each one.
5. To which parent did you feel closer, and why?
6. When you were upset as a child, what did you do, and what would happen? Could you give me some specific incidents when you were upset emotionally? Physically hurt? Ill?
7. Could you describe your first separation from your parents?
8. Did you ever feel rejected as a child? What did you do, and do you think your parents realised they were rejecting you?
9. Were your parents ever threatening toward you—for discipline, or jokingly?
10. How do you think your overall early experiences have affected your adult personality? Are there any aspects you consider a setback to your development?
11. Why do you think your parents behaved as they did during your childhood?
12. Were there other adults who were close to you—like parents—as a child?
13. Did you experience the loss of a parent or other close loved one as a child, or in adulthood?

14. Other than any difficult experiences you've already described, have you had any other experiences which you should regard as potentially traumatic?
15. Were there many changes in your relationship with your parents between childhood and adulthood?
16. What is your relationship with your parents like for you currently?
17. How do you respond now, in terms of feelings, when you separate from your child / children?
18. If you had three wishes for your child twenty years from now, what would they be? I'm thinking partly of the kind of future you would like to see for your child I'll give you a minute or two to think about this one.
19. Is there any particular thing which you feel you learned, above all, from the kind of childhood you had?
20. What would you hope your child (or, your imagined child) might have learned from his/her experiences of being parented by you?

## **“State-of-Mind” Scales Used in the AAI**

### **The secure-autonomous adult attachment category**

**Coherence of transcript.** For the highest rating, the speaker/client exhibits a “steady and developing flow of ideas regarding attachment.” The person may be reflective and slow to speak, with some pauses and hesitations, or speak quickly with a rapid flow of ideas; overall, however, the speaker seems at ease with the topic, and his or her thinking has a quality of freshness. Although verbatim transcripts never look like written narratives, there are few significant violations of Grice’s maxims of quantity, quality, relation, and manner. The reader has the impression that on the whole this text provides a “singular” as opposed to a “multiple” model of the speaker’s experiences and their effects (see Main, 1991).

**Metacognitive monitoring.** For the highest rating, evidence of active monitoring of thinking and recall is evident in several places within the interview. Thus the speaker may comment on logical or factual contradictions in the account of his or her history, possible erroneous biases, and/or the fallibility of personal memory. Underlying metacognitive monitoring (Forguson & Gopnik, 1988) is active recognition of an appearance– reality distinction (the speaker acknowledges that experiences may not have been as they are being presented); representational diversity (e.g., a sibling may not share the same view of the parents); and representational change (e.g., the speaker remarks that what is said today might not have been said yesterday). This scale is included here because it does identify one of the principal aspects of speech found in secure-autonomous speakers; however, the scale needs further work at present, since criteria for high scores are overly stringent, leading to insufficient range.

## **The dismissing adult attachment category**

**Idealisation of the speaker's primary attachment figure(s).** This scale assesses the discrepancy between the overall view of the parent taken from the subject's speech at the abstract or semantic level, and the reader's inferences regarding the probable behaviour of the parent. Since the reader has no knowledge of the speaker's actual history, any discrepancies come from within the transcript itself. For the highest rating, there is an extreme lack of unity between the reader's estimate of the speaker's probable experience with the primary attachment figure(s) and the speaker's positive to highly positive generalised or "semantic" description. Despite inferred experiences of, for example, extreme rejection or even abuse, the portrait of the parent is consistently positive, and gratuitous praise of the parents may be offered (e.g., references to "wonderful" or "excellent" parents).

**Insistence on lack of memory for childhood.** This scale assesses the speaker's insistence upon the inability to recall his or her childhood, especially as this insistence is used to block further queries or discourse. The scale focuses upon the subject's direct references to lack of memory ("I don't remember"). High ratings are given to speakers whose first response to numerous interview queries is "I don't remember," especially when this reply is repeated or remains firmly unelaborated. Low scores are assigned when speakers begin a response with a reference to lack of memory, but then actively and successfully appear to recapture access to the experience they have been asked to describe.

**Active, derogating dismissal of attachment-related experiences and/or relationships.** This scale deals with the cool, contemptuous dismissal of attachment relationships or experiences and their import, giving the impression that attention to attachment-related experiences (e.g., a friend's loss of a parent) or relationships (those with close family members) is foolish, laughable, or not worth the time. High ratings are assigned when a speaker makes no effort to soften or disguise his or her dislike of the individual or of the topic, so that—in keeping with the apparent intent of casting the individual (or topic) aside (“My mother? A nobody. No relationship. Next question?”)—the sentences used are often brief, and the topic is quickly dropped. However, only low scores are given for “gallows” humour: “Oh hell, I didn’t mind another separation, I guess that one was #13.” (Note: Speakers receiving high scores on this scale are assigned to a relatively rare adult attachment subcategory, Ds2, in which attachment figures are derogated rather than idealised.)

