



Attachment (24 marks)

A-level Revision Notes AQA(A)

By [Saul Mcleod](#), updated December 2022

What do the examiners look for?

- Accurate and detailed knowledge
- Clear, coherent and focused answers
- Effective use of terminology (use the “technical terms”)

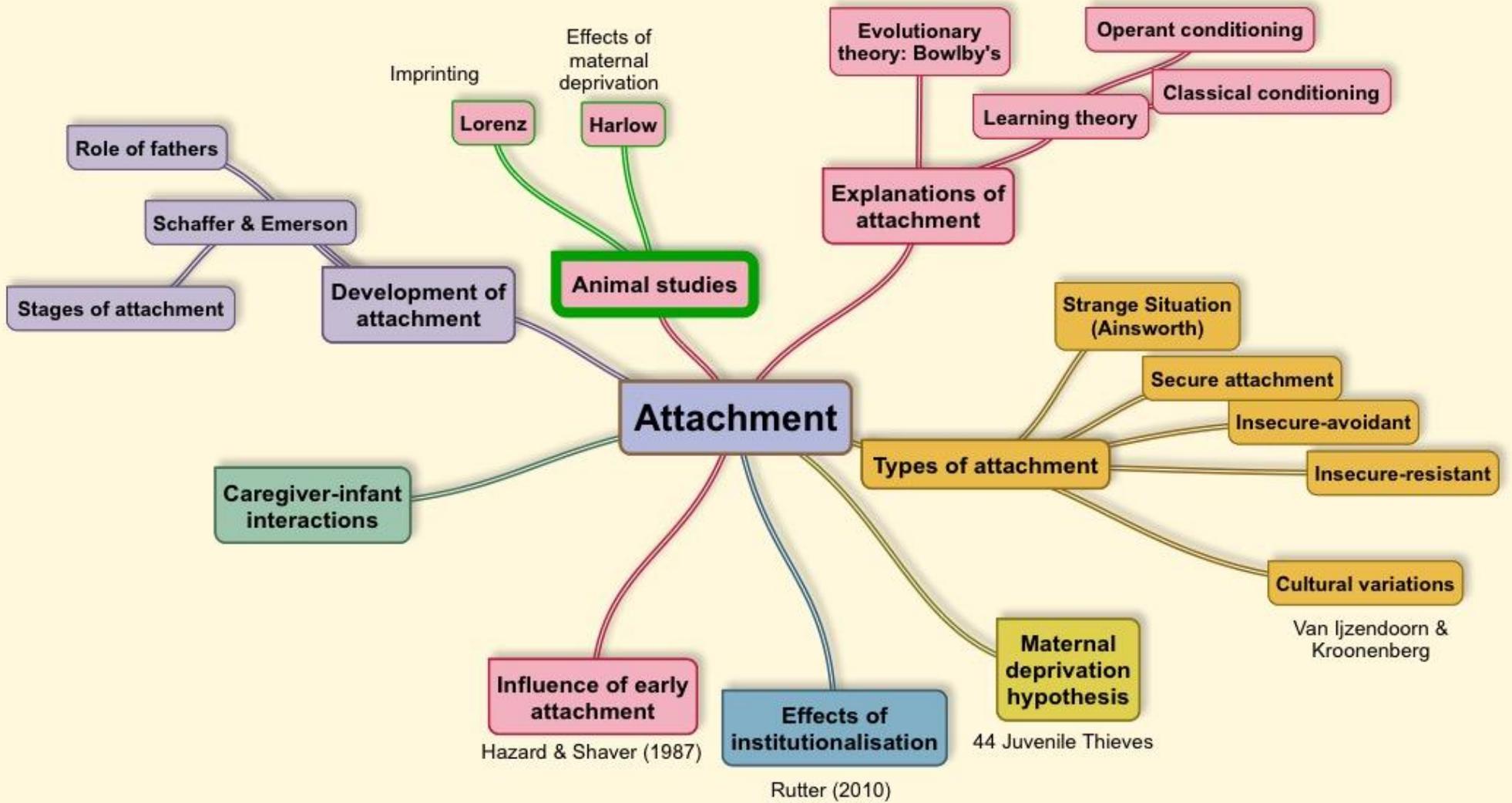
Difference between AS and A level answers

The descriptions follow the same criteria; however, you must use the issues and debates effectively in your answers. “Effectively” means that it needs to be clearly linked and explained in the context of the answer. Read the model answers to get a clearer idea of what is needed.

What are the assessment objectives for A-level psychology?

There are three assessment objectives assessed in each examination: **AO1** (Outline), **AO2** (Apply), and **AO3** (Evaluate). There may be one, two, or all (only in the [extended writing 16-mark question](#)). It is important to understand how assessment objectives are allocated to each type of question to maximize your chance of obtaining full marks.

In [application \(AO2\) questions](#), examiners look for “effective application to the scenario” which means that you need to describe the theory and explain the scenario using the theory making the links between the two very clear. If there is more than one individual in the scenario, you must mention all the characters to get to the top band.



Caregiver-Infant Interactions in Humans

Attachment is the formation of a strong, reciprocal emotional bond between an infant and a primary caregiver.

Interactions between very young babies and their parents are baby led, with the adult responding to the behavior of the baby.

Reciprocity

AO1

The word reciprocal means two-way, or something that is mutual. Infant and caregiver are both active contributors in the interaction and are responding to each other.

Reciprocity is a form of interaction between infant and caregiver involving mutual responsiveness, with both infant and mother responding to each other's signals and each elicits a response from the other. Smiling is an example of reciprocity – when a smile occurs in the infant, it triggers a smile in the caregiver and vice versa.

