

# Attachment

a close emotional bond between child + caregiver

attachment is necessary to promote proximity between child and caregiver in order to provide safety and security

Maccoby's Characteristics of Attachment:

- infant **seeks proximity**
- infant + caregiver feel **distressed** at separation
- returns to a **safe base** intermittently
- infant + caregiver feel **pleasure** when reunited

**Deprivation:** loss of an attachment that has been formed

**Privation:** absence of attachment

**Social Releasers:** an innate behaviour that helps initiate a response from a carer

**Imprinting:** an innate behaviour that creates a bond between an animal and its offspring to maintain close proximity

# Bowlby's Theory of Attachment

## Evolutionary Theory

- ensure young maintained close proximity in order to protect
- innate → mechanism to ensure survival
- babies are indiscriminate at first
- 6-9 months prefer one person in particular

## Stages of Attachment

- 1) babies respond indiscriminately  
eyecontact/tracking, grasping, smiling (pp behaviours)
- 2) child uses social releasers (crying/smiling)  
directly to PCG at 3-6 months
- 3) 6 months intense attachment to PCG  
treat strangers w/ fear  
safe base  
distress/joy

## Imprinting

- Lorenz - geese
  - follow closest moving object after hatching
- more likely to occur in first 12-24hrs of life  
↳ critical period

## Safe Base

- old theories: 'cupboard love' need for food
- Harlow - rhesus monkeys
  - preferred cloth (only 2hrs/day on wire for food)
  - 'contact comfort'
  - fear = cling to cloth

## Monotropy

- bias of child to attach to one child in particular
- most likely to be the mother

## Internal Working Model

- personality development into adulthood was defined by early attachment experiences
- forms a memory/template of what relationships are like
- mother provides safe base → competence + resilience in later life
- sensitive-responsive mother → +ive int. working model

# Evaluation: Bowlby's Theory

## Strengths

- The Love Quiz (Hazan and Shaver) supports internal working model
  - ↳ correlatory research - no cause + effect
  - ↳ retrospective research - not reliable
- Support from Lorenz (Imprinting) and Harlow (safe base)
- Application → hospitals + daycare

## Weaknesses

- Schaffer and Emerson (1964) found only 13% of 60 babies had one single attachment (against monotropy)
  - ↳ BUT found there was a hierarchy (more distress for 1) - supports
- social control: suggests temporary separation has effects (working mother guilt)
- Kagan (1984) temperament hypothesis against internal working model
- animal research → not generalisable
  - we attach slower

# Ainsworth's work on Attachment.

- Bowlby's assistant - developed his ideas

## The Strange Situation

- 20min procedure
- structural observation
- examine infant-parent interactions when in a strange situation

The episodes:

- 1) mother + child invited to play in a lab playroom
- 2) mother sits on chair, child plays on floor
- 3) stranger enters + talks to mother
- 4) mother leaves (child w/ stranger)
- 5) mother returns + stranger leaves
- 6) mother leaves (child alone)
- 7) stranger enters + tries to interact
- 8) mother returns + stranger leaves

Behaviour looked at:

- separation behaviour
- stranger response
- reunion behaviour
- exploring

Attachment Types:

secure (type B) → 70%

- distressed when mum leaves
- avoids stranger
- seeks comfort from mother
- explores from safe base of mother

insecure-avoidant → 20% (type A)

- not upset when mother leaves

- stranger can interact + comfort
- ignores mother on return
- explores independently

insecure-resistant / ambivalent → 10% (type C)

- very intense distress
- stranger fear
- approaches mother but pushes her away
- cling to mum, hardly explores

### The Maternal Sensitivity Hypothesis

secure → sensitive, responsive mothering

insecure-avoidant → insensitive, interfering + rejecting

insecure-resistant → inconsistent mothering

Sensitivity of mother affects attachment type

## Evaluation: Ainsworth

### The Strange Situation:

- lacks ecological validity
  - ↳ child may behave differently in familiar env.
- ethically wrong
  - ↳ child distressed
  - ↳ BUT stopped if more than momentarily upset
- inter-rater reliability
  - ↳ recorded + reviewed by many observers
- validity
  - ↳ standardised + controlled environment
  - ↳ not good for accustomed to separation (daycare)

### The Maternal Sensitivity Hypothesis:

- Kagan's (1984) temperament hypothesis can be contrasted.