## **The preoccupied adult attachment category**

**Involved/involving anger expressed toward the primary attachment figure(s).** Accurate ratings on this scale depend upon close attention to the form of the discourse in which anger towards a particular attachment figure is implied or expressed. Direct descriptions of angry episodes involving past behaviour (“I got so angry I picked up the soup bowl and threw it at her”) or direct descriptions of current feelings of anger (“I’ll try to discuss my current relationship with my mother, but I should let you know I’m really angry at her right now”) do not receive a rating on the scale. High ratings are assigned to speech that includes, for example, run-on, grammatically entangled sentences describing situations involving the offending parent; subtle efforts to enlist interviewer agreement; unlicensed, extensive discussion of surprisingly small recent parental offences; extensive use of psychological jargon (e.g., “My mother had a lot of material around that issue”); angrily addressing the parent as though the parent were present; and, in an angry context, slipping into unmarked quotations from the parent.

**Passivity or vagueness in discourse.** High scores are assigned when, throughout the transcript, the speaker seems unable to find words, seize on a meaning, or focus upon a topic. The speaker may, for example, repeatedly use vague expressions or even nonsense words; add a vague ending to an already completed sentence (“I sat on his lap, and that”); wander to irrelevant topics; or slip into pronoun confusion between the self and the parent. In addition, as though absorbed into early childhood states or memories, the subject may inadvertently (not through quotation) speak as a very young child (“I runned very fast”) or describe experiences as they are described to a

young child (“My mother washed my little feet”). Vague discourse should not be confused with restarts, hesitations, or dysfluency.

# The AAI Attachments Classifications:

- Secure- autonomous
- Insecure-dismissing, and
- Insecure- preoccupied

## Secure-autonomous

**Discourse characteristics.** Coherent, collaborative discourse. Descriptions and evaluations of attachment-related experiences and their effects are reasonably consistent, whether the experiences appear to have been favourable or unfavourable. Discourse does not notably violate any of Grice’s maxims.

Features predominating with respect toward attitudes to attachment. Avows missing, needing, and depending on others. Seems open and “free to explore” interview topic, indicating a ready flexibility of attention. States that attachment- related experiences have affected his or her development and functioning. Seems at ease with imperfections in the self. Explicit or implicit forgiveness of or compassion for parents. Can flexibly change view of person or event, even while interview is in progress, suggesting autonomy and ultimate objectivity. Sense of balance, proportion, or humour. Ruefully cites untoward flawed behaviour of self, as appearing at times despite conscious intentions or efforts.

## Dismissing

**Scale score configuration.** Low scores on coherence; high scores on idealisation or derogation of one or both parents, often accompanied by high scores on insistence on lack of memory for childhood.

**Discourse characteristics.** Not coherent. Violates the maxim of quality (consistency/truthfulness), in that positive generalised representations of history are unsupported or actively contradicted by episodes recounted. Violates the maxim of quantity—either via repeated insistence on absence of memory; or via brief contemptuous derogation of, or active contemptuous refusal to discuss, a particular event or figure.

Features predominating with respect to attitudes toward attachment. Self positively described as being strong, independent, or normal. Little or no articulation of hurt, distress, or feelings of needing or depending on others. Minimises or downplays descriptions of negative experiences; may interpret such experiences positively, in that they have made the self stronger. May emphasise fun or activities with parents, or presents and other material objects. Attention is inflexibly focused away from discussion of attachment history and/or its implications: Responses are abstract and/or seem remote from present or remembered feelings or memories, and topic of interview seems foreign. May express contempt for other person(s), or, relatedly, for events usually considered sorrowful (e.g., loss or funerals).

## Preoccupied

**Scale score configuration.** Low scores for coherence; high scores for either passive or angry preoccupation with experiences of being parented (rarely, preoccupied with frightening experiences).

**Discourse characteristics.** Violates manner, quantity, and/or relevance, while quality/truthfulness may not be violated. In regard to quantity, sentences or conversational turns taken are often excessively long. In regard to manner, responses may be grammatically entangled or filled with vague usages (“dadadada,” “and that”). In regard to relevance, the present may be brought into responses to queries regarding the past (or vice versa), or persons or events not the objects of inquiry may be brought into the discussion.

Features predominating with respect to attitudes toward attachment. Responses to interview are persistently closely and inflexibly tied to experiences with and influences of the parents, even when these are not the objects of inquiry. May attempt to involve the interviewer in agreement regarding parents' faults; may seem to weakly, confusedly praise parents, but with oscillations suggestive of ambivalence; and/or (rare) may relate frightening experiences involving them. Topic of interview is addressed, but seems inflexible and closed so that interview responses may seem memorised or unconsciously guided, as if the attachment-related history is "an old story." Unbalanced, excessive blaming of either parents or self. Indecisive—for example, evaluative oscillations ("Great mother. Well, not really, actually pretty awful. No, I mean actually, really good mother, except when she ..."). May be unusually psychologically oriented, offering authoritative "insights" into motives of self or others. The lexicon of "pop" psychology may appear with excessive frequency.

