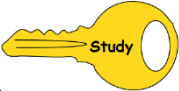


Define attachment	The formation of a strong and reciprocal emotional bond between an infant and a primary caregiver.
Behaviours which show attachment	Proximity seeking. Separation anxiety & pleasure when reunited General orientation towards specific individual. (Maccoby, 1980)
Define reciprocity	Reciprocity describes the interaction between two people . For example turn taking in a conversation. Reciprocity between caregiver and infant is an active process which can be initiated by the infant or the caregiver. They respond to each other's signals.
Define Interactional synchrony	Interactional synchrony: a sensitively tuned "emotional dance" . It takes place when the mother and infant behave in such a way that they mirror each other's actions and emotions. It plays an important role in attachment Isabella et al (1989) found that securely attached mother-infant pairs had shown more instances of interactional synchrony in first year of life.
Describe Schaffer and Emerson (1964) 	Longitudinal study in natural environment (60 infants from Glasgow) observed every 4 weeks until 1 year old and at 18 months. Direct observations by researchers & diary records by parents reporting on the child's behavior in 7 everyday life situations. Measured attachment via (1) separation anxiety; (2) stranger anxiety.
Findings of Schaffer and Emerson	First attachment formed between 6-8 months Stranger anxiety starts soon after. Infant became attached to others soon after forming first attachment. At 18 months 65% were attached to their mother, 75% of the infants studies had also attached to the father. By 10 months 50% had more than one attachment and by 18 months that figure was 87%. Infant was attached to the most responsive adult, not necessarily to the one who fed them and spent the most time with them.

Evaluate Shaffer and Emerson
(these points need to be explained in more detail
to get the marks)

Stages of development of attachment

Sample was from Glasgow so findings cannot be generalised to the wider population as cultural factors might influence attachment patterns.
Parents completed questionnaires, answers might have been influenced by social desirability.
Observation from researchers might be biased.
High ecological validity as observations were carried out in infants' own home.
Time validity: Work patterns have changed since the 1960s Many more mothers work outside the home and some fathers are the main carers so if this study was replicated today the findings might be different.
Child's temperament: Schafer and Emerson did not investigate if the child's temperament influenced the development of attachment; they only studied the influence of the mother's responsiveness.

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.

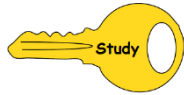
Stage 3: Specific attachment (From around 7 months)
Infants start to show stranger anxiety and distress when separated from a specific adult. The child has formed a *specific attachment*. The adult with whom the child has formed the specific attachment is called *the primary attachment figure*.

Stage 4: Multiple attachments- About a month after having formed s specific attachment, the child displays attachment behaviour towards other people with whom they are familiar. These are called *secondary attachments*.

Role of the father

Biological factors might influence paternal involvement in child care. Men seem to lack the emotional sensitivity to infant cues (Heerman, et al. 1994) that women offer spontaneously this could be due to the fact that women produce a hormone, oestrogen which increases emotional response to other's needs. But Frodi et al. (1978) found that men's physiological response was the same than women's. Schaffer and Emerson found on 3% of the children had their father as a primary attachment however it was an ethnocentric sample and in many societies, men spend their time helping to keep their children alive and, among cultures like that of the Aka in the Central African Republic, this involves high amounts of daily care (Hewlett, 2004) so the role may vary in other **cultures**. The role may vary depending of the **time** as now men have paternity leave, this might increase their involvement in child care and children might attach more to their fathers than when the study was done. Attachment might also change with the **age** and the **gender** of the child; 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. It also varies with the child's **temperament**. According to Manlove et al. (2002) fathers are less likely to be involved with their infant if the infant has a difficult temperament.

Describe Lorenz' s study



Lorenz divided a clutch of eggs in two halves:

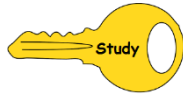
- One half was left to hatch with the mother (the control group)
- The other half were hatched in an incubator, the first moving thing they saw was Lorenz.

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.

What did Lorenz's study show about attachment?

