

Attachment

Student workbook



Name:

AS vs A Level Psychology (2016 Onwards AQA A ©), To use this image link to: www.loopa.co.uk		
	AS Level	A Level
Paper 1:	Social Influence, Memory, Attachment (1h 30mins, 50% of AS, 72 marks in total)	Social Influence, Memory, Attachment, Psychopathology (2hrs, 33.3% of A Level, 96 total marks)
Paper 2	Approaches In Psychology, Psychopathology, Research Methods (1hr 30mins, 50% of AS, 72 marks in total)	Approaches In Psychology, Biopsychology, Research Methods (2hrs, 33.3% of A Level, 96 total marks)
Paper 3	N/A !	Issues & Debates In Psychology, One Topic From: Relationships, Gender Or Cognition & Development, One Topic From: Schizophrenia, Eating Behaviour Or Stress, One Topic From: Aggression, Forensic Psychology Or Addiction (2hrs, 33.3% of A level, 96 total marks)

- A Level Psychology consists of 3 examinations, the first Topic 'Attachment' will be examined in Paper 1.
- There are 3 main skills examined at A Level, these are known as ASSESSMENT OBJECTIVES (AO)
 - AO1 = your ability to **describe** in detail your understanding of psychological terms, research and theories.
 - AO2 = your ability to **apply** your knowledge of psychology to a given scenario, showing an examiner how you can apply your understanding of a topic to a given example.
 - AO3 = your ability to **evaluate** strengths and limitations of research and theories

The Specification:



- Caregiver-infant interactions in humans: reciprocity and interactional synchrony. Stages of attachment identified by Schaffer. Multiple attachments and the role of the father.
- Animal studies of attachment: Lorenz and Harlow.
- Explanations of attachment: learning theory and Bowlby's monotropic theory. The concepts of a critical period and an internal working model.
- Ainsworth's 'Strange Situation'. Types of attachment: secure, insecure-avoidant and insecure-resistant. Cultural variations in attachment, including van Ijzendoorn.
- Bowlby's theory of maternal deprivation. Romanian orphan studies: effects of institutionalisation.
- The influence of early attachment on childhood and adult relationships, including the role of an internal working model.

Keeping track.... What you need to learn	Can do?
Definition of attachment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reciprocity • Interactional synchronicity 	
Development of attachment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Schaffer and Emerson (1964) describe and evaluate • Stages of attachment • Role of the father 	
Animal studies of attachment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lorenz (imprinting) • Harlow Describe and evaluate these two studies linking them to attachment	
Explanations of attachment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Learning approach explanation of attachment: describe and evaluate • Bowlby's evolutionary theory of attachment describe and evaluate 	
The Strange Situation (Ainsworth, 1978) Describe and evaluate	
Types of attachment secure & insecure avoidant insecure resistant	
Cross-cultural variations in attachment (Van Ijzendoorn and Kroonenberg)	
Disruption of attachment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maternal deprivation Hypothesis • Effects of institutionalisation-Romanian orphans: Rutter & Songa-Barke 	
Influence of early attachment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Internal working model • Hazan and Shaver describe and evaluate 	

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Topic 1: Introduction to Attachment

Specification:

- Caregiver-infant interactions in humans:
- Definition of attachment
- Reciprocity and Interactional synchronicity
- Evidence for reciprocity & interactional synchrony
- The role of the father

What is attachment?

In pairs, create a mind map of any word that you can think of.
Who is it about? What does it look like?

Definition of Attachment

Why do we need to make these bonds?

We can recognise an attachment when people display certain behaviours.
What are the 3 behaviours of attachment? p74

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Caregiver-Infant Interactions

From an early age babies have meaningful social interactions with their carers. It is believed that these interactions have important functions for the child's social development, in particular for the development of caregiver-infant interaction.

- Human babies are **altricial**, which means that they are born at a relatively early stage of development
- We need to form bonds with adults who will protect and nurture them
- Humans are different to **Precocial** animals - animals born at advanced stage of development e.g foals are able to walk and run soon after birth.
- **Short-term benefits** - survival
- **Long- term benefits** - emotional relationships. It is believed that this first relationship acts as a template for later relationships

Discussion...

How do you know if a mother and their infant have good interactions?
What does it look like?

One of the key interaction between caregivers and infants is their **non-verbal** communication, i.e. communicating without words and sometimes without sound. Such interactions may form the basis of attachment between an infant and caregiver.

It is the manner in which each responds to the other that determines the formation of attachment

So, the more sensitive each is to the others' signals, the deeper the relationship.

Define RECIPROCITY

Define
INTERACTIONAL
SYNCHRONICITY

Research evidence for reciprocity & interactional synchronicity

Reciprocity

Brazleton (1975) described mother infant interactions as a 'dance'
- why?



Interactional Synchrony

Meltzoff and Moore (1977) conducted the first systematic study of Interactional Synchrony and found that infants as young as two to three weeks old imitated specific facial and hand gestures.

The study was conducted using an adult model who displayed one of three facial expressions or hand movements where the fingers moved in a sequence.

A dummy was placed in the infant's mouth during the initial display to prevent any response.

Following the display, the dummy was removed and the child's expression was filmed. They found that there was an association between the infant behaviour and that of the adult model.

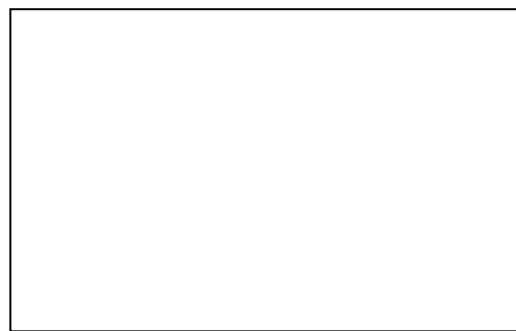
How does this support the idea of Interactional Synchrony?



Isabella et al (1989) found that securely attached mother-infant pairs had shown more instances of interactional synchrony in first year of life. - what do high level of synchrony show?

What does this suggest about Interactional Synchrony?

So what's the difference between reciprocity and interactional synchrony?



Watch the video and make notes...

- Is the video showing interactional synchrony or reciprocity? Or both?
- What does this tell us about the importance of caregiver-infant interactions?

Evaluation of Caregiver-Infant Interactions (AO3)



Hard to know what's happening when observing infants.

Many studies involving observation of interactions between mothers and infants have shown the same patterns of interaction (Gratier, 2003). However, what is being observed is merely hand movements or changes in expression. It is extremely difficult to be certain, based on these observations, what is taking place from the infant's perspective. Is, for example, the infant's imitation of adult's signals conscious and deliberate?

What does this suggest about mother-infant interactions having a 'special meaning'?



Controlled observations capture fine detail

Observations of mother-infant interactions are generally well-controlled procedures, with both moth and infant being filmed, often from multiple angles. This ensures that very fine details of behaviour can be recorded and later analysed. Furthermore babies don't know or care that they are being observed so their behaviour does not change in response to controlled observation - which is generally a problem for observational research.

Why is this a strength?

Observations don't tell us the purpose of synchrony and reciprocity

For example, Feldman points out that synchrony and reciprocity simply describe behaviours that occur at the same time.

These can be reliably observed, but it doesn't tell us the purpose of these caregiver-infant interactions.

What does this suggest needs to happen?



A problem with this explanation of caregiver-infant interactions is that it is not found in all cultures

Le Vine et al (1994) reported that Kenyan mothers have little physical interactions or physical contact with their infants, but such infants do have a high proportion of secure attachments.

Therefore, the research may be ethnocentric and ignores how attachments may be formed within other cultures.

How does this affect the validity of the research into this area?



Read the item and then answer the question that follows.

Proud father Abdul was talking to his friend, as they were both watching Abdul's wife, Tasneem, interacting with their baby daughter, Aisha.

'It's amazing really', said Abdul. 'Tasneem smiles, Aisha smiles back. Tasneem moves her head, Aisha moves hers, perfectly in time with each other.'

'Yes', agreed the friend. 'It's almost as if they are one person.'

- 10.1 With reference to Abdul's conversation with his friend, outline two features of caregiver-infant interaction. [4 marks]

Attachment Figures - Role of the Father

One of the questions attachment research has to answer concerns who infants become attached to.

Parent-Infant Attachment

Traditionally we think of mother-infant attachment? Why



-so what about the father?

Schaffer and Emerson showed that the primary attachment is much more likely to be made with the mother than the father, fathers are **secondary attachment** figures.

Schaffer and Emerson (1964) found that the majority of babies did become attached to their mother first (around 7 months) and within a few weeks or month formed secondary attachments.