## The Four Maxims (Grice 1975; 1989)

1. **Quality:** "Be truthful, and have evidence for what you say." This maxim is violated when, for example, a parent is described in highly positive general terms, but the specific biographical episodes recounted subsequently contradict (or simply fail to support) the interviewee's adjectival choices. An interview of this kind can also be considered internally inconsistent, and internal inconsistency of the kind just described appears most frequently in the texts of individuals classified as dismissing.
2. **Quantity:** "Be succinct, and yet complete." This maxim demands conversational turns of reasonable length—neither too short nor too long. By requiring speakers to be sufficiently "complete," Grice (1975, 1989) was saying that incomplete, excessively short answers are not acceptable. This occurs when, for example, "I don't remember" and/or "I don't know" becomes the response to several queries in sequence, cutting off further inquiry. Excessively terse responses occur most frequently in the texts of individuals classified as dismissing. In terms of quantity, Grice (1975, 1989) also requires that so long as they are complete, responses should be reasonably succinct; consequently, the maxim of (appropriate) quantity can also be violated when a speaker takes excessively long conversational turns. Here the interviewee may hold the floor for several minutes, perhaps providing increasingly

unnecessary details. Excessively lengthy responses occur most frequently in the texts of individuals classified as preoccupied.

3. **Relation:** “Be relevant to the topic as presented.” The maxim of relation or relevance is violated when queries regarding the childhood relationship with the speaker’s mother are irrelevantly addressed with discussions of current interactions with the mother or descriptions of the speaker’s relationship with his or her own children. As might be expected, violations of relevance occur most frequently in the texts of individuals classified as preoccupied.
4. **Manner:** “Be clear and orderly.” This maxim is violated when, for example, speech becomes grammatically entangled, psychological “jargon” is used, vague terms appear repeatedly, or the speaker does not finish sentences that have been fully started. Violations of manner appear most often in preoccupied texts.

# FULL ADULT ATTACHMENT INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

George, C., Kaplan, N., & Main, M. (1985). The Adult Attachment Interview. Unpublished manuscript, University of California at Berkeley.

## Introduction

I’m going to be interviewing you about your childhood experiences, and how those experiences may have affected your adult personality. So, I'd like to ask you about your early relationship with your family, and what you think about the way it might have affected you. We'll focus mainly on your childhood, but later we'll get on to your adolescence and then to what's going on right now. This interview often takes about an hour, but it could be anywhere between 45 minutes and an hour and a half.

1. Could you start by helping me get oriented to your early family situation, and where you lived and so on? If you could tell me where you were born, whether you moved around much, what your family did at various times for a living?

This question is used for orientation to the family constellation, and for warm-up purposes. The research participant must not be allowed to begin discussing the quality of relationships here, so the "atmosphere" set by the interviewer is that a brief list of "who, when" is being sought, and no more than two or three minutes at most should be used for this question. The atmosphere is one of briefly collecting demographics.

In the case of participants raised by several persons, and not necessarily raised by the biological or adoptive parents (frequent in high-risk samples), the opening question above may be "Who would you say raised you?": The interviewer will use this to help determine who should be considered the primary attachment figure (s) on whom the interview will focus.

Did you see much of your grandparents when you were little? If participant indicates that grandparents died during his or her own lifetime, ask the participant's age at the time of each loss. If there were grandparents whom she or he never met, ask whether this (these) grandparents) had died before she was born. If yes, continue as follows: Your mother's father died before you were born? How old was she at the time, do you know? In a casual and spontaneous way, inviting only a very brief reply, the interviewer then asks, Did she tell you much about this grandfather?

Did you have brothers and sisters living in the house, or anybody besides your parents? Are they living nearby now or do they live elsewhere? -

2. I'd like you to try to describe your relationship with your parents as a young child if you could start from as far back as you can remember?

Encourage participants to try to begin by remembering very early. Many say they cannot remember early childhood, but you should shape the questions such that they focus at first around age five or earlier, and gently remind the research participant from time to time that if possible, you would like her to think back to this age period.

Admittedly, this is leaping right into it, and the participant may stumble. If necessary, indicate in some way that experiencing some difficulty in initially attempting to respond to this question is natural, but indicate by some silence that you would nonetheless like the participant to attempt a general description.

3. Now I'd like to ask you to choose five adjectives or words that reflect your relationship with your mother starting from as far back as you can remember in early childhood--as early as you can go, but say, age 5 to 12 is fine. I know this may take a bit of time, so go ahead and think for a minute...then I'd like to ask you why you chose them. I'll write each one down as you give them to me.

Not all participants will be able to think of five adjectives right away. Be sure to make the word relationship clear enough to be heard in this sentence. Some participants do use "relationship" adjectives to describe the parent, but some just describe the parent herself --e.g., "pretty"... "efficient manager"--as though they had only been asked to "pick adjectives to describe your mother". These individual differences are of interest only if the participant has heard the phrase, "that reflect your childhood relationship" with your mother. The word should be spoken clearly, but with only slight stress or emphasis.