Reciprocity between a caregiver and an infant is not verbal in the normal sense as the infants cannot speak, but they respond to each other's signals and seek a response from each other. This can be done through facial expressions like smiling.

From birth, infants have alert times and signal that they want to interact for example by making eye contact. The caregiver responds to these signals. The infant is active in this process.

AO3

Reciprocity influences the child's physical, social and cognitive development. It becomes the basis for development of basic trust or mistrust, and shapes how the child will relate to the world, learn, and form relationships throughout life.

Jaffe et al. said that from birth, babies move in a rhythm when interacting with an adult almost as if they were taking turns as people do when having a conversation.

Interactional Synchrony

AO1

Interactional synchrony is 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.

Interactional synchrony is form of rhythmic interaction between infant and caregiver involving mutual focus, reciprocity and mirroring of emotion or behavior. Infants coordinate their actions with caregivers in a kind of conversation.

From birth babies move in a rhythm when interacting with an adult almost as if they were taking turns. Infant and caregiver are able to anticipate how each other will behave and can elicit a particular response from the other.

For example, a caregiver who laughs in response to their infants giggling sound and tickles them, is experiencing synchronised interaction.

Interactional synchrony is most likely to develop if the caregiver attends fully to the baby's state, provides playful stimulation when the infant is alert and attentive, and avoids pushing things when an overexcited or tired infant is fussy and sending the message 'Cool it. I just need a break from all this excitement'.

AO3

Heimann showed that infants who demonstrate a lot of imitation from birth onwards have been found to have a better quality of relationship at 3 months. However, it isn’t clear whether the imitation is a cause or an effect of this early synchrony.

Interactional synchrony is important in the quality of attachment as Isabella et al (1989) found that securely attached mother-infant pairs had shown more instances of interactional synchrony in first year of life. It has also been suggested that interactional synchrony plays a role in the development of the child’s language ability and moral and social development.

Many studies involving observation of interactions between mothers and infants have shown the same patterns of interaction. 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 signals conscious and deliberate?

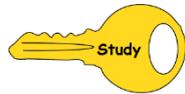
This means that we cannot really know for certain that behaviors seen in mother-infant interaction have a special meaning.

Observations of mother-infant interactions are generally well-controlled procedures, with both mother and infant being filmed, often from multiple angles. This ensures that very fine details of behavior can be recorded and later analysed.

Furthermore, babies don't know or care that they are being observed so their behavior does not change in response to controlled observation which is generally a problem for observational research. This is a strength of this line of research because it means the research has good validity.

Stages of Attachment

AO1 (procedure)



Rudolph Schaffer and Peggy Emerson (1964) studied 60 babies at monthly intervals for the first 18 months of life (this is known as a longitudinal study).

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.

A diary was kept by the mother to examine evidence for the development of an attachment. The following measures were recorded:

- **Stranger Anxiety** - the distress shown by an infant when approached or picked up by someone who is unfamiliar.
- **Separation Anxiety** - distress level shown by an infant when separated from his/her caregiver, degree of comfort needed on return.
- **Social Referencing** - the amount that the child looks at the caregiver to check how they should respond to something new (secure base).

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

Pre-attachment: Asocial (birth – 2 months)

Very young infants are asocial in that many kinds of stimuli, both social and non-social, produce a favourable reaction, such as a smile.

Indiscriminate (Multiple) Attachments (2 - 7 months)

Infants indiscriminately enjoy human company and most babies respond equally to any caregiver. They get upset when an individual ceases to interact with them. From 3 months infants smile more at familiar faces and can be easily comforted by a regular caregiver. They do not show stranger or separation anxiety.

Discriminate (Single) Attachment (7 - 9 months)

Special preference for a single **primary 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.

Multiple Attachment (10 months and onwards)

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

The study's results indicated that attachments were most likely to form with those who responded accurately to the baby's signals, not the person they spent more time with. Schaffer and Emerson called this sensitive responsiveness.

AO1 (findings & conclusion)

Many of the babies from the Schaffer and Emerson study had multiple attachments by 10 months old, including attachments to mothers, fathers, grandparents, siblings, and neighbours.

By 18 months, 31% had five or more attachments. The mother was the main attachment figure for about half of the children at 18 months old and the father for most of the others.

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 more time with.

Schaffer and Emerson called this sensitive responsiveness.

Intensely attached infants had mothers who responded quickly to their demands and, interacted with their child. Infants who were weakly attached had mothers who failed to interact.

The most important fact in forming attachments is not who feeds and changes the child but who plays and communicates with him or her. Therefore, responsiveness appeared to be the key to attachment.

AO2 Scenario Question

Jade has babysat Lee every Friday night since he was 3 months old, he is now 8 months old. He used to enjoy playing with her however she has noticed that now he gets very upset when his mother leaves and he won't let her comfort him.

Based on Schaffer's stages of development of attachment, explain the change in Lee's behaviour. (4 marks)

When Jade started to babysit Lee he was at the indiscriminate attachment stage (2-7 months) so he recognised and preferred familiar adults, but accepted comfort from any adult. He did not show stranger or separation anxiety. So he enjoyed playing with Jade and did not mind his mother leaving. However, he is now at the specific attachment stage (from around 7 months) so he is starting to show stranger anxiety and distress when separated from his mother because he has formed a specific attachment with her.

This is why he becomes upset when she leaves. His mother is now his primary attachment figure.

AO3

The Schaffer and Emerson study has low population validity. The infants in the study all came from Glasgow and were mostly from working-class families and an individualist culture. Collectivist cultures have different ways of bringing up children, children are raised in extended families and are often looked after by the community, but in individualist cultures children are mainly looked after by their parents so the development of attachment might be different for example they might form multiple attachments at an earlier age.