In 75% of the infants studies an attachment was formed with the father at the age of 18 months. This was determined by the fact that the infants protested when their father walked away - a sign of attachment

The role of the father

So how important are fathers in children's development and they have distinct role?

Use the textbook to summarise what Grossman found out.

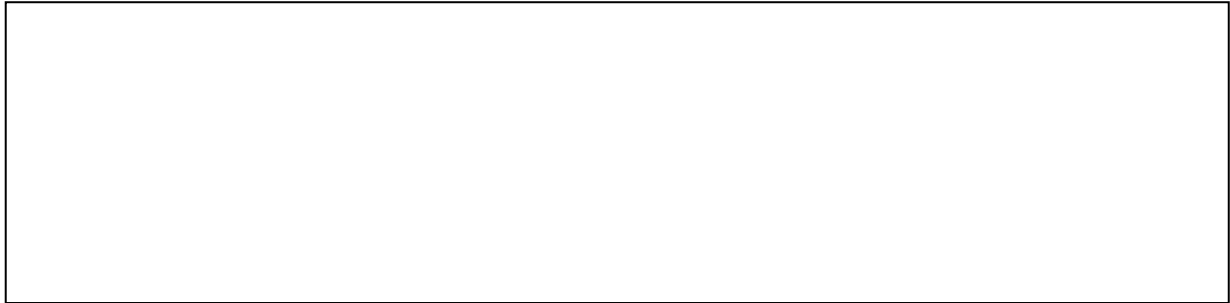


Fathers as Primary Caregivers

There is some evidence to suggest that when fathers do take on the role of being the main caregiver they adopt behaviours more typical of mothers.

Field (1978) filmed 4 month old babies in face to face interaction with primary caregiver mothers, secondary caregiver fathers and primary caregiver fathers.

What did they find? What does this suggest is the key to the attachment relationships?



Extra information on the role of the father

The child :Age and gender

Freeman et al. (2010) found that male children are more likely to prefer their father as an attachment figure than female children.

He also found that children are more likely to be attached to their father during their late childhood to early adolescence. Infants and young adults are less likely to seek attachment to their fathers.

• Temperament

According to Manlove et al. (2002) fathers are less likely to be involved with their infant if the infant has a difficult temperament.

Findings are inconsistent, children without fathers are no different from those with fathers suggesting the father's role is secondary - however this claim poses huge ethical issues as this is socially sensitive research

Outline the role of the father in attachment (6 marks)



Evaluation (AO3)

Inconsistent findings on fathers

Research into the role of the fathers in attachment is confusing because different researchers are interested in different research questions.

On one hand, some psychologists are interested in understanding the role of the fathers as a secondary attachment figure whereas others are more concerned with the father as a primary attachment figure. The former have tended to see the father behaving differently from mothers and having a distinct role. The latter have tended to find fathers can take on a 'maternal' role.

Why is this a problem?

If fathers have a distinct role why aren't children without fathers different?

The study by Grossman found that fathers as secondary attachment figures had an important role in their children's development. However, other studies (MacCallum and Golombok, 2004) have found that children growing up in single or same-sex parent families do not develop any differently from those in two-parent heterosexual families.

What does this suggest about the fathers role as a secondary attachment figure?

Why don't fathers generally become primary attachment figures?

The fact that fathers do not become the primary attachment figures could simply be the result of traditional gender roles, in which women are expected to be more caring and nurturing than men. Therefore, fathers simply don't feel they should act like that.

On the other hand, it could be that female hormones, such as oestrogen, create higher levels of nurturing and therefore women are biologically predisposed to be the primary attachment figure.

Example Exam Questions

- 1. Explain what is meant by interactional synchrony (2 marks)

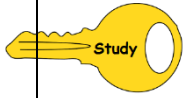
- 2. Explain what is meant by the term reciprocity in the context of caregiver-infant interactions (2 marks)

- 3. Outline research into caregiver-infant interactions. (4 marks)

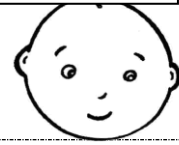
Topic 2:

Stages of attachment

Specification: Describe & evaluate the stages of attachment as identified by Schaffer and how multiple attachments are formed.



Schaffer and Emerson (1964)



Procedure:

Rudolph Schaffer and Peggy Emerson conducted a **longitudinal study** on 60 Glasgow infants (5- 23 weeks at the start of the study) from working-class homes at monthly intervals for the first 18 months of their life. The children were all studied **in their own home** and a regular pattern was identified in the development of attachment. The babies were visited monthly for approximately one year, their interactions with their carers were observed, and carers were interviewed. The mothers were asked to **keep a diary** of the infant's response to separation in seven everyday situations:

- Left alone in a room
- Left with other people
- Left in their pram outside the house
- Left in their pram outside the shops
- Left in their cot at night
- Put down after being held by an adult
- Passed by while sitting on their cot or chair.

The researchers also carried out **direct observations** of the infants' reaction when they approached him. (stranger anxiety). They were followed up again at 18 months.

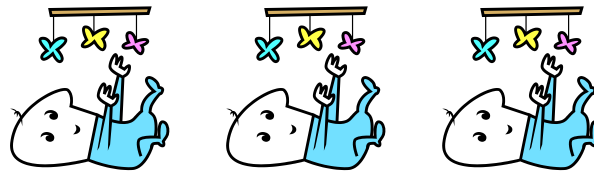
Results:

They discovered that baby's attachments develop in the following sequence:

- Up to 3 months of age - Indiscriminate attachments. The newborn is predisposed to attach to any human. Most babies respond equally to any caregiver.
- After 4 months - Preference for certain people. Infants learn to distinguish primary and secondary caregivers but accept care from anyone;
- After 7 months - Special preference for a single attachment figure. The baby looks to particular people for security, comfort and protection. It shows fear of strangers (stranger fear) and unhappiness when separated from a special person (separation anxiety). Some babies show stranger fear and separation anxiety much more frequently and intensely than others, but nevertheless they are seen as evidence that the baby has formed an attachment. This has usually developed by one year of age.
- After 9 months - Multiple attachments. The baby becomes increasingly independent and forms several attachments.
- The mother was the main attachment figure for 65% of the children at 18 months old, whilst only 3% of the infants studied developed a primary attachment to their father. By 18 months old, 31% of the infants had formed multiple attachments, e.g. to grandparents etc

Conclusions

The results of the study indicated that attachments were most likely to form with those who responded accurately to the baby's signals, not the person they spent most time with. Schaffer and Emerson called this sensitive responsiveness. The most important fact in forming attachments is not who feeds and changes the child but who plays and communicates with him or her.



Schaffer and Emerson used this evidence to argue that attachments develop in stages

Stages of development of attachment

Stage 1 Asocial attachment Birth-2 months

- Similar response to all objects (animate or inanimate). Towards the end of this stage, the child shows preference for being with people. Time reciprocity and time synchrony help to establish the child's relationships with others.

Stage 2 Indiscriminate attachment 2-7 months

- The child shows a marked preference for people rather than inanimate objects. They recognise and prefer familiar adults. They accept comfort from any adult. They do not show stranger or separation anxiety.

Stage 3 Specific attachment From around 7 months

- Infants start to show stranger anxiety and distress when separated from a specific adult. The child has formed a *specific attachment*. The adult with whom the child has formed the specific attachment is called the *primary attachment figure*.

Stage 4 Multiple attachments

- About a month after having formed a specific attachment, the child displays attachment behaviour towards other people with whom they are familiar. These are called *secondary attachments*.

Now answer these questions on the Schaffer and Emerson study:

1. What is a longitudinal study?
2. Separation anxiety is 'unhappiness when separated from a certain person.' How would Schaffer and Emerson have judged whether the infant was unhappy?
3. At what age do infants develop a preference for a single attachment figure?
4. What is 'sensitive responsiveness'?
5. Schaffer and Emerson found that the father was the main attachment figure for only 3% of infants. How might these results be different if the study carried out today? Explain your answer.



6. What does this study tell us about multiple attachments?
7. Do infants always attach to the person who feeds them? (Remember this for future use!)

8. Evaluate Schaffer and Emerson's study(p77):

Evaluation of research methodology	Evaluation the stages of attachment

Apply Now

Laura is 7 months old she is looked after by a child minder, Jackie, while her parents are at work. Recently she has started to show great distress when her mother drops her off and cries inconsolably.

Use your knowledge of the stages of development of attachment to explain her behaviour.



Topic 3: Animal studies



Why do we carry out animal studies?