Some participants will not know what you mean by the term adjectives, which is why we phrase the question as "adjectives or words". If the participant has further questions, you can explain, "just words or phrases that would describe or tell me about your relationship with your (mother) during childhood".

The probes provided below are intended to follow the entire set of adjectives, and the interviewer must not begin to probe until the full set of adjectives has been given. Be patient in waiting for the participant to arrive at five adjectives, and be encouraging. This task has proven very helpful both in starting an interview, and in later interview analysis. It helps some participants to continue to focus upon the relationship when otherwise they would not be able to come up with spontaneous comments.

If for some reason a subject does not understand what a memory is, you might suggest they think of it like an image they have in their mind similar to a videotape of something which happened when they were young. Make certain that the subject really does not understand the question first, however. The great majority who may seem not to understand it are simply unable to provide a memory or incident.

The participant's ability (or inability) to provide both an overview of the relationship and specific memories supporting that overview forms one of the most critical bases of interview analysis. For this reason it is important for the interviewer to press enough in the effort to obtain the five "overview" adjectives that if a full set is not provided, she or he is reasonably certain that they truly cannot be given.

The interviewer's manner should indicate that waiting as long as a minute is not unusual, and that trying to come up with these words can be difficult. Often, participants indicate by their non-verbal behaviour that they are

actively thinking through or refining their choices. In this case an interested silence is warranted. Don't, however, repeatedly leave the participant in embarrassing silences for very long periods. Some research participants may tell you that this is a hard job, and you can readily acknowledge this. If the participant has extreme difficulty coming up with more than one or two words or adjectives, after a period of two to three minutes of supported attempts ("Mm... I know it can be hard ...this is a pretty tough question... Just take a little more time"), then say something like "Well, that's fine. Thank you, we'll just go with the ones you've already given me." The interviewer's tone here should make it clear that the participant's response is perfectly acceptable and not uncommon.

Okay, now let me go through some more questions about your description of your childhood relationship with your mother. You say your relationship with her was (you used the phrase) Are there any memories or incidents that come to mind with respect to (word)

The same questions will be asked separately for each adjective in series. Having gone through the probes which follow upon this question (below), the interviewer moves on to seek illustration for each of the succeeding adjectives in turn:

You described your childhood relationship with your mother as (or, "your second adjective was", or "the second word you used was"). Can you think of a memory or an incident that would illustrate why you chose to describe the relationship?

The interviewer continues, as naturally as possible, through each phrase or adjective chosen by the participant, until all five adjectives or phrases are covered. A specific supportive memory or expansion and illustration is requested for each of the adjectives, separately. In terms of time to answer, this is usually the longest question. Obviously, some adjectives chosen may be almost identical, e.g., "loving ... caring". Nonetheless, if they have been given to you as separate descriptors, you must treat each separately, and ask for memories for each.

While participants sometimes readily provide a well-elaborated incident for a particular word they have chosen, at other times they may fall silent; or "illustrate" one adjective with another ("loving ...um, because she was generous"); or describe what usually happened--i.e., offer a "scripted" memory--rather than describing specific incidents. There are a set series of responses available for these contingencies, and it is vital to memorise them. If the participant is silent, the interviewer waits an appropriate length of time. If the participant indicates non-verbally that she or he is actively thinking, remembering or simply attempting to come up with a particularly telling illustration, the interviewer maintains an interested silence. If the silence continues and seems to indicate that the participant is feeling stumped, the interviewer says something like, "well, just take another minute and see if

anything comes to mind". If following another waiting period the participant still cannot respond to the question, treat this in a casual, matter of fact manner and say "well, that's fine, let's take the next one, then". Most participants do come up with a response eventually, however, and the nature of the response then determines which of the follow-up probes are utilised

If the participant re-defines an affective with a second adjective as, "Loving ---she was generous", the interviewer probes by repeating the original adjective (loving) rather than permitting the participant to lead them to use the second one (generous). In other words, the interviewer in this case will say, "Well, can you think of a specific memory that would illustrate how your relationship was loving?" The interviewer should be careful, however, not to be too explicit in their intention to lead the participant back to their original word usage. If the speaker continues to discuss "generous" after having been probed about loving once more, this violation of the discourse task is meaningful and must be allowed. As above, the nature of the participant's response determines which follow-up probes are utilised.

If a specific and well-elaborated incident is given, the participant has responded satisfactorily to the task, and the interviewer should indicate that she or he understands that. However, the interviewer should briefly show continuing interest by asking whether the participant can think of a second incident.

If one specific but poorly elaborated incident is given, the interviewer probes for a second. Again, the interviewer does this in a manner emphasising his or her own interest.