However, accuracy of data collection by parents who were keeping daily diaries whilst clearly being very busy could be questioned. A diary like this is also very unreliable with demand characteristics and social desirability being major issues. Mothers are not likely to report negative experiences in their daily write up.

The study lacks historical validity. It was conducted in the 1960s when gender roles were different – Now, more men stay at home to look after their children and more women go out to work so the sample is biased.

Multiples Attachments and the Role of the Father

AO1

There is now an expectation in Western cultures that the father should play a greater role in bringing up children than was previously the case. Also, the number of mothers working full time has increased in recent decades, leading to fathers having a more active role.

However, whereas mothers usually adopt a more caregiving and nurturing role compared to fathers, fathers adopt a more play-mate role than mothers. For example, fathers are more likely than mothers to encourage risk-taking in their children by engaging them in physical games.

Most infants prefer contact with their father when in a positive emotional state and wanting to play. In contrast, most infants prefer contact with their mother when they are distressed and need comforting.

AO3

Numerous factors effect the father's role and the impact he has on his child's emotional development. For example, culture, father's age, and the amount of time the father spends away from home. The existence of so many factors means it difficult to make generalisations about the father's role.

It is possible that most men are just not psychologically equipped to form an intense attachment because they lack the emotional sensitivity women offer. Oestrogen underlies caring behaviour and there continues to be sex stereotypes which affect male behaviour.

However, Field found that when fathers have the main caregiver role, they adopt behaviours more typical of mothers therefore the key to attachment is the level of responsiveness, not the gender of the parent.

Economic implications – Mothers will feel pressured to stay home because research says they are vital for healthy emotional development but in some families, this may not economically be the best solution.

It is not important – McCallum and Golombok found that children growing up in single or same sex families didn't develop differently from those in two parent families – Evidence undermines the idea of fathers having distinct roles.

A father can be a primary attachment figure, and this information should be shared in antenatal classes etc. to ensure fathers play an equal role in childcare.

Cultural Factors

There are also cultural differences in the role of the father. Until very recently men were expected to be breadwinners and not to have direct involvement in their children's care. However this might be a very stereotypical view rather than reflect reality as fathers might not have been directly involved in the day to day care but they were involved in factors like play, instruction and guidance.

Social Policy

In the UK, fathers until last year were not given any paternal leave so the responsibility for child care was implicitly given to the mothers. This could change the attachment the children make with their fathers. However this is not the case in every country so the pattern of attachment between father and children might be different.

Biological factors

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. However Frodi et al. (1978) found that men's physiological response was the same than women's.

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.

Animal Studies of Attachment

AO3 - Why carry out animal studies?

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 take too many years.

One strength of using animals in the study of attachment is that we can carry out procedures on animals that we could not use with humans for ethical reasons. For example, in Harlow's study the baby monkeys were taken away from their mothers soon after birth this could not be done to human babies.

However, it is difficult to extrapolate (generalise) the results to humans because we are cognitively and physiologically different from animals. However, in the case of attachment many animal species display attachment behaviour so studying the development of attachment in animals might help us understand attachment in humans.

Discuss the usefulness of animal studies for investigating attachment. [8, 12 or 16 marks]

Harlow



AO1

Harlow wanted to study the mechanisms by which newborn rhesus monkeys bond with their mothers.

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.

Procedure

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 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.

AO3

This study was 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.

Ethical Issues

Harlow's work has been criticized. His experiments have been seen as unnecessarily cruel (unethical) and of limited value in attempting to understand the effects of deprivation on human infants.

It was clear that the monkeys in this study suffered from emotional harm from being reared in isolation. This was evident when the monkeys were placed with a normal monkey (reared by a mother), they sat huddled in a corner in a state of persistent fear and depression.

In addition Harlow created a state of anxiety in female monkeys which had implications once they became parents. Such monkeys became so neurotic that they smashed their infant's face into the floor and rubbed it back and forth.

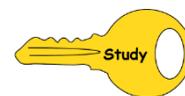
Harlow's experiment is sometimes justified as providing a valuable insight into the development of attachment and social behavior. At the time of the research there was a dominant belief that attachment was related to physical (i.e. food) rather than emotional care.

Practical Issues

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.

Harlow's research has helped social workers to understand risk factors in child neglect and abuse such as a lack of comfort, and so intervene to prevent it, without separating the children from their parents.

Lorenz's Imprinting Theory



AO1

Lorenz divided a clutch of eggs in two halves: one half was left to hatch with the mother (the control group) and the other half were hatched in an incubator, the first moving thing they saw was Lorenz. Lorenz found that the control group followed their mother goose everywhere whereas the second group followed him.

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 did not recognise their real mother.

Lorenz found that geese follow the first moving object they see, during a 12-17 hour critical period after hatching. This process is known as imprinting, and suggests that attachment is innate and programmed genetically.

AO3

Imprinting has consequences, both for short term survival, and in the longer term forming internal templates for later relationships. Imprinting occurs without any feeding taking place. If no attachment has developed within 32 hours it's unlikely any attachment will ever develop.

It could be argued that it was not attachment as it was not reciprocal. For example Guiton showed that chickens were imprinted on washing up gloves so it was not reciprocal (plastic gloves don't get attached to chickens). In mammals, the mothers show more emotional response to their young than birds, also mammals can form attachment at any time although less easily outside infancy. So we cannot generalise the results Lorenz's results to humans.

One weakness of using animal studies is that animals are different from humans cognitively and physiologically so we cannot extrapolate the results to humans. For example, Lorenz used geese in his study, however, mother geese do not show emotional attachment to their babies in the same way as human mothers do so the way the attachment forms between a mother geese and its babies is very different from the way attachment form between a human mother and her babies.