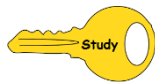
They have been used to look at the formation of early bonds between non-human parents and their offspring

Psychologists are interested in this because attachment like behaviour is common to a range of species and so animal studies can help us understand attachment in humans.

What are the advantages of animal studies?

What are the disadvantages?

Lorenz (1935)- Imprinting



Konrad Lorenz was one of the most prominent ethologists

He first observed the phenomenon of imprinting when he was a child and a neighbour gave him a newly hatched duckling that then followed him around!

Lorenz divided a clutch of eggs in two halves:

- one half was left to hatch with the mother (the control group)
- the other half were hatched in an incubator, the first moving thing they saw was Lorenz.

Results: The control group followed their mother goose everywhere whereas the second group followed Lorenz.

He marked the goslings to indicate which group of eggs they had hatched from and then let them out together from an upturned box; each gosling went straight to its 'mother figure'. Lorenz' goslings showed no recognition of their real mother.

Lorenz, in some of his experiments, got young ducks and goslings to imprint on inanimate objects such as wellington boots.

Stephen Lea (1984) proposed that instinct gives the chicks the concept or template of the mother but the environment has to supply the details.

What is imprinting?



What is a critical period?

What do these results suggest about the cause of attachment? (nature? Nurture?)
Explain your answer

Why would it make sense from an evolutionary point of view for the offspring to be programmed to get attached?

Sexual Imprinting

What is it? Use Page 78 to describe this with the study example

Evaluation of Lorenz (AO3)

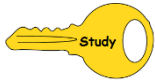
Can we generalise the results of Lorenz's study to humans? Explain your answer (hint: goslings are mobile as soon as they hatch it takes 6-7 months for human babies to be mobile, do mother geese respond in the same way to their offspring than human mothers?) Page 79.



Some of Lorenz's observations have been questioned

Later researchers have questioned some of Lorenz's conclusions. Eg. The idea that imprinting has a permanent effect on mating behaviour has been challenged.

Guiton (1966)



Harlow (1958) – Effects of privation



16 rhesus monkeys were separated from their mothers immediately after birth and placed in cages with access to two surrogate mothers, one made of wire and one covered in soft terry towelling cloth.

1. Eight of the monkeys could get milk from the wire mother
2. Eight monkeys could get milk from the cloth mother

The animals were studied for various length of time.

Results

Both groups of monkeys spent more time with the cloth mother (even if she had no milk). The infants of the second group would only go to the wire mother when hungry. Once fed they would return to the cloth mother for most of the day. If a frightening object was placed in the cage the infant took refuge with the cloth mother. The infant would explore more when the cloth mother was present.

Then Harlow observed the difference in behaviour differences between the monkeys who had grown up with surrogate mothers and those with normal mothers. They found that:

- They were much more timid.
- They didn't know how to behave with other monkeys and could be aggressive.
- They had difficulty with mating.
- The females were "inadequate" mothers some even killing their offspring.

These behaviours were observed only in the monkeys who were left with the surrogate mothers for more than 90 days. For those left less than 90 days the effects could be reversed if placed in a normal environment where they could form attachments.

Harlow concluded that "contact comfort" (provided by the cloth mother) was more important than food in the formation of attachment. This also shows that contact comfort is preferable to food but not sufficient for healthy development. He also concluded that early maternal deprivation leads to emotional damage but that its impact could be reversed in monkeys if an attachment was made before the end of the critical period. However if maternal deprivation lasted after the end of the critical period then no amount of exposure to mothers or peers could alter the emotional damage that had already occurred.

Evaluation of Harlow (AO3)

Theoretical Value

Harlow's findings have had a profound effect on psychologist's understanding of human mother-infant attachment. Most importantly Harlow showed that attachment does not develop as a result of being fed by a mother figure but as a result of contact comfort. Harlow also showed us the importance of the quality of early relationships for later social development including the ability to hold down adult relationships and successfully rear children.

Why is this an advantage?

Can Harlow's findings be applied to humans? Explain your answer

How could these findings be applied in real life?

What are the ethical issues raised by this research?





Apply Now

Spike is a zookeeper who specialises in the care of monkeys. He has just been asked by the police to take charge of a 45 day old orphan monkey called Poppy who was rescued from a home where she was kept alone in a cage with a soft towel. When Spike first meets the baby monkey, Poppy clings to the towel and screams in fear when she sees she's in a new environment. The police ask Spike what would have been the effect on Poppy had she not been rescued and what sort of future can she look forward to at the zoo.

Questions

1. Based on Harlow's research how would Poppy's social development have probably turned out if she had not been rescued?



Topic 4

Explanations of attachment



Nature
Bowlby's evolutionary theory

Vs

Nurture
Learning approach: conditioning

The Learning Theory explanation of attachment

The main assumption behind the learning theory explanation of attachment is that children learn to become attached to their caregiver because they give them food. This is sometimes referred to as 'cupboard love'.

Learning can be due to associations being made between different stimuli (classical conditioning) or behaviour can be altered by patterns of reinforcement (reward) and punishment (operant conditioning).

Classical conditioning - learning by association

- Food is an unconditioned stimulus that produces an unconditioned response (pleasure).
- At the outset, the caregiver is a neutral stimulus who produces no response.
- However, because she/he is continually paired with the unconditioned stimulus (food) she slowly becomes associated with it until eventually mother alone can produce pleasure.
- Mother has now become a conditioned stimulus and the pleasure she brings is a conditioned response.

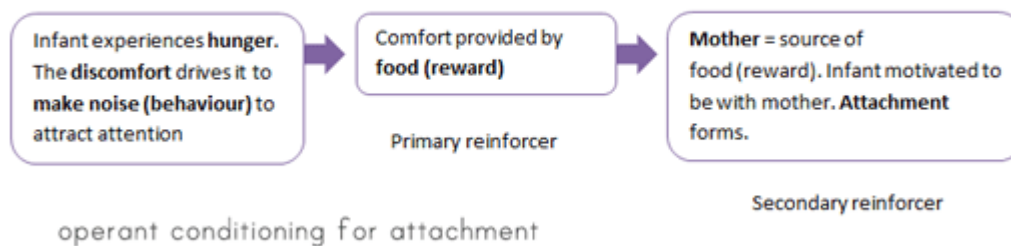
Illustrate below what goes in in classical conditioning - P80



Operant conditioning - learning by reinforcement

Dollard and Miller (1950) suggested that a hungry infant feels uncomfortable and this creates a drive (urge) to reduce the discomfort.

- Any behaviour resulting in rewards (pleasant consequences) is positively reinforced and therefore likely to be repeated
- Any behaviour that results in punishments (unpleasant consequences) is 'stamped out' and unlikely to be repeated
- Hungry infant feels uncomfortable & is driven to reduce discomfort. When fed it feels pleasure (reward).
- The food is a PRIMARY reinforcer as it directly satisfies hunger.
- The caregiver is a SECONDARY reinforcer as he/she is associated with the primary reinforcer(food).
- So, attachment occurs because the child seeks the person who can supply the reward (food).

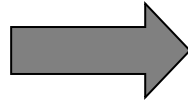


Classical Conditioning – learning by association

1. Before conditioning



Food



Happy baby

Label each stage with the appropriate stimulus or response. The box below tells you how many of each you should use.

2. During conditioning



Mother



Food

Food

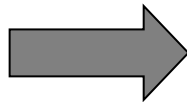


Happy baby

3. After conditioning



Mother



Happy baby

Unconditioned stimulus x 2
Unconditioned response x 2
Neutral stimulus x 1
Conditioned stimulus x 1
Conditioned response x 1

Attachment, according to Dollard and Miller, combines the two types of conditioning.

- Infants are reinforced in the behaviours that will produce desirable responses from others (i.e. fed when they cry)-Operant conditioning.
- They learn to associate the caregiver with the feeling of pleasure when they are fed. Classical conditioning.

This is called cupboard love



Describe the learning approach explanation of attachment in no more than 200 words

Evaluation (AO3)

Does evidence support the learning theory of attachment?

The basis of the learning theory of attachment is that the infant attaches because it needs food. However, this is not supported by evidence from research. Explain how the following studies could be used to challenge the learning theory of attachment:

Schaffer and Emerson (1964):

Harlow's monkeys (1958):

Lorenz's goslings

Apply It – Cheska’s Choice

Cheska is a baby. Her family is very well off and her mother has enlisted the help of a nanny to help with practical are. Cheska is bottle fed and most of her feeds are administered by the nanny. Cheska’s mother works part time so Cheska spends approximately the same number of hours with her mother as she does with her nanny. The nanny is mostly interested in practical care whereas when Cheska’s mother is with her she plays with her and spends a lot of time cuddling.