If as a first response the participant gives a "scripted" or "general" memory, as "Loving. She always took us to the park and on picnics. She was really good on holidays" or "Loving. He taught me to ride a bike"--the interviewer says, "Well, that's a good general description, but I'm wondering if there was a particular time that happened, that made you think about it as loving?"

If the participant does now offer a specific memory, briefly seek a second memory, as above. If another scripted memory is offered instead, or if the participant responds "I just think that was a loving thing to do", the interviewer should be accepting, and go on to the next adjective. Here as elsewhere the interviewer's behaviour indicates that the participant's response is satisfactory.

4. Now I'd like to ask you to choose five adjectives or words that reflect your childhood relationship with your father, again starting from as far back as you can remember in early childhood--as early as you can go, but again say, age 5 to 12 is fine. I know this may take a bit of time, so go ahead and think again for a minute...then I'd like to ask you why you chose them. I'll write each one down as you give them to me. (Interviewer repeats with probes as above).

5. Now I wonder if you could tell me, to which parent did you feel the closest, and why? Why isn't there this feeling with the other parent?

By the time you are through with the above set of questions, the answer to this one may be obvious, and you may want to remark on that ("You've already discussed this a bit, but I'd like to ask about it briefly any- way..."). Furthermore, while the answer to this question may indeed be obvious for many participants, some--particularly those who describe both parents as loving--may be able to use it to reflect further on the difference in these two relationships.

6. When you were upset as a child, what would you do?

This is a critical question in the interview, and variations in the interpretation of this question are important. Consequently, the participant is first encouraged to think up her own interpretations of "upset", with the interviewer pausing quietly to indicate that the question is completed, and that an answer is requested.

Once the participant has completed her own interpretation of the question, giving a first answer, begin on the following probes. Be sure to get expansions of every answer. If the participant states, for example, "I withdrew", probe to understand what this research participant means by "withdrew". For example, you might say, "And what would you do when you withdrew?"

The interviewer now goes on to ask the specific follow-up questions below. These questions may appear similar, but they vary in critical ways, so the interviewer must make sure that the participant thinks through each question separately. This is done by placing vocal stress on the changing contexts (as we have indicated by underlining).

When you were upset emotionally when you were little, what would you do?  
(Wait for participant's reply). Can you think of a specific time that happened?  
Can you remember what would happen when you were hurt physically?  
(Wait for participant's reply). Again, do any specific incidents (or, do any other incidents) come to mind?

When the participant describes going to a parent, see first what details they can give you spontaneously. Try to get a sense of how the parent or parents responded, and then when and if it seems appropriate you can briefly ask one or two clarifying questions.

Be sure to get expansions of every answer. Again, if the participant says "I withdrew", for example, probe to see what the participant means by this, i.e., what exactly she or he did, or how exactly they felt, and if they can elaborate on the topic.

If the participant has not spontaneously mentioned being held by the parent in response to any of the above questions, the interviewer can ask casually at the conclusion to the series, "I was just wondering, do you remember being held by either of your parents at any of these times--I mean, when you were upset, or hurt, or ill?"

In earlier editions of these guidelines, we suggested that if the participant answers primarily in terms of responses by one of the parents, the interviewer should go through the above queries again with respect to the remaining parent. This can take a long time and distract from the recommended pacing of the interview. Consequently, it is no longer required.

What is the first time you remember being separated from your parents?

- - -How did you respond? Do you remember how your parents responded?

- - -Are there any other separations that stand out in your mind?

Here participants (clients) often describe first going off to nursery school, or to primary school, or going camping.

In this context, participants sometimes spontaneously compare their own responses to those of other children. This provides important information regarding the participant's own overall attitude towards attachment, so be careful not to cut any such descriptions or comparisons short.

8. Did you ever feel rejected as a young child? Of course, looking back on it now, you may realise it wasn't really rejection, but what I'm trying to ask about here is whether you remember ever having rejected in childhood  
-----How old were you when you first felt this way, and what did you do?  
----Why do you think your parent did those things--do you think he/she realised he/she was rejecting you?

Interviewer may want to add a probe by reframing the question here, especially if no examples are forthcoming. The probe we suggest here is, "Did you ever feel pushed away or ignored?"

Many participants tend to avoid this in terms of a positive answer.

So, were you ever frightened or worried as a child?

Let the research participant respond "freely" to this question, defining the meaning for themselves. They may ask you what the question means, and if so, simply respond by saying "It's just a more general question". Do not probe heavily here. If the research participant has had traumatic experiences which they elect not to describe, or which they have difficulty remembering or thinking about, you should not insist upon hearing about them. They will have a second, brief opportunity to discuss such topics later.

9. Were your parents ever threatening with you in any way - maybe for discipline, or even jokingly?

-----Some people have told us for example that their parents would threaten to leave them or send them away from home.