# Short Term Effects of Separation

Separation Anxiety → desire to be close to mother  
→ distress when separated  
→ from 7 months

Robertson's research helped the PDD model



protest, despair, detachment

Systematically made notes at residential nursery + hospital

# Parental visitation was restricted

Robertson made documentaries on his naturalistic observations

Robertson and Bowlby (1952) suggested 3 stages:

## Protest

- several hours or days
- cry profusely + seek mother figure
- refuse comfort OR exaggerated clinging

## Despair

- no longer anticipates return
- withdrawn + mourning
- self-soothing behaviours (rocking, thumb-sucking)

## Detachment

- regains interest in environment
- accepts comfort
- doesn't display normal reunion behaviour (reject)



## Evaluation:

### Generalisability

- small sample size

### Reliability

- similar to anaclitic depression due to institutionalisation found by Spitz

### Application

- visiting + staying w/ child freely accepted
- child stays w/ mum in prison

### Validity

- high as naturalistic observation

### Ethics

- distress + protection of child

### More?

- could be associated factors eg. unfamiliar environ.  
↳ Spiro (1958) disproved + Fagin (1966)

# Bowlby's Maternal Deprivation Hypothesis (1953)

Proposed to explain adverse consequences of separation during sensitive period

Key Points:

- children have an **innate** need for a **warm, continuous** relationship
- if the main bond is broken in early years there will be **adverse effects** on emotional, social and cognitive **development**
- if many separations are experienced, detachment and despair may **persist** in future life
- effects are **long-lasting** and **irreversible**

Effects of Maternal Deprivation: **ADDIDDAS**

**A**ggression

**D**elinquency

**D**warfism

**I**ntellectual retardation

**D**epression

**D**ependency

**A**ffectionless psychopathy

**S**ocial maladjustment

# Long-Term Effects of Deprivation

## Evidence:

- Goldfarb (1943)
- Bowlby's 44 thieves
- Olshavsky (2013)
- Rutter - Romanian Orphans.

## Goldfarb (1943)

- development of children raised in institutions
- 3yrs - institution children were intellectually + socially behind fostered (from birth)
- continued in adolescence + shows difficulty forming relationship
- BUT could have been unstimulating + neglectful environment rather than lack of mother

## Bowlby's 44 thieves

- 17 had prolonged periods of separation 6m+ before 6yrs
- 12/17 had affectionless characters
- 14/44 were affectionless characters
- suggests LT consequence was lack of empathy + guilt and delinquent behaviour
- watch video: 'John Bowlby's 44 Juvenile Thieves: Methodology and Attachment Theory'

## Olshavsky (2013)

- institution children showed diff amygdala functions to non-deprived children
- amygdala controls emotions (bio: aggression)  
↳ explains link w/ MD and indiscriminate friendliness

## Rutter

- see news clip on folder

## Evaluation:

- correlational research
  - ↳ can't establish cause + effect
- retrospective data → relies on memory
- 27/44 thieves had not suffered maternal deprivation
- Goldfarb: could be unstimulating environment

## Reducing Negative Effects of Deprivation

MDH says effects of long term are irreversible so according to this only short term effects of separation can be truly ameliorated.

Robertsons fostered some children they observed (separately - not at same time)

PDD shown BUT significantly reduced when **good quality substitute care** was provided

What to do:

- provide substitute mother figure
- regular contact with parent / reminders of them
- maintain home life routine

Applications:

- day care centres and nurseries
- gov. policies regulate staff:child ratio

## Privation



complete absence of an attachment figure OR when attachment is never formed.

Occurs when suffered extreme neglect or placed in poor quality institutional care

Case studies:

- The Case of Genie (Curtiss, 1977)
- The Czech Twins (Koluchova, 1972)

\* A case study is more of a story than a procedure.

### The Case of Genie (Curtiss, 1977)

- 13yrs when discovered
- locked in room w/ cot, potty and cotton reels.
- parents claim she was mentally retarded as a baby
- moved to LA children's hospital
  - ↳ severe emotional + intellectual retardation
- few days showed signs of improvement
- language didn't develop above toddler level
- irreversible  $\ddot{\text{i}}$

### The Czech Twins (Koluchova, 1972)

- lost mother → institution → aunt → dad (18 months)
- stepmum locked in dark, small room for long periods
- discovered at 6 years
  - ↳ malnourished + mentally retarded
- children's home for rehab, then fostered
- 11yrs - normal speech, 14yrs - average IQ
- reversible  $\ddot{\text{i}}$

## Institutional Care:

### Case studies:

- Rutter
- Freud and Dann (1951)
- Hodges and Tizard (1989)

### Rutter - ERA Team

- longitudinal study
- Romanian orphans adopted into UK families
- Romanian adoptees caught up in weight, height + cog. abi.
- issues w/ overactivity, forming attach. + social inf.
- only had prolonged effect if adopted after 6 months.