Questions

1. Cheska’s mother is concerned she will get more attached to her nanny because she usually feeds her. Based on your understanding of learning theory should she be worried?
2. Now looking at the criticisms of the learning theory account of attachment. How would you explain to Cheska’s mother that she might not need to worry? Refer to psychological evidence.



Bowlby's Evolutionary theory of attachment

Bowlby suggested that attachment is an innate process that serves an important **evolutionary** function

How does this explain attachment?

Evolution is the change in the inherited characteristic of an organism over time. Characteristics that are adaptive (increase the organism's chances of survival) will be passed on to the next generation.

- Attachment between infant and caregiver is a prime example of a behaviour pattern that is rooted in biology and evolution.
- Attachment behaviour has become programmed into human beings, and is found to operate similarly in almost all cultures.
- The purpose and function of attachment is the same regardless of ethnic or cultural differences: to keep the baby close to the caregiver for safety and protection; to allow the child to explore and learn within a safe context ("secure base"); and to develop a loving and reciprocal relationship which can be passed on through generations.

The main principles of Bowlby's Theory are the notion that infants form one main attachment (**monotropy**), that attachments provide an **internal working model** (template of expectations) for future attachments and that infants need to attach within a **critical period** (before the age of $2\frac{1}{2}$) or there may be lasting negative consequences.

Explanations of Attachment: Bowlby's Theory

Bowlby looked at work by Lorenz and Harlow and proposed an evolutionary explanation; that attachment was an innate system that gave a **survival advantage**. He suggests that imprinting (and attachment) evolved because they ensure young animals stay close to their caregivers and this protects them from hazards.

Monotropy

This is the idea that a child forms an attachment to

Bowlby believed the more time a baby spent with the primary attachment figure the better.

The law of continuity states that the more constant and predictable a child's care, the better the quality of their attachment.

The law of accumulated separation states that the effects of every separation from the mother add up so "the safest dose is therefore a zero dose" (Bowlby, 1975).

Internal working model

Bowlby suggests that children form a mental representation of their relationship with their primary caregiver. This is called an internal working model because it serves as a model for what relationships are like.

What will happen if a child has a bad experience in their first attachment?

It is suggested that IWM will impact on friendship relationships as well as the child's later ability to parent themselves, as they base their parenting behaviours on their own experience.

Critical period

There is a critical period from

..... where the attachment system is active. It is thought that if an attachment is not formed within this time it will be very difficult for a child to form an attachment later on.

Social releasers

Bowlby suggested that the babies are born with **innate** 'cute' behaviours such as smiling, cooing, gripping which

He called these social releasers because their purpose is to activate the adult attachment systems (e.g. make the adult feel love towards the baby). Bowlby recognised that attachment was reciprocal as adults have an innate predisposition to become attached and the social releasers trigger that response in caregivers. This exchange of behaviours between infants and caregivers gradually builds a relationship, within the early weeks of life.



Bowlby Evaluation

<i>Strength/supporting study</i>	<i>Explanation</i>
The theory has real life applications in hospitals.	
Hazen and Shaver (1987) used the 'Love Quiz' and found a strong relationship between childhood attachment type and adult attachment type. More specifically that people who had secure attachments as babies were happy and trusting of their partners, did not fear intimacy and believed in lasting love, whereas people with insecure attachments felt jealous, possessive and were afraid of abandonment.	
Brazelton et al. (1975) observed mothers and babies during their interactions and found that interactional synchrony existed. In addition to this he found that when parents were instructed to ignore their babies signals (social releasers) that the babies showed signs of distress and eventually curled up lying motionless.	

<i>Weakness/opposing study</i>	<i>Explanation</i>
Monotropy is a socially sensitive idea as it has major implications for the lifestyle choices mothers make when their children are young.	
Schaffer and Emerson (1964) found that children are able to form multiple attachments at the same time.	
Lamb (1987) found that infants had different attachments for different purposes rather for example; fathers for play, mothers for comfort etc.	
Although Lorenz's (1935) findings support the idea that we have innate attachment behaviours (he found geese imprint on the first moving objects they see, suggesting that they are 'pre-programmed' to form an attachment to increase their chance of survival) the research lacks generalisability.	

An alternative explanation for the apparent continuity in styles of attachment lies in **Jerome Kagan's Temperament Hypothesis** (1984). Kagan noted that innate temperamental characteristics which made infants 'easy' or 'difficult' had a serious impact on the quality of the mother-infant relationship and thus the attachment type. These innate temperamental characteristics would influence the individual throughout life and thus love relationships.

Apply It – Millie and Mark (AO2)

Bowlby identified a critical period after which human children cannot easily form a secure attachment.

Mark and Millie are considering adopting a child. They have made contact with a potential adoptee with a troubled past. The boy, Hugo, is now four years old. For his first two years Hugo lived with an abusive family and never formed a proper attachment.

Question

Based on your understanding of the critical period, what advice might you give Mark and Millie?

Topic 5: Measuring Attachment Types, Ainsworth's Strange Situation

Ainsworth's 'Strange Situation' Assessment

1. Parent and child are alone in a room.



2. Child explores the room without parental participation.



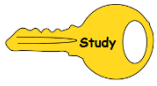
3. Stranger enters the room, talks to the parent, and approaches the child.



4. Parent quietly leaves the room.



5. Parent then returns and comforts the child.



Individual differences in attachment - The Strange Situation (Ainsworth, 1978)

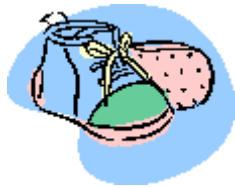


The Strange Situation is a procedure for assessing the quality of attachment between the infant and mother. It was developed by Mary Ainsworth et al (1978) and involves a series of episodes where the child is left alone and adults come in and out of the room. The procedure lasts for 24 minutes in total.

❖ What was the main aim of the study?

❖ Who were the participants?

❖ The Strange Situation uses a controlled observation methodology. Explain how this differs from a naturalistic observation:



Ainsworth assessed the quality of attachment on the basis of the child's response to specific episodes of the procedure. Explain each of the following terms, in relation to the Strange Situation:

❖ Proximity Seeking

❖ Exploration and Secure-Base Behaviour

❖ Stranger Anxiety

❖ Separation Anxiety

❖ Response to Reunion

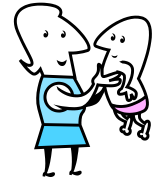
The Strange Situation - procedure



The Strange Situation procedure involved the child experiencing eight 'episodes'. Complete the storyboard with a description and illustration of what happened during each episode and what it tested:

1.	2.	3.	4.
5.	6.	7.	8.

The Strange Situation - results



Ainsworth identified three different types of attachment. Complete the table with a description of how each attachment type responded to each episode of the procedure, use the words 'strong', 'high' or 'low' to help:

TYPE OF ATTACHMENT	Mother present (exploration/safe base)	Mother leaves (separation anxiety)	Stranger enters (stranger anxiety)	Mother return (reunion behaviour)
Secure ----- %				
Insecure avoidant ----- %				
Insecure resistant ----- %				

Application (AO2) of attachment types

Read the following examples and then state which attachment type the child is according to Ainsworth's Strange Situation. Highlight the key phrases or words that helped you make your decision.

Child A

Sarah is at the park. Her mother quickly pops into a shop while Sarah is playing. Sarah cannot see her mother and can only see strangers. She continues playing seemingly unbothered by the absence of her mother.

Attachment Type:



Child B

Freddy is watching a television programme while playing. He becomes scared by the programme and climbs onto his mother's lap. He is comforted by his mother, and calms down. When he is calmer, he climbs down and continues playing.

Attachment Type:

Child C



Sam is dropped off by his mother at the house of a new babysitter. When the mother leaves, he cries incessantly. The babysitter cannot calm him down. Later on, when the mother comes to pick him up, she tries to comfort him, but he still cries, and tries to push his mother away.

Attachment Type:

Child D



Gemma is in a shop. She wanders off and loses sight of her mum. She starts crying, and a stranger finds her, and tries to comfort her. Gemma still cries and pushes the stranger away. When her mother finds her, Gemma is relieved and hugs her mother. She calms down.