----- (Note to researchers/therapists) In particular communities, some specific kind of punishment not generally considered fully abusive is common, such as "the silent treatment", or "shaming", etc. One question regarding this one selected specific form of punishment can be inserted here, as for example, 'Some people have told us that their parents would use the silent treatment---did this ever happen with your parents?': The question should then be treated exactly as threatening to send away from home, i.e., the participant is free to answer and expand on the topic if she or he wishes, but there are no specific probes. The researcher should not ask about more than one such specific (community) form of punishment, since queries regarding more than one common type will lead the topic away from its more general intent (below).

Some people have memories of threats or of some kind of behaviour that was abusive. -----Did anything like this ever happen to you, or in your family? -----How old were you at the time? Did it happen frequently? -----Do you feel this experience affects you now as an adult? -----Does it influence your approach to your own child?

-----Did you have any such experiences involving people outside your family?

If the participant indicates that something like this did happen outside the family, take the participant through the same probes (age? frequency? affects you now as an adult? Influences your approach to your own child?). Be careful with this question, however, as it is clinically sensitive, and by now you may have been asking the participant difficult questions for an extended period of time.

Many participants simply answer "no" to these questions. Some, however, describe abuse and may some suffer distress in the memory. When the participant is willing to discuss experiences of this kind, the interviewer must be ready to maintain a respectful silence, or to offer active sympathy, or to do whatever may be required to recognise and insofar as possible to help alleviate the distress arising with such memories.

If the interviewer suspects that abuse or other traumatic experiences occurred, it is important to attempt to ascertain the specific details of these events insofar as possible. In the coding and classification system which accompanies this interview, distressing experiences cannot be scored for Unresolved /disorganised responses unless the researcher is able to establish that abuse (as opposed to just heavy spanking, or light hitting with a spoon that was not frightening) occurred.

Where the nature of a potentially physically abusive (belting, whipping, or hitting) experience is ambiguous, then, the interviewer should try to establish the nature of the experience in a light, matter-of-fact manner, without excessive prodding. If, for example, the participant says "I got the belt" and stops, the interviewer asks, "And what did getting the belt mean?". After encouraging as much spontaneous expansion as possible, the interviewer

may still need to ask, again in a matter-of-fact tone, how the participant responded or felt at the time. "Getting the belt" in itself will not qualify as abuse within the adult attachment scoring and classification systems, since in some households and communities this is a common, systematically but not harshly imposed experience. Being belted heavily enough to overwhelmingly frighten the child for her physical welfare at the time, being belted heavily enough to cause lingering pain, and/or being belted heavily enough to leave welts or bruises will qualify.

In the case of sexual abuse as opposed to battering, the interviewer will seldom need to press for details, and should be very careful to follow the participant's lead. Whereas on most occasions in which a participant describes themselves as sexually abused the interviewer and transcript judge will have little need to probe further, occasionally a remark is ambiguous enough to require at least mild elaboration. If, for example, the participant states 'and I just thought he could be pretty sexually abusive', the interviewer will ideally follow-up with a query such as, 'well, could you tell me a little about what was happening to make you see him as sexually abusive?'. Should the participant reply that the parent repeatedly told off-colour jokes in her company, or made un- toward remarks about her attractiveness, the parent's behaviour, though insensitive, will not qualify as sexually abusive within the accompanying coding system. Before seeking elaboration of any kind, however, the interviewer should endeavour to determine whether the participant seems comfortable in discussing the incident or incidents. All querying regarding abuse incidents must be conducted in a matter-of-fact, professional manner. The interviewer must use good judgment in deciding whether to bring querying to a close if the participant is becoming uncomfortable. At the same time, the interviewer must not avoid the topic or give the participant the impression that discussion of such experiences is unusual. Interviewers sometimes involuntarily close the topic of abuse experiences and their effects, in part as a well-intentioned and protective response towards participants who in point of fact would have found the discussion welcome.

Participants who seem to be either thinking about or revealing abuse experiences for the first time -- "No, nothing ....no... well, I haven't thought, remembered this for, oh, years, but ...maybe they used to... tie me...."-- must be handled with special care, and should not be probed unless they clearly and actively seem to want to discuss the topic. If you sense that the participant has told you things they have not previously discussed or remembered, special care must be taken at the end of the interview to ensure that the participant does not still suffer distress, and feels able to contact the interviewer or project director should feelings of distress arise in the future.

In such cases the participant's welfare must be placed above that of the researcher. While matter-of-fact, professional and tactful handling of abuse-related questions usually makes it possible to obtain sufficient information for scoring, the interviewer must be alert to indications of marked distress, and ready to tactfully abandon this line of questioning where necessary. Where the complete sequence of probes must be abandoned, the interviewer should move gracefully and smoothly to the next question, as though the participant had in fact answered fully.

10. In general, how do you think your overall experiences with your parents have affected your adult personality?

The interviewer should pause to indicate she or he expects the participant to be thoughtful regarding this question, and is aware that answering may require some time.

Are there any aspects to your early experiences that you feel were a setback in your development?

In some cases, the participant will already have discussed this question. Indicate, as usual, that you would just like some verbal response again anyway, "for the record".