AO2 Scenario Question

In Japan, mothers have great difficulties finding childcare for their babies. Government officials say that "eventually, robots will be able to take up and assume many of these tasks that women are currently doing at present".

Based on Harlow's research, explain the effects this could have on children. (4 marks)

Explanations of Attachment

Learning Theory

AO1

Dollard & Miller (1950) state attachment is a learned behavior that is acquired through both classical and operant conditioning. It is a nurture theory. According to classical conditioning food (UCS) produces pleasure (UCR). The child simply associates food and mother together. The mother becomes the conditioned stimulus and happiness becomes the conditioned response...attachment has formed.

Attachment can also be learned by operant conditioning. The presence of the caregiver is reinforcing for the infant. The infant gains pleasure / reward as they are being fed. The behavior of the infant is reinforcing for the caregiver (the caregiver gains pleasure from smiles etc. – reward). The reinforcement process is therefore reciprocal (two way) and strengthens the emotional bond / attachment between the two.

AO3

Shaffer and Emerson (1964) found that attachments seem to be formed to responsive individuals rather than the individuals who provide the care thus challenging the learning theory as infants form attachment to people who do not feed them.

Moreover, Harlow (1959) found that the Rhesus Monkeys formed an attachment with the “comforting” dummy rather than the one who fed them. Furthermore, Lorenz showed that goslings imprinted before they were fed and maintained this attachment no matter who fed them.

This theory does not explain why there is a critical period in most animals and in humans after which infants cannot form attachment or attachment might be more difficult. It does not explain why infants seem to go through the same stages at about the same age in the formation of attachment.

AO2 Scenario Question

Andrea provides most of the care for her son, Oliver, feeding, comforting and playing with him. She has noticed that, whilst he is happy to spend time with his father, Oliver seems most content when he is with her.

Use your knowledge of the learning theory of attachment to explain Oliver's behaviour. (2 marks)

As Andrea provides most of the care for Oliver he associates her with the satisfaction of primary drives, such as hunger and thirst. She has also become associated with other pleasurable things, such as comfort and security through classical conditioning. Whereas his father provides little care so Oliver has not associated him with pleasure and comfort. Therefore, Oliver prefers to be with Andrea than with his father.

AO2 Scenario Question

Miguel's mother gave up work when he was born and stays at home to look after him. Miguel's father works far away so is rarely home before his bedtime. Miguel is nine months old and he has a very close bond with his mother.

Use learning theory to explain how Max became attached to his mother rather than to his father. (6 marks)

You must link your answer to the scenario at every step or you will only get half the marks at best. Your answer has to be linked to attachment (Pavlov's dogs are not relevant here!)

According to the learning approach attachment is a learnt behaviour. It can be learnt through classical conditioning, learning through association and through operant conditioning, learning through consequences. According to classical conditioning food (UCS) produces pleasure (UCR). Miguel's mother started by being a neutral stimulus, but she was associated through repeated pairings with the food and became a conditioned stimulus. So Miguel felt pleasure, when he saw his mother (CR).

According to operant conditioning food satisfied Miguel's hunger and made him feel comfortable again (drive reduction). Food was, therefore, a primary reinforcer. His mother was associated with food and became a secondary reinforcer. Miguel became attached to his mother because she was a source of reward. However, his father being absent a lot of the time, was not associated with pleasure as he did not feed Miguel or made him feel comfortable so the child shows no attachment to him.

Bowlby's Attachment Theory

AO1

Bowlby's monotropic theory of attachment suggests attachment is important for a child's survival. Attachment behaviors in both babies and their caregivers have evolved through natural selection. This means infants are biologically programmed with innate behaviors that ensure that attachment occurs. These are called social releasers.

Attachment provides a **secure base** for the child from which he can explore the world and return to when feeling threatened. So attachment fosters independence rather than dependence.

As most of the innate characteristics, 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.

Bowlby argued that a child forms a number of attachments but one of these is qualitatively different. This is what he called primary attachment, **monotropy**.

The relationship between the child and the primary caregiver 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**.

AO2 Scenario Question

While Sandra was hospitalised for two months her young son, Adam, has been staying with her sister, Laura. She is well enough to look after Adam who is now 7 months old but she has noticed that Adam is distressed when he leaves Laura and cries when she tries to comfort him.

Explain Adam's behaviour using your knowledge of Bowlby's attachment theory.

(4 marks)

Adam is in the critical period (6-9 months) and he seems to have formed a primary attachment with Laura this is why he is distressed when he leaves her. He is showing separation anxiety. Furthermore, the primary attachment figure is the one the child returns to when frightened that is why he does not let Sandra comfort him as Laura is his secure base. He will form an attachment with Sandra later and this attachment will be based on a template provided by his primary attachment to Laura, this is the internal working model.

AO3

Konrad Lorenz (1935) supports Bowlby's monotropic theory as the attachment process of imprinting is an innate process which has a critical period. Also, the geese attached to a single person/animal or object, thus showing monotropic behavior. However, [Rutter's Romanian Orphan Study](#) showed that attachments can form after the critical period.

Harlow (1959) found that the Rhesus Monkey formed an attachment with the "comforting" dummy rather than the one who fed them showing that attachment was probably innate rather than learnt.

Harlow also found that the monkeys used the "cloth mother" as a secure base to which they ran back when they were frightened by the "monster" which support the concept of secure base put forward by Bowlby

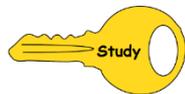
Mary Ainsworth's Strange Situation study provides evidence for the existence of internal working model. A secure child will develop a positive internal working model of itself because it has received sensitive emotional care from its primary attachment figure. An insecure-avoidant child will develop an internal working model in which it sees itself as unworthy because its primary attachment figure has reacted negatively to it during the sensitive period for attachment formation.