Imprinting - Birds are immediately mobile at birth; they need to keep close to their mother for protection. They are born with a drive to get attached. Attachment is **innate**. The attachment needs to take place during a **critical period**- 12-17 hours
Depending of the species. If the infant is not exposed to a 'mother' within that window, then imprinting will not take place.
Lorenz proposed that imprintability is **genetically** switched on and then switched off.
Sexual imprinting: Lorenz also observed that birds that imprinted on humans then displayed courtship behaviour towards humans when adults.

Describe Harlow's study (1958)



What did Harlow's study show us about attachment?

Advantages and disadvantages of these animal studies

16 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.

Eight of the monkeys could get milk from the wire mother
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 2nd 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 go to the cloth mother. The infant would explore more when the cloth mother was present.

Then Harlow compared the behaviour of the monkeys who had grown up with surrogate mothers and those with normal mothers. He found that: they were much more timid, socially incompetent, had difficulties mating and grew up to be bad parents. 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.

The "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**.

Some studies cannot be done on humans for practical reasons. For example animals mature more quickly than humans so we can see how factors might affect them through their life span but in humans this would be take too many years.


There are less ethical issues although there are ethical guidelines to follow when using animals.

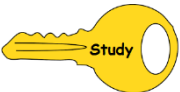
These studies were carried out on animals who are different from humans both cognitively and physiologically however from an evolution point of view monkeys are our closest relatives so we can generalise the results to humans with caution.

Practical applications

The findings have important practical implications for the way we care for humans for example in hospitals parents are encouraged to stay with their young children and social workers try to prevent neglect and abuse. The results are also used to provide care in animals kept in zoos.

<p>Bowlby's theory of attachment</p>	<p>Attachment is a behaviour that has evolved because of its survival value. An evolutionary trait is always genetically transmitted so children are born with a drive to become attached to a care giver. It is innate. Attachment develops best in a limited period of time called the sensitive period, from 6 to 9 months. It can develop later but it becomes more difficult. Infants are born with certain characteristics which elicit care giving: social releasers. A child forms a number of attachments but one of these is qualitatively different. This is what is called primary attachment, monotropy. The primary attachment serves as a template, an internal working model which on children will base all their future relationships. Therefore there will be a link between the early attachment relationship and later emotional behaviour. This is the continuity hypothesis.</p>
<p>Evaluate Bowlby's explanation of attachment</p>	<p>Schaffer and Emerson show that the first attachments form at 6-8 months (supporting the sensitive period). They show that the child forms a primary attachment as Bowlby predicted.</p> <p>Sroufe et al. (1999) found that children who are securely attached in infancy show higher social competence in adolescence (supporting the continuity hypothesis). The theory does not take into account the child's temperament.</p> <p>Harlow's study supports the theory as he found that the monkeys formed an "attachment" to the comforting mother rather than the mother who fed them (supporting the importance of responsiveness of the care giver). It also shows a critical period (90 days for monkeys) during which attachment must take place or the negative effects will be irreversible. In both Lorenz and Harlow the animals formed attachments which supports the argument that this is an evolutionary behaviour.</p> <p>Supported by the findings of 44 juvenile thieves study.</p>
<p>Describe the learning approach explanation of attachment. (Dollard and Miller)</p>	<p>Children are born with social releasers i.e. crying, when the child cries the caregiver responds by giving food thus crying is reinforced (operant conditioning). Caregiver becomes associated with pleasant stimuli such as food through a process of classical conditioning. The caregiver is first a neutral stimulus which is paired with food, the unconditioned stimulus. After a number of pairings the caregiver becomes the conditioned stimulus, the feeling of comfort becomes the conditioned response. This is called "cupboard love": children become attached to the caregiver for what he/she can give.</p>
<p>Evaluate the learning approach explanation of attachment.</p>	<p>This explanation predicts that infants will form a strong attachment to the caregiver who feeds him/her however Shaffer and Emerson show that they become attached to the carer who is the most responsive. Harlow shows that the monkeys also formed an attachment to the most "responsive" "wire mother" not "the wire mother" who had the food. However this study was done on monkeys so we cannot extrapolate the results as animals are different cognitively and physiologically from humans.</p>