Attachment Type:

In conclusion, the most complete explanation of why children develop different attachment types would be an interaction of the child's innate temperament and their parent's sensitivity towards their needs. **BELSKY and ROVINE (1987)** propose an interesting interactionist theory to explain the different attachment types. They argue that the child's attachment type is a result of both the child's innate temperament and also how the parent responds to them (i.e. the parents' sensitivity level). Additionally, the child's innate temperament may in fact influence the way their parent responds to them e.g To develop a secure attachment, a 'difficult' child would need a caregiver who is sensitive and patient for a secure attachment to develop.

Strengths



The strange situation classification has been found to have **good reliability**. Reliability of the 'Strange Situation' was demonstrated by Main et al (1985): They tested babies at 18 months and then retested them at 6 years of age. They found that 100% of the secure babies were still classified as secure and 75% of the avoidant babies were still under the same classification. This is called **test-retest reliability** and checks for consistency over time.

Ainsworth herself also tested **inter-rater reliability** (the extent to which different observers score a behaviour in a similar way). This was also found to be very high. **Bick (2012)** also looked at inter-rater reliability in a team of trained Strange Situation observers and found an agreement of attachment type for 94% of tested babies.

Why is this an advantage?

Support for Validity

Attachment type as defined by the Strange Situation is strongly predictive of later development. Babies assessed as secure attachment tend to go on to have better outcomes in many areas, ranging from success at school to romantic relationships and friendships in adulthood. Insecure-resistant attachment is associated with the worst outcomes including bullying in later childhood (Kokkinos, 2007) and adult mental health problems (Ward, 2006).

This is evidence for the validity of the concept because it can explain subsequent outcomes.

Limitations

Evidence against Validity

Mary Ainsworth's conclusion that the strange situation can be used to identify the child's type of attachment has been **criticised** on the grounds that it identifies only the type of attachment to the mother. The child may have a different type of attachment to the father or grandmother. This means that it **lacks validity**, as it is not measuring a general attachment style, but instead an attachment style specific to the mother.

In addition, some research has shown that the same child may show different attachment behaviours on different occasions. Children's attachments may change, perhaps because of changes in the child's circumstances, so a securely attached child may appear insecurely attached if the mother becomes ill or the family circumstances change.

Why is this a disadvantage?

The strange situation has also been criticised on ethical grounds. Why? What issues do you think can arise in this study?



Finally, the observational study has been criticised for having **low ecological validity** because the procedure takes place in an artificial setting (a laboratory). Why is this an issue?



The test may be Culture Bound

There is some doubt as to whether the Strange Situation is a **culture-bound test** i.e. it does not have the same meaning in other countries outside Western Europe and the USA.

This is for two reasons. First, cultural differences in childhood experiences are likely to mean that children respond different to the Strange Situation. Second, caregivers from different cultures behave differently in the Strange Situation.

For example, Takahashi (1990) has noted that the test does not really work in Japan because Japanese mothers are so rarely separated from their babies that, as we would expect, there are very high levels of separation anxiety. Also in the reunion stage Japanese mothers rushed to the baby to scoop them up, meaning the child's response was hard to observe.

Why is this a weakness of Ainsworth's study?

There is at least one more attachment type

Ainsworth conceived three attachment types - Insecure-Avoidant (A), Secure (B), and Insecure-Resistant (C). However, Main and Soloman (1986) pointed out that a minority of children display atypical attachments that do not fall within the types of A,B or C behaviour.

This atypical attachment is commonly known as **disorganised attachment** (D). Disorganised children display an odd mix of resistant and avoidance behaviours.

How does the existence of a disorganised attachment type challenge Ainsworth's idea of attachment types?

External Validity

- ❖ **The study lacks** this is because the study takes place in a controlled, A _____ environment. This means we cannot be sure that the behaviour of the child is reflective of their N _____, real life behaviour.



However, Ainsworth argues this point by saying that the strange situation is actually very similar to many situations a child encounters in their real life - such as being left with a baby sitter or at a nursery.

The original research had a **SMALL, LIMITED SAMPLE** and therefore lacks P _____ validity.

This is because Ainsworth only uses 26 child-mother pairs, all of whom are W _____, M _____ C _____ A _____.

This means the sample is UN- R _____ and therefore results may not generalise to the wider population.

Other evaluation points...

- ❖ **Some critics argue the strange situation has ETHICAL ISSUES**

This is because the research takes place in an unfamiliar environment and the procedure will cause the child to experience **DISTRESS**.

Therefore there are issues with _____ of _____

However, Ainsworth argues against this criticism by stating again that the situations which occur in the research are no more distressing than those a child will experience in their everyday life.



○



Apply It – James

- James is a one year old whose parents (Ruth and David) have decided to send James to a childminder. The first time James meets the childminder Ruth introduces them and stays with them while they play. James does play but keeps checking his mother is still present. When his mother leaves the room, James is upset and accepts her comfort when she returns. Ruth is a psychologist and concludes from this that James must be securely attached.
- *Based on your understanding of attachment types explain what Ruth means by a secure attachment and why she judged James to be securely attached (4 marks).*

Topic 6 Cultural variations in attachment



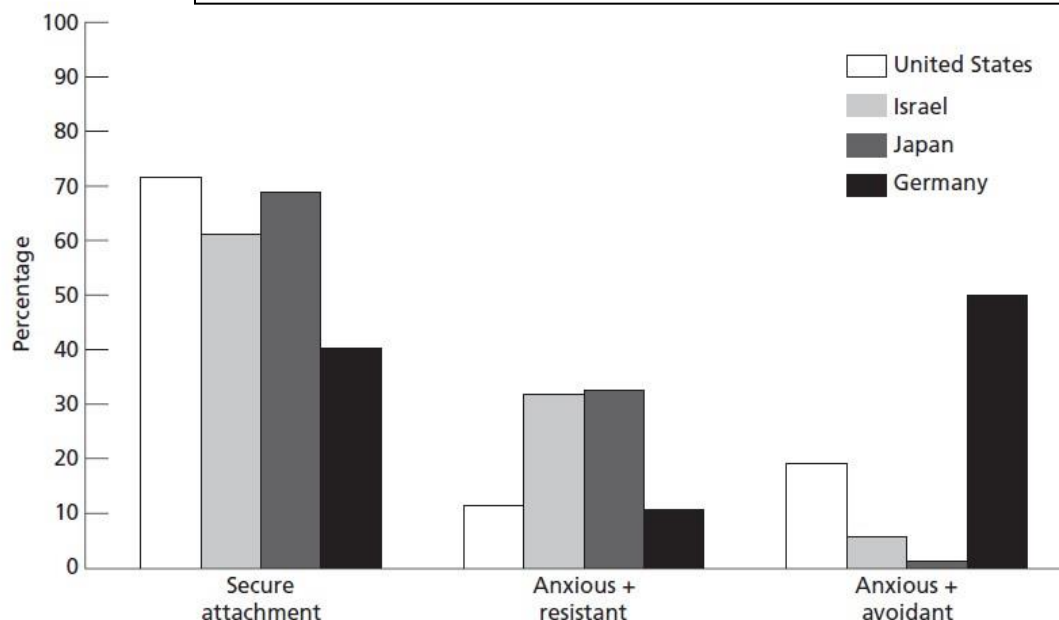
Cultural variations in attachment



Bowlby believed that attachments were innate; therefore the need to form this initial bond should be genetic and as a result experienced by the infants of every culture. However, the kind of attachment formed may vary between societies and between cultures depending upon the child rearing techniques seen as most desirable within that community. This section looks at different patterns of attachment found in other cultures and possible explanations for these differences.

Van Ijzendoorn and Kroonenberg (1988) carried out a meta-analysis combining the findings of 32 other studies of the strange situation from a variety of countries and based on the observation of over 2000 children. Their findings are displayed in the bar chart below:

A graph to show the findings of the Van Ijzendoorn and Kroonenberg (1988) study



Country	No. of Studies	% of Each Attachment Type		
		B - Secure	A - Avoidant	C - Resistant
Germany	3	56.6	35.3	8.1
Israel	2	64.4	6.8	28.8
Japan	2	67.7	5.2	27.1
China	1	50	25	25
USA	18	64.8	21.1	14.1
Great Britain	1	75	22.2	2.8

What conclusions can you make from the graph/table?

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Explanations of the cross cultural differences found by Van Ijzendoorn and Kroonenberg

Israeli children were reared in a Kibbutz so were used to being separated from their mother. As a result they do not show anxiety when their mother leaves. However, they are not used to strangers so get distressed when left alone with the stranger. This explains the high percentage of resistant behaviour. Fox (1977) tested children in the strange situation using either their mother or the metapelet (Kibbutz nurse). The children appeared similarly attached to both except for reunion behaviour where they were more pleased to see mother.