### Freud and Dann (1951)

- 6 children raised in concentration camp.
  - ↳ infrequent + can't form bc death
- seen for treatment at 3 yrs
- intense bonds with each other
- began to form attachments w/ clinic staff
- normal adult behaviours, 1 psychiatric care

### Hodges and Tizard (1989)

- 65 children in institution w/ high staff turnover + policy to not form attachments
- 4 yrs: 24 adopted, 15 bio, 26 remain
- 16 yrs: adopted had formed relationships + were happy  
bio difficulty showing affection + poor relation.
- BUT both found it hard to form friendships + were attention seeking
- could be explained as adopt. desperate for child  
bio were ambivalent

## Privation: Evaluation

### Validity:

- variety of methods used eg. self-reports, cog. tests, observations (good)
- retrospective → may not be accurate (bias)  
↳ exaggerated by child or hidden by family/friends

### Generalisability

- extreme cases
- individual characteristics

### Other

- can't tell if genie was retarded from birth
- Were Buchlog Banks privated? they had transient care and attached with each other
- Czech twins only suffered neglect after 18 months (previous care could have ameliorated effects)
- hard to establish effects on later development as can't be matched on all characteristics
- other factors eg. temperament could affect development



# Can Negative Effects of Privation be Reversed?

## Age is a significant factor

- Czech twins - 6yrs - reversed
- Genie - 13yrs - not reversed
- Romanian orphans adopted before 6 months recovered  
↳ length of privation period affects extent it can be reversed

## Nature of Isolation

- Bulldog banks + Czech twins had other attachment figures
- Genie was in complete isolation

## Quality of care after Privation

- Czech twins cared by 2 sisters who gave excellent care
- Hodges and Tizard - adopted were better than returned
- Genie constantly moved between therapists, foster care and mother

# Research into Daycare

**daycare** → arrangement to provide substitute care for a child

Type of daycare can influence social, emotional and cognitive development

**social** → ability to interact with others

**emotional** → attachments they form + ability to cope with situations

**cognitive** → intellectual growth.

Bowlby would predict that children in daycare will suffer maternal deprivation.

Advantages of Daycare:

**Andersson (1992)**

- longitudinal study in Sweden
- track development of 119 children until 8yrs
- daycare more socially advanced
- performed better at school 8yrs + 13yrs
- effects related to onset and time spent
- BUT Swedish day care is well-funded + have extended maternity + paternity leave.

**EPPE (Sylva et al 2004)**

- longitudinal study in UK
- developmental profiles 3000 children 3-7yrs.
- benefit both socially and intellectually from daycare, esp. if start before 3yrs

Advantages are contingent on good-quality care, good staff:child, low staff turnover and well qualified staff.

## Disadvantages of Daycare

Belsky and Rovine (1988)

- 2 longitudinal studies in America
- strange situation procedure
- 20% in 1st year were more insecure-avoidant  
↳ neg. effect on emotional development
- BUT strange situation bad as if in daycare used to being left.

## NICHD

- 1364 families from birth - 1st grade.
- high-quality daycare associated w/ cog. development
- daycare associated with behavioural problems (ag)

## Evaluation:

- individual differences eg. temperament.
- children not randomized to environment (richer = better daycare)
- other factors eg. home environment
- correlatory research → can't establish c + e
- can't compare as each daycare has different qualities.

# What makes good-quality daycare?

## Ratios and Training

- low staff turnover + good ratio helps form substitute attachments
- EYFS (2014) requires manager to have level 3 qual.
- see table of ratios in book

## Key Person

- key person for each child required by EYFS
- help child settle
- provide tailored care
- substitute carer (like suggested by the Robertsons)

## Onset and Duration

- Bowlby would support later and less intensive for SA  
↳ echoed in research by Belsky + Rovine
- But Andersson + EPPK suggest early onset could be beneficial
- lack of consistency due to quality
- assume only good-quality is beneficial for young children full time

# Cross-Cultural Research: Attachment Types

Ainsworth's strange situation procedure was confined to Baltimore, USA but has become internationally recognised

Ijzendoorn and Kroonenberg (1988) found that attachment types varied a lot across cultures in their meta-analysis

Ainsworth suggests type is based on maternal sensitivity so as childrearing practices differ across cultures we need to see if attachment types do too

We are investigating whether attachment is a **universal** or **culturally-specific** phenomenon

## Attachment Types in Germany:

- Klaus and Karin Grossman
- typical German native families
- recorded interactions at home
- 24/49 were insecure-avoidant → diff to USA
- parental sensitivity correlated
- ~~pro~~ German children taught to be more independent
- accustomed to being left with other adults

## Attachment Types in Japan:

- Miyake et al (1985) and Takahashi (1986)
- absence of insecure-avoidant
- greater distribution of insecure-resistant than USA
- children rarely separated
- fearful and irritable temperaments
- not valid → indication of maladaptive parenting

## Attachment Types in Israel

- Sagi et al (1985)
- communal living environment
- separated from parents during day (nursery)
- cared for collectively
- highest level of insecure-resistant
- continuous + immediate attention can't be given

In both Japan and Israel, when modern arrangements are looked at, distribution is similar to USA.