<p>Describe the strange situation by Ainsworth et al. (1971)</p> 	<p>Original sample: 100 middle class America participants with their mothers. Observed in controlled environment. 8 stages of 3 mn each. Controlled observation. Infants observed for: stranger anxiety, separation anxiety, reunion behaviour, willingness to explore.</p>
<p>Describe the stages of the Strange Situation</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mother and child are introduced to the room and left alone; the child can explore the toys. 2. A stranger enters the room and talks with the mother. 3. The stranger tries to engage the child in an interaction. 4. Mother leaves the room, the strangers tries to interact with the child. 5. Mother returns and to greet and comfort the child. 6. The child is left on its own. 7. Stranger returns and tries to comfort the child. 8. Mother returns. Stranger leaves.
<p>Strange situation findings (types of attachment)</p>	<p>Secure attachment (66%): explore the unfamiliar room, upset when mother left but greeted her positively when she returned. Mothers described as sensitive. Insecure-avoidant attachment (22%): did not approach their mother during exploration, unconcerned by her absence, little interest when she returned. Avoided the stranger, tended to ignore the mother when she returned. Mothers tend to ignore their infants. Insecure-resistant attachment (12%): showed intense distress when mother was absent but rejected her on her return. Showed ambivalent behaviour towards the mother. stranger</p>
<p>Evaluation of Strange Situation</p>	<p>The participants were American therefore we cannot generalise the findings to other cultures as cultural factors may affect attachment patterns. The study took place in a lab. The extraneous variables were controlled therefore it is replicable therefore the results are reliable. The situations reflected real life situations for example children can be left on their own for a few minutes for example when the caregiver has a shower but the infant would then be in a familiar place. The babies were not aware that they were being observed but the mothers were, this could have led to a change of behaviour. Only attachment to the mother was observed, the child could have formed a primary attachment to another person. It is a “snapshot” of the child’s attachment type, attachment type can change with time and depending on circumstances i.e. illness, parental separation. Ethics: the infants were put under mild stress but no more than they would have been in their everyday life. The results support the sensitivity hypothesis as the children of responsive mothers were found to be securely attached.</p>

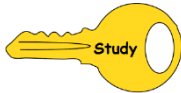
<p>What are the different types of attachment?</p>
<p>Reasons for the different types of attachment</p>
<p>Why do we carry out cross-cultural studies of attachment?</p>
<p>Describe one study of cross-cultural variations in attachment.</p> 

<p>Secure attachment: Show slight anxiety when caregiver departs but easily comforted when she returns. Play independently and explore their surrounding and returns to caregiver regularly for reassurance. When a stranger appears a securely attached infant will move closer to the mother and be wary of a stranger.</p> <p>Insecure avoidant attachment: Infant shows indifference when the caregiver departs. Avoids caregiver when she returns. Infant play independently. Unconcerned about a stranger being there and show little preference for the mother over a stranger. They often avoid both.</p> <p>Insecure-resistant attachment: Infant intensely distressed when the caregiver departs. Rushes to caregiver when she returns but is not easily comforted. May resist contact with caregiver or seek comfort and reject it at the same time.</p>
<p>Responsiveness of the caregiver: Securely attached children have responsive and sensitive caregiver. Insecurely attached infants have caregiver who tends to be insensitive and ignore them during play.</p> <p>Temperament hypothesis: Suggests some infants form secure attachments because they are innately friendlier than other infants.</p>
<p>To find out if the types of attachment vary between cultures.</p> <p>Two types of cultures:</p> <p>Collectivists: Emphasis is on group effort and cooperation (e.g. Japan), focus on interpersonal development of infants, more favourable reaction to obedience and social behaviour.</p> <p>Individualist: Emphasis is on personal achievement (e.g. USA), focus on developing initiative in infants. Mothers react favourably to independence (USA).</p>
<p>Van Ijzendoorn & Kroonenberg (1988):</p> <p>Meta-analysis: A research team collates and analyses data from many studies carried out by other researchers. The studies reviewed all carried out the Strange Situation procedure.</p> <p>Aim: Whether the proportions of secure, insecure avoidant and insecure resistant children were the same in all cultures</p> <p>How much inter-cultural variation in attachment types exist.</p> <p>Sample: 12% collectivist cultures, 88% individualist culture in which 61% from the USA.</p>