The **German** study highlights a high percentage of avoidant behaviour, typical of independent children. This is not surprising given that Grossmann et al (1985) say that German parents seek 'independent, non-clingy infants, who do not make demands on parents, but obey their commands.'

Japanese children show similar patterns of attachment to the Israeli children *but for different reasons*. Japanese children are very rarely left by their mother. So the distress they show when she leaves is probably more due to shock than it is to insecure attachment. The distress they show when left alone with the stranger is also more likely to be due to absence of the mother.



In conclusion, why do children from different cultures show different attachment styles?

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EVALUATION of Van Ijzendoorn and Kroonenberg's study

STRENGTHS	WEAKNESSES
<p><u>☑ The use of a META ANALYSIS is ETHICALLY SOUND</u></p> <p>Because there was no new data collection involved in the study (only analysis of secondary data), no more children had to be put through the potentially traumatic 'strange situation' procedure.</p> <p><u>☑The study has significant APPLICATIONS TO PSYCHOLOGY</u></p> <p>This study was the first large scale comparative analysis of attachment studies in different countries. The <i>conclusions significantly developed our understanding</i> of not just the different child rearing practices in different cultures but how these different child rearing practices can impact on a child's attachment type.</p>	<p><u>☒ The use of the STRANGE SITUATION in each study is an issue</u></p> <p>This is because the strange situation is argued to be an <i>ETHNOCENTRIC procedure</i>. It was developed in America, based on American norms, so it may only be useful for studying Western children. Using it to assess the attachments of non-western children could be argued to be inappropriate as it does not take into account culturally specific elements. Its use is therefore an <i>IMPOSED ETIC</i> when used in non western cultures.</p> <p><u>☒ The study may NOT BE TRULY REPRESENTATIVE</u></p> <p>In some countries, Van Ijzendoorn only looked at a small number of studies (e.g.1 in china compared to 18 in the USA). This means the results for these countries <i>may not be truly representative and may not generalise to the country at large</i>.</p>

Other Studies of Cultural Variations

Use page 86 to summarise the two other studies into cultural variations. You must include details of the study, findings and conclusions of the study.

Simonella (2014)- An Italian Study

Jin (2012) - A Korean Study

General Conclusions

Evaluation (AO3)

Large Sample

A strength of combining the results of attachment studies carried out in different countries is that you can end up with a very large sample.

Eg. In the Van Ijzendoorn meta-analysis there a total of nearly 2000 babies and their primary caregiver attachment figures. Even the Simonella and Jin studies had large comparison groups from previous research, although their own samples were smaller.

Why is this a strength?



Samples tend to be Unrepresentative of Culture

The meta-analysis by Van Izjendoorn claimed to study cultural variations wheras, in fact, the comparisons were between countries, not cultures. Within any country there are many cultures each with different child-rearing practices.

One sample might, for example over-represent people living in poverty, the stress of which might affect caregiving and hence patterns of attachment.

An analysis by Van Izjendoorn and Sagi (2001) found that distributions of attachment type in Tokyo (an urban setting) were similar to Western studies, whereas a more rural sample had an over-representation of insecure-resistant individuals.

What does this mean about comparisons between countries? What should be done to make this more valid?



Method of Assessment is Biased

Cross cultural psychology includes the ideas of etic and emic. Etic means cultural universals while emic means cultural uniqueness.

The Strange Situation was designed by an American researcher (Ainsworth) based on a British theory (Bowlby's).

There is a question over whether Anglo-American theories and assessments can be applied to other cultures.

Trying to apply a theory or technique designed for one culture to another culture is known as an **imposed etic**.

An example of imposed etic may be the idea that a lack of separation anxiety and lack of pleasure on reunion indicate an insecure attachment in the Strange Situation.

In Germany this behaviour may be seen more as independence than avoidance and hence not a sign of insecurity within that cultural context. (Grossman and Grossman, 1990)

Why is this a weakness?



Look back at the explanation for Japanese infants showing Avoidant-Resistant. Why could this also be an imposed etic?



Apply It - Helga's Worried (AO2)

The proportion of infants classified with each attachment type differs between nationalities. Helga and Lars have recently moved from Germany with their son Kurt. They take part in some attachment research at their local university and are disturbed to hear that Kurt has an insecure-avoidant attachment.

Question

Should Helga and Lars be concerned by this? Refer to the proportions of German children of each attachment type in the Van IJzendoorn study.

Topic 7 : Bowlby's Theory of Maternal Deprivation



"Mother love in infancy is just as important for a child's mental health, as vitamins and minerals are for physical health" Bowlby, 1953

Bowlby (1951) considered that a strong attachment to a mother figure was essential for the *psychological, emotional and intellectual development* of babies and toddlers. Loss of an existing attachment, 'maternal deprivation' could result in serious and long-lasting problems - even affectionless psychopathy. He argued that the first *2.5 years of life*, the critical period, were crucial if the child was separated from their primary attachment figure (often the mother) for an extended period of time and in the absence of substitute care, damage was inevitable.

Brief separations do not have any long lasting effects according to Bowlby, deprivation only occurs if the child is separated from the person he/she has made a primary attachment with for an extended period of time in the absence of substitute emotional care.



According to Bowlby, prolonged separation causes serious damage to a child's emotional and intellectual development.

Separation versus Deprivation

There is an important distinction to be made between separation and deprivation. Separation simply means the child not being in the presence of the primary attachment figure. This only becomes an issue for development if the child is deprived i.e. they lose an element of her care.

Brief separations, particularly where the child is with a substitute caregiver, are not significant for development but extended separations can lead to deprivation, which by definition causes harm.

Bowlby's theory of monotropy suggests that psychological development is dependent on attachments between infant and their mothers/caregivers. Bowlby's theory of maternal deprivation explains what happens if these attachments are broken (deprivation).

He suggests that disruption of these bonds within the **critical period (approximately first 2 years)** can have serious consequences. These consequences are:-

Intellectual development:

Emotional development:



Bowlby's 44 thieves study

Aim: This study examined the links between affectionless psychopathy and maternal deprivation.

Procedure: They used a sample of 44 teenage delinquents (accused of stealing). The pps were interviewed for signs of affectionless psychopathy. Their families were also interviewed to establish if there was prolonged early separation from their mothers. A control group of 44 non-criminal teenagers, with emotional problems were all assessed to see how often maternal deprivation occurred to the children who were not thieves.

Results: 14/44 thieves were affectionless psychopaths and 17/44 had maternal separation. Of the 14 that were affectionless, 12 also had experienced prolonged separation in the first two years of life. In the control group 2/44 had maternal separation but 0/44 were categorised as affectionless psychopaths.

Conclusion: Prolonged separation/deprivation caused affectionless psychopathy.

Theory of Maternal Deprivation Evaluation

<i>Point/Evidence</i>	<i>Explanation</i>
The study cannot establish casual relationships as the findings were correlational.	
The study uses retrospective self-report data.	
Goldfarb (1947) found a lower IQ in children who had remained in institutions as opposed to those who were fostered and thus had a higher standard of emotional care.	
Koluchova (1976) reported the case of twin boys from Czechoslovakia who were isolated from the age of 18 months until they were 7 years old (their step-mother kept them locked in a cupboard). Subsequently they were looked after by two loving adults and appeared to recover fully.	

Evaluation (AO3)

The evidence might be poor

Bowlby drew on a number of sources of evidence for maternal deprivation including studies of children orphaned during the Second World War, those growing up in poor quality orphanages, and his 44 thieves study.

However, these are all flawed as evidence. War orphans were traumatised and often had poor after care, therefore these factors might have been the causes of later development difficulties rather separation. Similarly, children growing up from birth in poor quality institutions were deprived of many aspects of care, not just maternal care.

Furthermore, the 44 thieves study had some major design flaws, most importantly, bias; Bowlby himself carried out the assessments for affectionless psychopathy and the family interviews, knowing what he hoped to find.

Why is it an issue that Bowlby carried out the interviews and assessments? What is it this called? What could be done instead to increase validity?



Counter-Evidence

Not all research has supported Bowlby's findings. For example, Lewis (1954) partially replicated the 44 thieves study on a larger scale, looking at 500 young people. In her sample a history of prolonged separation from the mother did not predict criminality or difficulty in forming close relationships.

Why is this a problem for the theory of maternal deprivation?



Animal studies show the effects of maternal deprivation

Although most psychologists are very critical of the theory of maternal deprivation, an interesting line of research has provided some support for the idea that maternal deprivation can have long-term effects.