It is quite important to know whether or not a participant sees their experiences as having had a negative effect on them, so the interviewer will follow-up with one of the two probes provided directly below. The interviewer must stay alert to the participant's exact response to the question, since the phrasing of the probe differs according to the participant's original response.

If the participant has named one or two setbacks, the follow-up probe used is:

---Are there any other aspects of your early experiences, that you think might have held your development back, or had a negative effect on the way you turned out?

If the participant has understood the question, but has not considered anything about early experiences a setback, the follow-up probe used is:

---Is there anything about your early experiences that you think might have held your development back, or had a negative effect on the way you turned out?

Although the word anything receives some vocal stress, the interviewer must be careful not to seem to be expressing impatience with the participant's previous answer. The stress simply implies that the participant is being given another chance to think of something else she or he might have forgotten a moment ago.

RE: PARTICIPANTS WHO DON'T SEEM TO UNDERSTAND THE TERM, SETBACK. A few participants aren't familiar with the term, set-back. If after a

considerable wait for the participant to reflect, the participant seems simply puzzled by the question, the interviewer says,

"Well, not everybody uses terms like set-back for what I mean here. I mean, was there anything about your early experiences, or any parts of your early experiences, that you think might have held your development back, or had a negative effect on the way you turned out?"

In this case, this becomes the main question, and the probe becomes - Is there anything else about your early experiences that you think might have held your development back, or had a negative effect on the way you turned out?

11. Why do you think your parents behaved as they did during your childhood?

This question is relevant even if the participant feels childhood experiences were entirely positive. For participants reporting negative experiences, this question is particularly important.

12. Were there any other adults with whom you were close, like parents, as a child?

--- Or any other adults who were especially important to you, even though not parental?

Give the participant time to reflect on this question. This is the point at which some participants will mention housekeepers, au pairs, or nannies, and some will mention other family members, teachers, or neighbours.

Be sure to find out ages at which these persons were close with the participant, whether they had lived with the family, and whether they had had any caregiving responsibilities. In general, attempt to determine the significance and nature of the relationship.

13. Did you experience the loss of a parent or other close loved one while you were a young child--for ex- ample, a sibling, or a close family member? (A few participants understand the term "loss" to cover brief or long-term separations from living persons, as, "I lost my mom when she moved South to stay with her mother". If necessary, clarify that you are referring to death only, i.e. specifically to loved ones who had died).

-----Could you tell me about the circumstances, and how old you were at the time? -----How did you respond at the time?

-----Was this death sudden or was it expected?

-----Can you recall your feelings at that time?

-----Have your feelings regarding this death changed much over time?

If not volunteered earlier. Did you attend the funeral, and what was this like for you? If loss of a parent or sibling. What would you say was the effect on

your (other parent) and on your household, and how did this change over the years?

-----Would you say this loss has had an effect on your adult personality?

-----Were relevant How does it affect your approach to your own child?

13a. Did you lose any other important persons during your childhood?

13b. Have you lost other close persons, in adult years? (Same queries).

Be sure that the response to these questions covers loss of any siblings, whether older or younger, loss of grandparents, and loss of any person who seemed a "substitute parent" or who lived with the family for a time. Some individuals will have been deeply affected by.

Probe any loss which seems important to the participant, including loss of friends, distant relatives, and neighbours or neighbour's children. Rarely, the research participant will seem distressed by the death of someone who they did not personally know (often, a person in the family, but sometimes someone as removed as the friend of a friend).

If a participant brings up the suicide of a friend of a friend and seems distressed by it, the loss should be fully probed. The interviewer should be aware, then, that speakers may be assigned to the unresolved/disorganised adult attachment classification as readily for lapses in monitoring occurring during the discussion of the death of a neighbour's child experienced during the adult years as for loss of a parent in childhood.

Interviewing research participants regarding loss obviously requires good clinical judgment. At maximum, only four to five losses are usually fully probed. In the case of older research participants or those with traumatic histories, there may be many losses, and the interviewer will have to decide on the spot which losses to probe. No hard and fast rules can be laid out for determining which losses to skip, and the interviewer must to the best of his or her ability determine which losses--if there are many--are in fact of personal significance to the participant. Roughly, in the case of a participant who has lost both parents, spouse, and many other friends and relatives by the time of the interview, the interviewer might elect to probe the loss of the parents, the spouse, and "any other loss which you feel may have been especially important to you". If, however, these queries seem to be becoming wearying or distressing for the participant, the interviewer should acknowledge the excessive length of the querying, and offer to cut it short.

14. Other than any difficult experiences you've already described, have you had any other experiences which you should regard as potentially traumatic?

Let the participant free-associate to this question, then clarify if necessary with a phrase such as, I mean, any experience which was overwhelmingly and immediately terrifying.

This question is a recent addition to the interview. It permits participants to bring up experiences which may otherwise be missed, such as scenes of violence which they have observed, war experiences, violent separation, or rape.