Implications (including economic implications) of monotropy theory: eg role of fathers, mothers returning to employment, use of daycare etc.

The importance of monotropy is overemphasised – Thomas questions the benefits of monotropy and suggests having a network of attachments to support infants and their needs and Van Ijzendoorn argued that a stable network of adults can provide better care than one mother – The theory lacks value and may require adjustment.

Ainsworth's Strange Situation

AO1



Procedure

Ainsworth and Bell (1971) conducted a controlled observation recording the reactions of a child and mother (caregiver), who were introduced to a strange room with toys. In the **strange situation** about 100 middle-class American infants and their mothers took part. The infant's behavior was observed during a set of pre-determined activities.

The Strange Situation procedure involved the child experiencing eight 'episodes' of approximately 3 minutes each.

The child is observed playing for 20 minutes while caregivers and strangers enter and leave the room, recreating the flow of the familiar and unfamiliar presence in most children's lives. Observers noted the child's willingness to explore, separation anxiety, stranger anxiety and reunion behavior.

Ainsworth & Bell observed from the other side of a one-way mirror so that the children did not know that they were being observed.

Findings

	Secure	Resistant	Avoidant
Separation Anxiety	Distressed when mother leaves	Intense distress when the mother leaves	No sign of distress when the the mother leaves
Stranger Anxiety	Avoidant of stranger when alone, but friendly when the mother is present	The infant avoids the stranger - shows fear of the stranger	The infant is okay with the stranger and plays normally when the stranger is present
Reunion Behavior	Positive and happy when mother returns	The infant approaches the mother, but resists contact, may even push her away	The Infant shows little interest when the mother returns
Other	Uses the mother as a safe base to explore their environment	The infant cries more and explores less than the other two types	The mother and stranger are able to comfort the infant equally well
% of infants	70%	15%	15%

Exam Question

Research on attachment often involves the observation of the interactions between a mother and her child. Explain how such observational research might be refined through the use of behavioural categories. (4 marks)

Behavioural categories allow the researcher to have a clear focus on the behaviours to observe for example smiling, crying or the baby moving towards or away from the mother. This allows the observers to tally observations into pre-arranged groupings. It also makes the observations replicable so the results have greater reliability. The use of behavioural categories provides quantitative data which is easier to analyse than quantitative data.

Types of Attachment

Secure Resistant

Secure attachment is a type of attachment observed in the Strange Situation. The children with this type of attachment explore their environment (explorative behaviour), they are moderately distressed when their mother leaves the room (separation anxiety), they also show moderate stranger anxiety, they show some distress when they are approached by a stranger. They seek contact with their mother when she returns. This type of attachment occurs because the mother meets the emotional needs of the infant.

Insecure Avoidant

Insecure avoidant attachment is a type of attachment observed in the Strange Situation. The children with this type of attachment are unconcerned by mother's absence when she leaves the room (no separation anxiety).

Infants shows little interest when they are reunited with the mother (i.e. she returns to the room). Infants are strongly avoidant of mother and stranger, showing no motivation to interact with either adult. The stranger is treated similar to the mother (does not seek contact). This type of attachment occurs because the mother ignores the emotional needs of the infant.

Insecure Resistant / Ambivalent

Insecure resistant attachment is a type of attachment observed in the Strange Situation. The children with this type of attachment are clingy to their mother in a new situation and are not willing to explore. They are extremely distressed when left alone by their mother (separation anxiety), and are scared of the stranger. When the mother returns they are pleased to see her and go to her for comfort, but then cannot be comforted and may show signs of anger towards her. This type of attachment occurs because the mother's behavior is inconsistent.

AO2 Scenario Question

Johan has been adopted at the age of 4. Before this he was in an orphanage where there was very little emotional care. He is now 6 years old. His parents have noticed that he behaves in the same way towards strangers than he does with them.

Johan hurt himself recently and he did not ask for them but accepted comfort from a man who stopped to help him.

What type of attachment is Johan displaying? What is the reason for this?

AO3

A problem of the study is that it lacks of population validity. The original study used American infants, from middle-class families. The study tells us about how this particular group behaves and cannot be generalised to the wider population and other cultures, who might behave differently towards their children and have different expectations. For example in Germany parents encourage independence in their children so they are less likely to show an enthusiastic reunion behaviour than children from other cultures.

Another criticism of the study is that it has low ecological validity, and the results may not be applicable outside of the lab. The environment of the study was controlled and the eight scripted stages of the procedure (e.g. mum and stranger entering and leaving the room at set times) would be unlikely to happen in real life.

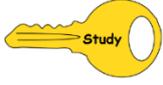
The types of attachment defined by the Strange Situation have validity, and have been found to be strong predictors of the quality of later relationships. For example, babies with secure attachment are more likely to be more successful in their whereas insecurely attached children have worst outcome in terms of mental health.

Only the attachment to the mother was measured. It might not reflect the child's general attachment type as the child could have formed a primary attachment with the father.

It is a "snapshot" of the child's attachment type, as attachment types can change with time and depending on circumstances, e.g. illness, or parental separation.

Cultural Variations in Attachment

AO1



Van Ijzendoorn & Kroonenberg (1988) wanted to investigate if attachment types (secure and insecure) are universal (the same) across cultures, or culturally specific (vary considerably from place to place, due to traditions, the social environment, or beliefs about children).

Individualist cultures emphasis on the needs of the individual over the needs of the group. People are seen as independent. Focus on developing initiative and autonomy in infants. Cultures in North America and Western Europe tend to be individualistic.