Levy et al (2003) showed that separating baby rats from their mother for as little as a day had a permanent effect on their social development though not other aspects of development.

To what extent can studies like this be said to support the theory of maternal deprivation?



Apply It - A Deprivation Study (AO2)

William Goldfarb (1955) followed up 30 orphaned children to age 12. Of the original sample half had been fostered by four months of age whilst the other half remained in an orphanage. At 12 their IQ was assessed using a standard IQ test called the Stanford-Binet test. It was found that the fostered group had an average IQ of 96 whereas the group that remained in the orphanage averaged on 68, within the retarded range.

Question

Explain Goldfarb's results using Bowlby's theory of maternal deprivation.

Topic 8: Romanian Orphan Studies- Effects of Institutionalisation



An institution is a place where people live for a long time (they do not go home in the evening) for example orphanages.

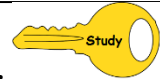
In Romania, the Ceauşescu regime aimed to increase the population by not allowing abortion or contraception. Many families could not look after their children so they were placed in orphanages where there was very little physical or emotional care and no cognitive stimulation.

When the regime collapsed in 1989 these children were found and many were adopted outside Romania i.e. in the UK, France and Canada.

Privation occurs when children have never formed an attachment. This is more likely to happen in institutions if there is poor emotional care although it can happen also outside institutions in situations where there is severe neglect.



Rutter and Songua-Barke (2010)



Sample: 165 Romanian children (previously lived in institutions) of these 111 adopted before the age of 2 and 54 adopted by the age of 4.

They were **compared** to 52 British children adopted by the age of 6 months.

The children were tested regularly for physical, social and cognitive development at the ages of 4,6,11,15.

Findings: at the time of adoption, the Romanian children were behind the British children in all three aspects. Cognitively they were classified as mentally retarded. By 4, most of the Romanian children who had been adopted by the age of 6 months had caught up with the British children. Many of the children adopted after the age of 6 months showed **disinhibited attachment*** and had difficulties with peer relationships.

** Disinhibited attachment: The child doesn't seem to prefer his or her parents over other people, even strangers. The child seeks comfort and attention from virtually anyone, without distinction.*

What conclusion can we draw from this study?

Evaluate Rutter & Songua-Barke

The Bucharest Early Intervention project

Zeanah et al. (2005) assessed the attachment in 95 children aged between 12-31 months who had spent an average of 90% of their life in an institution and compared them to a control group who spent their life in a "normal family". The attachment type was measured using the Strange Situation.

Findings:

74% of the control group was found to be securely attached but only 19% of the institutionalised group. 65% of this group were classified as **disorganised attachment**.

LeMare and Audet (2006)

They carried out a longitudinal study on the physical growth and health of 36 Romanian orphans adopted by Canadian families and compared them to a group of children raised in normal Canadian families. Data was collected for each child at three time points: at 11 months after adoption, at 4.5 years of age and at 10.5 years of age.

Findings:

The first two sets of results showed that the adoptees were behind the non-institutionalised group however by 10.5 years old there was no difference between the two groups. The Romanian orphans had caught up with the children raised in normal Canadian families.

Evaluation (AO3)

Real-Life Application

Studying the Romanian orphans has enhanced our understanding of the effects of institutionalisation. Such results have led to improvements in the way children are cared for in institutions (Langton, 2006).

E.g. Orphanages and children's homes now avoid having large numbers of caregivers for each child and instead ensure that a much smaller number of people, perhaps only one or two, play a central role for the child. This person is called a key worker. Having a key worker means children have the chance to develop normal attachments and helps avoid disinhibited attachment.

Why is this a strength?

Fewer extraneous variables than other orphan studies.

There were many orphan studies before the Romanian orphans became available to study but often these studies involved children who had experienced loss or trauma before they were institutionalised. E.g. They may have experienced neglect, abuse, or bereavement.

It's very difficult to observe the effects of institutionalisation in isolation because the children were dealing with multiple factors which functioned as **confounding participant variables**.

How do the Romanian orphan studies allow researchers to study the effects of institutionalisation without these confounding variables? How does this increase the internal validity?

The Romanian orphanages were not typical

Although much useful data about institutionalisation has come out of Romanian orphan studies, it is possible that conditions were so bad that results cannot be applied to understanding the impact of better quality institutional care or indeed any situation where children experience deprivation.

For example, Romanian orphanages has particularly poor standards of care, especially when it came to forming any relationship with children, and extremely low levels of intellectual stimulation.

Why is this a limitation?

Ethical Issues

One of the methodological issues for Rutter's ERA project is that children were not randomly assigned to conditions. The researchers did not interfere with the adoption process, which means that those children adopted early may have been the more social ones, a confounding variable.

To control for such variables, another major investigation of fostering versus institutional care, did use random allocation. In the Bucharest Early Intervention project, Romanian orphans were randomly allocated to institutional care or fostering. This is methodologically better because it removes the confounding variable of which children are chosen by parents but it does raise ethical issues.

Why?

Apply It - Nadia (AO2)

Nadia was adopted when she two years old. Prior to this she had lived in a home for orphans. Now at the age of 11 she is doing well at school but her parents and teachers have noticed that she has a tendency to be attention seeking, including with strangers. Her adoptive parents wonder if this could be related to her early experiences before being adopted.

Question

Referring to the effect of institutionalisation, explain why Nadia may be showing this unusual social behaviour.

Topic 9: Influence of early attachment on later relationships

According to Bowlby's theory when we form our primary attachment we also make a mental representation of what a relationship is (*internal working model*) which we then use for all other relationships in the future i.e. friendships, working and romantic relationships.

This implies then that we should find a positive correlation between the quality of primary attachment and later attachments.

Secure, emotionally responsive early experiences



Secure, emotionally responsive



Secure, quality childhood friendships



Secure, trusting adult romantic relationships



Attachment Theory



Attachments are an instinctive thing that are formed to help survival.

The first attachment we form is to our parents and will depend on how sensitive the mothers care is (Ainsworth).

The attachment type you develop in childhood (secure/insecure) will continue into later relationships (continuity hypothesis).

- **The continuity hypothesis** sees children's attachment types being reflected in their later relationships. This idea is based upon the internal working model where an infant's primary attachment forms a model (template) for future relationships.
- In other words there will be continuity between early attachment experiences and later relationships.

The quality of the child's first attachment is crucial because this template will powerfully affect the nature of their future relationships.

Eg. A child's first experience is of a loving relationship with a reliable caregiver will tend to assume this is how relationships are meant to be.

A child with bad experiences of their first attachment will bring these bad experiences to bear on later relationships.

This may mean that they struggle to form relationships in the first place or they may not behave appropriately when they have them, displaying Type A behaviour (too uninvolved or too emotional close) or Type C behaviour (controlling or argumentative) towards friends and partners.

- According to attachment theory, the child who has a secure attachment style should be more confident in interactions with friends.
- Considerable evidence has supported this view.
- For example, **the Minnesota study (2005)** followed participants from infancy to late adolescence and found continuity between early attachment and later emotional/social behaviour.
- **Securely attached children were rated most highly for social competence later in childhood, were less isolated and more popular than insecurely attached children.**

Why might this be the case?

- **Hartup et.al (1993)** argues that children with a secure attachment type are more popular at nursery and engage more in social interactions with other children.
- In contrast, insecurely attached children tend to be more reliant on teachers for interaction and emotional support.

Why might they have found this result?

Ethics briefing

This study involves questions that may be related to sensitive information about your early life experiences and which may suggest problematic adult relationships. You *do not* have to complete this questionnaire and you *do not* have to allow your data to be used in research. Please note that the suggested correlation between early experience and later relationships is not 100 per cent – there are many individuals who overcome early, unfavourable circumstances. In addition this correlation is not proven.

Question 1: Which of the following best describes your parents' relationships with each other?

- a) My parents had a caring relationship and are affectionate with each other
- b) My parents appear to have a good enough relationship with each other but are not especially affectionate.
- c) My parents have a reasonable relationship and are sometimes affectionate towards each other.

Question 2: Which of the following best describes your relationship with your mother?

- a) My mother treats me with respect and is accepting and not demanding. She is confident about herself
- b) My mother is humourous, likable and respected by others. She treats me with respect.
- c) My mother treats me with respect but is sometimes cold and rejecting.

Question 3: Which of the following best describes your relationship with your father?

- a) My father is sometimes affectionate but can be unfair.
- b) My father is caring, affectionate and humourous.
- c) My father is reasonably caring.

Question 4: Select the statement that best describes your experiences of intimacy.