<p>Results of Van Ijzendoorn & Kroonenberg (1988)</p>	<p>Secure attachment is the most common type in all cultures around 65% Insecure avoidant higher in Germany (35%) and the lowest in Japan (5%).</p> <p>The fact that secure attachment was the most frequently found in all cultures indicates that there might be innate (genetic) factors involved in attachment. The variations found suggest that social factors shape these innate tendencies i.e. a high percentage of insecure avoidant attachment in Germany might be explained by the fact that German parents encourage independence in their children.</p>
<p>Evaluation of Van Ijzendoorn & Kroonenberg (1988)</p>	<p>The sample is biased towards the individualist societies (88% of the sample). The children's behaviour might have been due to socialisation differences i.e. Proximity is discouraged in German culture so the children might have appeared avoidant as a result. The Strange Situation have different meanings for infants of different cultures for example Japanese children are never left alone, they were very distressed when left alone as part of the procedure. The Strange Situation procedure was carried out by different teams of psychologists so we can't be sure that all of the studies were carried out in the same way. Van Ijzendoorn and Kroonenberg report that differences in attachment within a culture are greater than differences between cultures.</p>
<p>Define separation, deprivation and privation</p>	<p>Separation: Occurs when a child is separated from his primary caregiver for a short time. Deprivation: Occurs when the attachment bond is formed but is broken later on a long-term basis. Privation: Is when a child does not form any attachment with a significant person.</p>
<p>Describe Bowlby's deprivation hypothesis</p>	<p>A child has a need to attach to one main attachment figure (i.e. monotropy). The development of the continuous relationship with the main attachment figure must occur during the critical period (before the age of 2 years). If the attachment is broken or disrupted during the critical two year period the child will suffer irreversible long-term consequences of this maternal deprivation.</p>

Evaluate Bowlby's maternal deprivation hypothesis

- Describe the 44 juvenile thieves study (Bowlby, 1944)



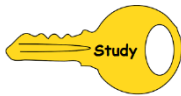
Bowlby identified the importance of emotional care in the healthy emotional, social and cognitive development of the child. This changed the treatment of children in hospitals. Parents are now encouraged to stay with their children. It also changes the way children are looked after if they have to be taken in care, they will preferably be placed with foster carers rather than in children's homes. The results of the 44 juvenile thieves support the MDH as they shows that prolonged separation from the primary attachment can lead to affectionless psychopathy. Bowlby does not differentiate between the effects of deprivation and privation however many studies show that the effects are far more serious in cases of privation. (i.e. Rutter and Songua-Barke) however Bowlby does not take into account the quality of the substitute care given. This does not take into account the individual characteristics of the child i.e. temperament and the attachment type before the separation. Bowlby referred to physical absence but emotional unavailability is also damaging to children (i.e. mothers with depression Radke-Yarrow (1985) who found that 52% of children whose mothers suffered with depression were insecurely attached.

Aim: To investigate the long-term effects of maternal deprivation
Procedure
He selected an opportunity sample of 88 children attending his clinic.
Group 1- thief group: 31 boys and 13 girls in the 'theft group' were referred to him because of their stealing.
Group 2- control group: 34 boys and 10 girls were referred to him because of emotional problems.
The two groups were matched for age and IQ.
The children and their parents were interviewed and tested by a psychiatrist (Bowlby), a psychologist and a social worker focusing specifically on their early life experiences.
Findings
Thief group: 14 children from the theft group were identified as affectionless psychopaths, 12 of those had experienced prolonged separation of more than six months from their mothers in their first two years of life whereas only 5 of the 30 children not classified as affectionless psychopaths had experienced separations.
Out of the 44 children in the control group, only 2 had experienced prolonged separations and none of them were affectionless psychopaths.
Conclusion
Bowlby concluded that the reason for the anti-social behaviour and emotional problems in the first group was due to maternal deprivation during early childhood.