## Explaining (Nature-Nurture)

- Due to maternal sensitivity hypothesis suggests J, G, I children are insecurely attached because of lack of maternal sensitivity
- BUT cross cultural research suggests cultural beliefs and practices affect a child's response to the SS
- SS made in America → not valid for other cultures
- SS not sensitive to cultural values
- Attachment is **universal**  
↳ supports Bowlby innate + evolution.

# AUTISM

- Developmental disorder
- Lasts for the lifetime
- Spectrum condition (affects in diff ways)
- 1/100 people
- Boys 5x more likely (or under-diagnosed in girls?)

Triad of Impairment:

communication

social interaction

imagination

Difficulty...

- interpreting facial expressions of others
- understanding sarcasm
- trying something new
- forming friendships
- speaking OR understanding 2 way conversation

Symptoms:

- detected at around 4yrs
- preference for routine
- sensory sensitivity
- specific interests.

# Autism Causes

- still under investigation
- considered a combination of factors.

## Genetics

### Bailey et al (1995)

- 60% concordance in MZ twins
- 0% concordance in DZ twins
- suggests genetic inheritance
- considered broader spectrum: comm./social disorders
- 92% concordance in MZ twins
- 10% concordance in DZ twins
- suggests interactions between multiple genes cause.
- No specific 'autism gene' found
- concordance not 100% → suggests other factors.

## Theory of Mind

- ability to understand other's mental states + see from their perspective
- begins in early life (5m - facial ex.)
- children w/o autism have full understanding @ 4yrs

### Sally-Anne Test (Baron-Cohen 1985)

- Naming Question
- Belief Question #
- Recuity Question } controls
- Memory Question }

only 20% of autistic got belief right  
all children got other 3 right.

- doesn't explain why they have communication issues
- focused on preschoolers but could develop when older



- presented as a factor contributing to autism
- could be a symptom not a cause

## Alternative Explanations

### Weak Central Coherence

- imbalance of integrating info at different levels
- can explain details but not gist

### Environmental Factors

- born w/ vulnerability to autism BUT only occurs if exposed to specific environmental trigger
- eg. born prematurely

### Neurological Factors

- link between cerebral cortex, limbic system + amygdala can be overstimulated
- contribute to extreme emotions/hypersensitivity

# Autism Therapies

## Cognitive Behavioural Therapy (CBT)

- useful if experience anxiety as a symptom
- explores child's thoughts + feelings about source of anxiety
- provides skills to manage anxiety
- has to be altered for autistic children as
  - have difficulty recognising emotions
  - have difficulty with hypothetical/abstract thoughts
- CBT for autism focuses on repetition + visual cues
- Sofronoff (2005) found children had less anxiety + had better ability to identify + use strategies.

## Evaluation

- +ve impact on behaviour + psychological wellbeing
- adapted for autism (✓)
- requires child to talk - some autistic kids are non-verbal
  - ↳ less accessible
- alternative: biomedical interventions
  - ↳ limited scientific evidence
  - ↳ helps symptoms not autism

## Applied Behaviour Analysis (ABA)

- systematic way of observing social communication
- identify desirable changes + use appropriate methods
- demonstrate effective ways to interact
- reward improved behaviour when displayed
- reflective, evaluative → dynamic therapy style
- principles of +ve reinforcement (operant cond.)
- tailored programme for each child
  - ↳ reflects diversity of autism

\* turn for evaluation

## Evaluation

- lots of programmes + techniques use principles of ABA
- existing studies have short follow-up periods
  - ↳ don't know long term effects
- need consistency + routine
  - ↳ not effective if not done

# Individual Differences

## Internal Working Model

- suggests early relationships form a template for later relationships
- BUT
- could be due to the temperament of the individual rather than the IWM.
- Kagan (1984) Temperament hypothesis
  - ↳ temperament decides secure/insecure.
- \* Individual temperament and not IWM that affects the quality of relationships.

## Strange Situation

- Marina Fuentes et al (2008)
- Not only sensitive, responsiveness of the mother but also the individual temperament/personality of child that determines attachment type.
- Contradicts Ainsworth's Maternal Sensitivity Hypothesis.

## Day Care

- some children more resilient/cope better w/ separation
- can give outgoing children social skills but could have neg. effect on ~~and~~ shy children.
- Michael Pluess and Jay Belsky (2010)
  - ↳ children w/ difficult temperaments benefit from good quality daycare + sensitive parenting but SUFFER MOST in poor