Collectivist cultures emphasis on the needs of the group as a whole rather than the needs of each individual. More importance attached to obedience and social behaviour in infants. Cultures in Asia, Central and South America, and Africa tend to be more collectivistic.

Van Ijzendoorn et al. did not collect the data for their study, instead they analysed data from other studies using a method called meta analysis. Data from 32 studies in 8 different countries was analyzed.

All the 32 studies used the strange situation procedure to study attachment. Using a meta analysis (statistical technique) they calculated the average percentage for the different attachment styles (e.g. secure, avoidant, resistant) in each country.

Findings

Secure attachment was the most common type of attachment in all cultures. The lowest percentage of secure attachments was shown in China, and the highest in Great Britain. Individualistic countries that support independence such as Germany had high levels of insecure avoidant, whereas countries with a collectivist culture e.g. Japan, had a fairly high levels of insecure resistant attachment.

Whereas Eastern countries that are more culturally close, such as Japan, had quite high levels of insecure resistant. The exception to the pattern was China which an equal number of avoidant and resistant infants.

Country (number of studies)	Percentage of each attachment type		
	Secure	Avoidant	Resistant
USA (18)	65	21	14
UK (1)	75	22	3
Holland (4)	67	26	7
Germany (3)	57	35	8
Japan (2)	68	5	27
China (1)	50	25	25
Israel (2)	64	7	29
Sweden (1)	74	22	4

- The fact that secure attachment was the most frequently found in all cultures indicates that there might be innate (genetic) factors involved in attachment.
- However the variations found suggest that social factors shape these innate tendencies.

AO3

One problem is that many of the studies used in the meta analysis had biased samples which cannot claim to be representative of each culture. For example, only 36 infants were used in the Chinese study which is a very small sample size for such a populated country. Also most of the studies analyzed were from Western cultures.

The Strange Situation was created and tested in the USA, which means that it may be culturally biased (ethnocentric), as it will reflect the norms and values of American culture. This is a problem as it assumes that attachment behavior has the same meaning in all cultures, when in fact cultural perception and understanding of behavior differ greatly. For example, the belief that attachment is related to anxiety on separation. This may not be the case in other cultures, e.g. Japan.

There is significant variation of attachments within cultures: Van Ijzendoorn looked at multiple studies in each country, and found that every study produced different levels of each attachment classification. This intra-cultural variation suggests that it is an oversimplification to assume all children are brought up in the same way in particular country.

Bowlby's Theory of Maternal Deprivation

AO1

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 2.5 years).

According to Bowlby if separation from the primary caregiver occurs during this period and there is no adequate substitute emotional care the child will suffer from deprivation.

This will lead to irreversible long-term consequences in the child's intellectual, social and emotional development. Bowlby also argued that the lack of emotional care could lead to affectionless psychopathy,

Affectionless psychopathy is characterised by a lack of concern for others, a lack of guilt, and the inability to form meaningful relationships. This is often associated with criminality.

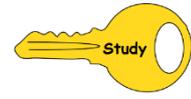
AO3

Bowlby's Maternal Deprivation is supported by [Harlow's \(1958\) research with monkeys](#). He showed that monkeys reared in isolation from their mother suffered emotional and social problems in older age. The monkey's never formed an attachment (privation) and as such grew up to be aggressive and had problems interacting with other monkeys.

Due to Bowlby's theory a number of real life applications have been made: In orphanages now they have to take account of emotional needs, fostered children have to be kept in one stable home rather than being moved around. In maternity units, mothers are now allowed to spend more time with their babies as well as if they have a sick child, the visiting hours in hospitals have been extended, parents can even stay overnight if they wish.

Critics such as Rutter have also accused Bowlby of not distinguishing between deprivation and privation – the complete lack of an attachment bond, rather than its loss. Rutter stresses that the quality of the attachment bond is the most important factor, rather than just deprivation in the critical period.

In this study you have not only to describe the study in enough detail but also to explain how the results support the maternal deprivation hypothesis.



The 44 Juvenile Thieves (1944)

The aim of the study was to investigate the long-term effects of maternal deprivation. Bowlby selected an opportunity sample of 88 children attending his clinic in London. There were two groups: 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.

Bowlby found that 14 children from the thief 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.

The results support the maternal deprivation hypothesis as they show that most of the children diagnosed as affectionless psychopaths (12 out of 14) had experienced prolonged separation from their primary caregivers during the critical period as the hypothesis predicts.

Evaluation: This study was a correlational study therefore it 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 and the child's temperament. This study uses clinical interviews while this is rich in detail and allows people to express feelings and emotions, but it could also be influenced by social desirability and the interpretation of the data could be biased.

AO2 Scenario Question

Anca is an orphan who has been adopted by a British couple. Before being adopted, Anca lived in an institution with lots of other children in very poor conditions. Her new parents are understandably concerned about how Anca's early experiences may affect her in the future.

Use your knowledge of the effects of institutionalisation to advise Anca's new parents about what to expect. (5 marks)

“Apart from suffering maternal deprivation, because Anca lived in an institution with very poor conditions, she may have been mentally under-stimulated, malnourished and uncared for.

In a study of similar children conducted by Rutter, orphans scored worse than a control group on measures of physical, social and cognitive development.

Therefore, Anca may be physically and intellectually underdeveloped for her age and may show poor peer relations and disinhibited attachment - a form of insecure attachment where children do not discriminate between people to whom they try to attach to, being overly friendly, clingy and attention seeking.

However, if she does form an attachment at a fairly young age these negative effects may be reversed.”

AO2 Scenario Question

Laura is 2 years old, her mother died of cancer recently and she has not got any family to look after her. Her social worker, Phil is considering Laura's future.