Evaluate the 44 juvenile thieves study (Bowlby, 1944)

Correlational study cannot show a cause and effect relationship between separation from the mother and the development of affectionless psychopathy. Other factors could have been involved such as the reason for the separation, the role of the father, the child's temperament. Uses clinical interviews while this is rich in detail and allows people to express feelings and emotions, it could also be influenced by social desirability and the interpretation of the data could be biased. Uses retrospective data i.e. how long the separations, this is unreliable as it might be distorted or forgotten and cannot be checked. Bowlby did not take into account the quality of the substitute care during the separation of the children from their mothers. The results are not supported by Lewis (1954). She replicated the study on 500 participants but did not find evidence of a link between early separation from the mother and criminality or difficulties in forming relationships.

Effects of institutionalisation- Rutter and Songua-Barke (2010)



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.

Evaluate Rutter and Songua-Barke (2010)

It was a correlational study and there were many other variables involved: the children did not only suffer from privation they also had no cognitive stimulation which could explain why they were intellectually underdeveloped. They also had very poor nutrition which could explain why they were physically behind the control group in most studies. We do not really know how they were treated in these institutions they might have been abused physically also. Some might have formed an attachment to other children as they were often kept two babies in the same cot.
The conditions in the Romanian orphanages were not typical of institutions in which children are usually kept so we cannot generalise the findings.
The studies do not show what the impact will be in the children's adult life, it may be that they might take more time to recover.

<p>Effects of institutionalisation</p>	<p>Institutionalisation: Children raised in orphanages and children's home. Children are unlikely to make attachments in the same way than a child raised in a family home.</p> <p>1. Emotional effects Rutter-Attention seeking behaviour towards adults, even strangers, lack of fear of strangers, making inappropriate physical contact with adults, lack of checking back to parental figures in stressful situations (disinhibited attachment). Zeanah et al. (2005)</p> <p>Disorganised attachment: insecure attachment, the children display an inconsistent pattern of behaviour; sometimes they show strong attachment other times they avoid the caregiver.</p> <p>2. Cognitive effects: intellectual retardation. 3. Physical development: LeMare and Audet (2006) underdeveloped but caught up by the age of 10.</p>
<p>Why should early attachment influence later childhood and adult relationships, according to Bowlby?</p>	<p>According to Bowlby, when children form their primary attachment they also form a mental representation of relationships, an internal working model on which they will base all their future relationships (continuity hypothesis). Therefore there should be a positive correlation between the quality of primary attachment and later attachments.</p>
<p>Study on the influence of early attachment on later relationships</p>	<p>Hazan & Shaver (1987)- "the love Quiz"</p> <p>They found that the percentages of types of attachment were similar to the one found by Ainsworth in the Strange Situation.</p> <p>They also found that there was a strong positive correlation between childhood attachment types and adult relationships. As Bowlby predicted.</p> <p>Secure types described their love experiences as happy, friendly and trusting whereas Anxious-resistant types experienced love as involving obsession and Anxious-avoidant types feared intimacy, emotional highs and lows.</p>
<p>Evaluate Hazan & Shaver (1987)</p>	<p>Hazan & Shaver (1987) supports the influence of the internal working model however:</p> <p>It was a volunteer sample so it was biased</p> <p>Participants were asked about their memories of early childhood experience and such memories may be distorted or forgotten.</p> <p>It was a questionnaire so people's answers might have been influenced by social desirability.</p> <p>It was a correlational study, so it does not show a cause and effect relationship, other factors could be involved such as abuse, temperament of the child and social factors such as poverty.</p>

Evaluate the influence of early attachment on later relationships

Hazan & Shaver (1987) supports the influence of the internal working model.

Gerard McCarthy (1999) studied women whose attachment types had been recorded in infancy and found:
Anxious-avoidant infants grew up to have the most difficulty in romantic relationships

Anxious-resistant infants grew up to have the poorest relationships

Securely-attached infants grew up to have the most successful romantic relationships and friendships.

Poor parenting:

Harlow showed that the monkeys became poor mothers some even killing their offspring.

Bailey et al. (2007) assessed the attachment of 99 women to their babies and to their own mothers. The mother baby attachment was assessed using the strange Situation and the attachment of the women to their own mothers was assessed through interviews. The results showed that the women had the same attachment type to their mother than to their children.