Some researchers may elect not to use this question, since it is new to the 1996 protocol. If you do elect to use it, it must of course be used with all subjects in a given study.

The advantage of adding this question is that it may reveal lapses in reasoning or discourse specific to traumatic experiences other than loss or abuse.

(Same queries--again, this refers to people who have died rather than separation experiences). Be very careful, however, not to permit this question to open up the interview to all stressful, sad, lonely or upsetting experiences which may have occurred in the subject's lifetime, or the purpose of the interview and of the question may be diverted. It will help if your tone indicates that these are rare experiences.

Follow up on such experiences with probes only where the participant seems at relative ease in discussing the event, and/or seems clearly to have discussed and thought about it before.

Answers to this question will be varied. Consequently, exact follow-up probes cannot be given in advance, although the probes succeeding the abuse and loss questions may serve as a partial guide. In general, the same cautions should be taken with respect to this question as with respect to queries regarding frightening or worrisome incidents in childhood, and experiences of physical or sexual abuse. Many researchers may elect to treat this question lightly, since the interview is coming to a close and it is not desirable to leave the participant re-viewing too many difficult experiences just prior to leaving.

15. Now I'd like to ask you a few more questions about your relationship with your parents. Were there many changes in your relationship with your parents (or remaining parent) after childhood? We'll get to the present in a moment, but right now I mean changes occurring roughly between your childhood and your adulthood?

Here we are in part trying to find out, indirectly (1) whether there has been a period of rebellion from the parents, and (2) also indirectly, whether the participant may have rethought early unfortunate relationships and "forgiven" the parents. Do not ask anything about forgiveness directly, however--this will need to come up spontaneously. This question also gives the participant

the chance to describe any changes in the parents behaviour, favourable or unfavourable, which occurred at that time.

16. Now I'd like to ask you, what is your relationship with your parents (or remaining parent) like for you now as an adult? Here I am asking about your current relationship.

----Do you have much contact with your parents at present?

----What would you say the relationship with your parents is like currently?

---Could you tell me about any (or any other) sources of dissatisfaction in your current relationship

with your parents? any special (or any other) sources of special satisfaction?

This has become a critical question within the Adult Attachment Interview, since a few participants who had taken a positive stance towards their parents earlier suddenly take a negative stance when asked to describe current relationships. As always, the interviewer should express a genuine interest in the participant's response to this question, with sufficient pause to indicate that a reflective response is welcome.

17. I'd like to move now to a different sort of question--it's not about your relationship with your parents, instead it's about an aspect of your current relationship with (specific child of special interest to the researcher, or all the participant's children considered together). How do you respond now, in terms of feelings, when you separate from your child / children? (For adolescents or individuals without children, see below).

Ask this question exactly as it is, without elaboration, and be sure to give the participant enough time to respond. Participants may respond in terms of leaving child at school, leaving child for vacations, etc., and this is encouraged. What we want here are the participant's feelings about the separation. This question has been very helpful in interview analysis, for two reasons. In some cases it highlights a kind of role-reversal between parents and child, i.e., the participant may in fact respond as though it were the child who was leaving the parent alone, as though the parent was the child. In other cases, the research participant may speak of a fear of loss of the child, or a fear of death in general. When you are certain you have given enough time (or repeated or clarified the question enough) for the participant's naturally-occurring response, then (and only then) add the following probe:

-----Do you ever feel worried about (child)?

For individuals without children, you will pose this question as a hypothetical one, and continue through the remaining questions in the same manner. For example, you can say, now I'd like you to imagine that you have a one-year-old child, and I

wonder how you think you might respond, in terms of feelings, if you had to separate from this child?" Do you think you would ever feel worried about this child?".

18. If you had three wishes for your child twenty years from now, what would they be? I'm thinking partly of the kind of future you would like to see for your child I'll give you a minute or two to think about this one.

This question is primarily intended to help the participant begin to look to the future, and to lift any negative mood which previous questions may have imposed.

For individuals without children, you again pose this question in hypothetical terms. For example, you can say,

"Now I'd like you to continue to imagine that you have a one-year-old child for just another minute. This time, I'd like to ask, if you had three wishes for your child twenty years from now, what would they be? I'm thinking partly of the kind of future you would like to see for your imagined child I'll give you a minute or two to think about this one':

19. Is there any particular thing which you feel you learned above all from your own childhood experiences? I'm thinking here of something you feel you might have gained from the kind of childhood you had.

Give the participant plenty of time to respond to this question. Like the previous and succeeding questions, it is intended to help integrate whatever untoward events or feelings he or she has experienced or remembered within this interview, and to bring the interview down to a light close.

20. We've been focusing a lot on the past in this interview, but I'd like to end up looking quite a ways into the future. We've just talked about what you think you may have learned from your own childhood experiences. I'd like to end by asking you what would you hope your child (or, your imagined child) might have learned from his/her experiences of being parented by you?