Based on your knowledge of the maternal deprivation hypothesis what advice would you give Phil? Explain your answer.

Romanian orphan studies: effects of institutionalisation

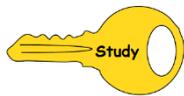
In Romania, the Ceaușescu regime aimed to increase the population by not allowing abortion or contraception. Many families could not look after their children so they were placed in orphanages where there was very little physical or emotional care and no cognitive stimulation.

AO1

Institutionalisation is the behaviour patterns of children who have been raised outside of the family home in an institution such as an orphanage or a residential children's home.

Note, you need to describe the effects of institutional care - this means the results of research studies rather than the procedure (i.e., what happened). Children raised in orphanages and children's home are unlikely to make attachments in the same way as a child raised in a family home. Romanian orphans display attention seeking behaviour towards adults, even strangers, they lack fear of strangers, making inappropriate physical contact with adults, they do not check back to parental figures in stressful situations (disinhibited attachment). This is particularly the case if they remain in an institution after the age of 6 months

Rutter's Study



Procedure: Rutter (1998) studied Romanian orphans who had been placed in orphanages, aged 1-2 weeks old, with minimal adult contact. This was a Longitudinal study and natural experiment, using a group of around 100 Romanian orphans and assessed at ages 4, 6 and 11, then re-assessed 21 years later.

58 babies were adopted before 6 months old and 59 between the ages of 6-24 months old. 48 babies were adopted late between 2-4 years old. These were the 3 conditions Rutter used in his study.

Findings: The results show that 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.

Conclusion: This study suggests long-term consequences may be less severe than was once thought if children have the opportunity to form attachments. When children don't form attachments, the consequences are likely to be severe.

Note: Disinhibited attachment is where children don't discriminate between people they choose as attachment figures. 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. They will treat strangers with overfriendliness and may be attention seeking.

AO3

This study provided detailed measurements through the use of interviews and observations of the children's behaviors. The problem is that it is not easy to find out information about the institutional experience for the child and therefore we don't know the extent of early privation experienced by these children.

Another problem with this type of study is that once the children were adopted they may not wish to take part in the study anymore so the results would not be representative.

This is 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 inferior 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 on the children's adult life; they might take more time to recover.

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 were 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:

AO3

The children might have been given up for adoption because of they had a disability of some kind, this might have affected the outcome.

The results of these studies have important practical applications children in need of substitute care are only placed in institutions temporarily while foster care or adoption is organised furthermore adoption is a process which used to be very lengthy but has now been made a lot easier and faster to avoid the detrimental effects shown by these studies.

AO2 Scenario Question

Anca is an orphan who has been adopted by a British couple. Before being adopted, Anca lived in an institution with lots of other children in very poor conditions. Her new parents are understandably concerned about how Anca's early experiences may affect her in the future. Use your knowledge of the effects of institutionalisation to advise Anca's new parents about what to expect. (5 marks)

Apart from suffering maternal deprivation, because Anca lived in an institution with very poor conditions, she may have been mentally under-stimulated, malnourished and uncared for.

In a study of similar children conducted by Rutter, orphans scored worse than a control group on measures of physical, social and cognitive development. Therefore, Anca may be physically and intellectually underdeveloped for her age and may show poor peer relations and disinhibited attachment - a form of insecure attachment where children do not discriminate between people to whom they try to attach to, being overly friendly, clingy and attention-seeking.

However, if she does form an attachment at a fairly young age these negative effects may be reversed.

The Influence of Early Attachment on Childhood and Adult Relationships: Including the Role of an Internal Working Model

According to Bowlby (1969) later relationships are likely to be a continuation of early attachment styles (secure and insecure) because the behavior of the infant's primary attachment figure promotes an internal working model of relationships which leads the infant to expect the same in later relationships.

Childhood Relationships

AO1

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.

In other words, there will be continuity between early attachment experiences and later relationships. This is known as the continuity hypothesis. Therefore there should be a positive correlation between the quality of primary attachment and later attachments.

According to attachment theory, the child who has a secure attachment style should be more confident in interactions with friends.

AO3

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 behavior. Securely attached children were rated most highly for social competence later in childhood, were less isolated and more popular than insecurely attached children.

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.

An alternative explanation for continuity in relationships is the temperament hypothesis which argues that an infant's temperament affects the way a parent responds and so may be a determining factor in infant attachment type. The infant's temperament may explain their issues (good or bad) with relationships in later life.

Adult Relationships

Parenting Style AO1

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.

AO3

Research by Bailey (2007) found that the majority of women had the same attachment classification both to their babies and their own mothers.

Harlow's monkeys showed a link between poor attachment and later difficulties with parenting because they had a lack of an internal working model.

Romantic Relationships AO1

There also appears to be continuity between early attachment styles and the quality of later adult romantic relationships. This idea is based upon the internal working model where an infant's primary attachment forms a model (template) for future relationships.

AO3

Adult relationships are likely to reflect early attachment style. This is because the experience a person has with their caregiver in childhood would lead to the expectation of the same experiences in later relationships. This is illustrated in Hazan and Shaver's love quiz experiment. They conducted a study to collect information of participants' early attachment styles and their attitudes towards loving relationships.

They found that those who were securely attached as infants tended to have happy lasting

relationships. On the other hand, insecurely attached people found adult relationships more difficult, tended to divorce and believed love was rare. This supports the idea that childhood experiences have significant impact on people's attitude toward later relationships.

An alternative explanation for continuity in relationships is the temperament hypothesis which argues that an infant's temperament affects the way a parent responds and so may be a determining factor in infant attachment type. The infant's temperament may explain their issues (good or bad) with relationships in later life.