- a) I find that others are reluctant to get as close as I would like.
- b) I find it relatively easy to get close to others and am comfortable depending on them and having them depend on me.
- c) I am somewhat uncomfortable being close to others; I find it difficult to trust them completely, difficult to allow myself to depend on them.

Question 5: Select the statement that best describes your experiences of intimacy.

- a) I don't often worry about being abandoned or about someone getting too close to me.
- b) I often worry that my partner doesn't really love me or won't want to stay with me.
- c) I am nervous when anyone gets too close, and often romantic partners want me to be more intimate than I feel comfortable being.

Question 6: Select the statement that best describes your experiences of intimacy.

- a) I enjoy relationships but am generally quite self-sufficient.
- b) I have been lucky in love and most of my relationships are rewarding. I still like the people I was involved with.
- c) At times I wish I could just melt into someone so we could get beyond our separateness.

Question 7: Select the statement that best describes your attitudes towards love.

- a) The kind of head-over-heels love that is depicted in novels and in the movies does not exist in real life
- b) It's easy to fall in love and I often find myself beginning to fall in love, though I am not sure that it really is love.
- c) Love is a positive and real experience.

Question 8: Select the statement that best describes your attitudes towards love.

- a) It is rare to find a person one can really fall in love with.
- b) In some relationships romantic love never fades.
- c) Most of us could love many people equally well, there is no 'one true love'.

Question 9: Select the statement that best describes your attitudes towards love.

- a) I think that romantic feelings do wax and wane.
- b) Romantic feelings wax and wane but at times they reach the intensity experienced at the start of a relationship.
- c) Intense romantic love is common at the start of a relationship but rarely lasts.

The Love Quiz - Hazan and Shaver (1987)



AIMS: Hazan & Shaver were interested in **John Bowlby's** idea that an infant's first attachment formed an **internal working model** - a template - for all future relationships. They wanted to see if there was a **correlation** between the infant's **attachment type** and their future approach to romantic relationships.

PROCEDURE: To test this Hazan & Shaver devised the '**Love Quiz**' which consisted of 2 components:-

- A measure of attachment type - a simple adjective checklist of childhood relationships with parents and parents' relationships with each other
 - A love experience questionnaire which assessed individual's beliefs about romantic love - eg: whether it lasted forever, whether it could be found easily, how much trust there was in a romantic relationship, etc

The *Love Quiz* was printed in local newspaper the *Rocky Mountain News* and readers were asked to send in their responses. Hazan & Shaver analysed the first 620 replies sent in from people aged from 14 to 82. They classified the respondents' according to **Mary Ainsworth's** infant attachment types of **secure**, **anxious-resistant** and **anxious-avoidant** and looked for corresponding adult love styles:

- **Secure types** described their love experiences as happy, friendly and trusting - emphasising being able to accept their partner regardless of any faults - with such relationships tending to be more enduring, with the initial passion reappearing from time to time and for some 'romantic love' never fading. They were happy depending on others and comfortable if others are dependent on them. They were happy to be close to others.
- **Anxious-resistant types** experienced love as involving obsession, a desire for reciprocation, emotional highs and lows, extreme sexual attraction and jealousy, and worry that their partners didn't really love them or might abandon them. Their desire for intense closeness could frighten others away.
- **Anxious-avoidant types** typically feared intimacy, emotional highs and lows, and jealousy and believed they did not need love to be happy. They were uncomfortable being close to and/or depending on others.

RESULTS: Hazan & Shaver found a strikingly high correlation between the infant attachment types and the adult romantic love styles.

Hazan and Shaver (1987) tested Bowlby's hypothesis with their 'love quiz'. This was a quiz of nearly 100 questions published in the *Rocky Mountain News*. They received 620 replies to their questionnaire and drew the following conclusions.

Securely attached adults	Insecurely attached adults
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • had certain beliefs (love is enduring) • reported certain experiences (e.g. mutual trust) • were less likely to have been divorced 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • felt true love was rare; fell in and out of love easily • found relationships less easy • were more likely to be divorced

	Secure adults	Resistant (anxious) adults	Avoidant adults
Different love experiences	Relationships are positive	Preoccupied by love	Fearful of closeness.
Adults' views of relationships	Trust others and believe in enduring love	Fall in love easily but have trouble finding true love	Love is not durable nor necessary for happiness
Memories of the mother-child relationship	Positive image of mother as dependable and caring	Conflicting memories of mother being positive and rejecting	Remember mothers as cold and rejecting

In terms of attachment style 56 per cent classified themselves as secure, 25 per cent as avoidant and 19 per cent as resistant. Love experience and attitudes towards love (internal working model) were related to attachment type.

CONCLUSIONS: Hazan & Shaver concluded that there was evidence to support the concept of the inner working model having a life-long effect. However, they did concede that not everyone stayed true to their infant attachment style and that some people did change as they grew older.

In the short version of the **Hazan & Shaver's Love Quiz** the questions make assessments as follows:

- Q 1, 2 and 3 assess attachment history
- Q 4, 5 and 6 assess adult attachment type
- Q 7, 8 and 9 assess mental models of relationships

QUESTION	A	B	C
1	secure	insecure avoidant	insecure resistant
2	secure	insecure resistant	insecure avoidant
3	insecure resistant	secure	insecure avoidant
Score for part A (dominant category chosen (secure, insecure-avoidant or insecure-resistant) =			
4	insecure resistant	insecure avoidant	secure
5	secure	insecure resistant	insecure avoidant
6	insecure avoidant	secure	insecure resistant
Score for part B (the dominant category chosen (secure, insecure-avoidant or insecure-resistant) =			
7	insecure avoidant	insecure resistant	secure
8	insecure avoidant	secure	insecure resistant
9	insecure resistant	secure	insecure avoidant
Score for part C (the dominant category chosen (secure, insecure-avoidant or insecure-resistant) =			

Evaluation of Hazan and Shaver (AO3)

<i>Point/Evidence</i>	<i>Explanation</i>
They used self report measures (interview/survey) to assess attachment styles and relationships with parents.	
This was a correlational study.	
People were recording their memories of infant experience so was using retrospective data.* * This evaluation point can used in the general evaluation of the whole topic.	
Additionally, the responders were self-selecting	

Influence of early attachment on adult parent relationships

- Research indicates an intergenerational continuity between adults attachment types and their children, including children adopting the parenting styles of their own parents.
- People tend to base their parenting style on the internal working model so attachment type tends to be passed on through generations of a family.
- Research by Bailey et.al (2007) found that the majority of women had the same attachment classification both to their babies and their own mothers.

Evaluation (AO3)

Evidence on continuity of attachment type is mixed.

Internal Working Model predicts continuity between the security of an infant's attachment and that of its later relationships, i.e. attachment type in infancy is usually the same as that characterising the person's later relationships.

Evidence for this continuity is mixed. Some studies, like Hazan and Shaver, do appear to support continuity and so provide evidence for this internal working model.

Not all studies, however, support internal working models. E.g. Zimmerman (2000) assessed infant attachment types and adolescent's attachment to parents. There was very little relationship between quality of infant and adolescent attachment.

Why is this an issue?

Most studies have issues of validity* - see previous point on Hazan and Shaver evaluation.

Association does not mean causation

In those studies where infant attachment type is associated with the quality of later relationships the implication is that the infant attachment type causes the attachment. However, there are alternative explanations for the continuity that often exists between infant and later relationships.

A third environmental factor such as parenting style might have a direct effect on both attachment and the child's ability to form relationships with others.

Alternatively the child's temperament may influence both infant attachment and the quality of later relationships.

Why is this a limitation?

The influence of early attachment is probabilistic

It does seem very likely that the quality of infant attachments is an influence on later relationships.

However, some attachment researchers, including Bowlby, have probably exaggerated the significance of this influence.

Clarke and Clarke (1998) describe the influence of infant attachment on later relationships probabilistic. People are not *doomed* to always have bad relationships just because they had attachment problems. They just have a greater risk of problems. There is a further issue that by emphasising this risk we become too pessimistic about people's futures.

On balance is it better to know the risks or is such research best avoided because it is potentially damaging? Write your thoughts.

Apply It - Internal Working Models in Social Work (AO2)

Sarah works in Social Services assessing risk to children from parents that have been referred to after issues have arisen with the quality of their parenting.

She has just received a new case; a neighbour of a family with a 10 year old girl has complained that the child has been neglected. When Sarah interviews the mother about the family it emerges that the mother was neglected in her own childhood.

Question

Referring to internal working models, explain what Sarah might think about origins of the alleged neglect.