This theory is accused of being reductionist because it assumes that people who are insecurely attached as infants would have poor-quality adult relationships. This is not always the case. Researchers found plenty of people having happy relationships despite having insecure

Exam Questions and Model Answers

In caregiver- infant interactions, explain what is meant by reciprocity (2 marks)

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 and elicit a response from the other.

In caregiver- infant interactions, explain what is meant by reciprocity (3 marks)

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 the first year of life.

Outline the stages of attachment as identified by Schaffer (6 marks)

Here you must be very precise in the name of the stages and the age at which they occur. Use the precise terminology i.e. secondary attachment

Schaffer proposed that attachment develops in four stages: Asocial attachment (birth-2 months): children respond in the same way to animate and inanimate objects at the end of this stage, the child shows preference for being with people rather than inanimate objects. Indiscriminate attachment (2-7 months): children recognise and prefer familiar adults. They accept comfort from any adult. They do not show stranger or separation anxiety. Specific attachment (from around 7 months): Infants start to show stranger anxiety and distress when separated from a particular adult; they have formed a specific attachment. The adult with whom the child has formed the specific attachment is called the primary attachment figure. 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.

Outline one criticism of Schaffer's stages of attachment. (4 marks)

One criticism of the stages of attachment is that the supporting research has been carried out in individualist cultures for example Schaffer and Emerson (1964) was carried out in Glasgow. Collectivist cultures have different ways of bringing up children, children are brought up in extended families and are often looked after by the community, but in individualist cultures children are mainly looked after by their parents so the development of attachment might be different for example they might form multiple attachments at an earlier age. This is a weakness because we cannot apply this theory to children raised in collectivist cultures.

Describe and evaluate research into the stages in the development of attachment. (12 marks)

Schaffer and Emerson (1964) aimed to investigate the age at which the first attachment forms, who this attachment is with and its strength. They studied a sample of 60 infants from Glasgow, from the age of between 5- 23 weeks from working-class homes until they were 1 year old. They were followed up again at 18 months. The families were visited every four weeks. The mothers were asked to keep a diary of the infant's response to separation in seven everyday situations for example when the infant was left alone in a room or left with other people. The researchers also carried out direct observations of the infants' reaction when they approached him (stranger anxiety). They found that half the

children showed their first specific attachment between 6 and 8 months. Fear of strangers began about a month later in all the children. The intensity of attachment usually peaked in the first month after attachment behaviour first appeared. By about 7 months 29% of the children had already formed several attachments.

A weakness of this study was low population validity because the way children are raised might influence the way they develop attachment. As the children were all from a similar background, the way they were raised was probably similar so the findings might not apply to children from different a cultural and social background. Furthermore, the study was done in an individualist culture, attachment might develop differently in a collectivist culture where child care is shared so we cannot apply the results to collectivist cultures. However, a strength of this study is that it was carried out in the children's home and the observations were done by the parents during everyday activities so it has high external validity. Additionally, as the parents reported their child's behaviour they might have been biased – maybe the less sensitive parents did not really pay attention to the level of distress in their child.

Another weakness is time validity because work patterns have changed since the 1960s, many more mothers work outside the home and some fathers choose or have to become the main carers so if this study was replicated today the findings might be different. 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. However Kagan showed that this factor affects attachment.

Outline Lorenz's research into attachment (4 marks)

Here you need a brief description of the procedure and the results

Lorenz divided a clutch of eggs in two halves: one half was left to hatch with the mother (the control group) and the other half were hatched in an incubator, the first moving thing they saw was Lorenz. Lorenz found that the control group followed their mother goose everywhere whereas the second group followed him. 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 did not recognise their real mother.

Describe how Harlow investigated attachment in animals (4 marks)

Here the question focuses on the procedure nothing else as it asks “how” so don’t waste time writing the results or conclusion as this will not get you any marks.

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. There were two conditions: condition 1: eight of the monkeys could get milk from the wire mother, condition 2: eight monkeys could get milk from the cloth mother. The time they spent with each “mother” was measured. He also placed them in frightening situations such as placing a “monster” (a robot making frightening noises) to see which “mother” the babies would run to for comfort.

Outline one strength and one limitation of using animal to study attachment (6marks)

One strength of using animals in the study of attachment is that we can carry out procedures on animals that we could not use with humans for ethical reasons. For example, Harlow’s study the baby monkeys were taken away from their mothers soon after birth this could not be done to human babies.

One weakness of using animal studies is that animals are different from humans cognitively and physiologically so we cannot extrapolate the results to humans. For example, Lorenz used geese in his study, however, mother geese do not show emotional attachment to their babies in the same way as human mothers do so the way the attachment form between a mother geese and its babies is very different from the way attachment form between a human mother and her babies.

Miguel’s mother gave up work when he was born and stays at home to look after him. Miguel’s father works far away so is rarely home before his bedtime. Miguel is nine months old and he has a very close bond with his mother. Use learning theory to explain how Max became attached to his mother rather than to his father.(6 marks)

You must link your answer to the scenario at every step or you will only get half the marks at best. Your answer has to be linked to attachment (Pavlov’s dogs are not relevant here!)

According to the learning approach attachment is a learnt behaviour. It can be learnt

through classical conditioning, learning through association and through operant conditioning, learning through consequences. According to classical conditioning food (UCS) produces pleasure (UCR). Miguel's mother started by being a neutral stimulus, but she was associated through repeated pairings with the food and became a conditioned stimulus. So Miguel felt pleasure, when he saw his mother (CR). According to operant conditioning food satisfied Miguel's hunger and made him feel comfortable again (drive reduction). Food was, therefore, a primary reinforcer. His mother was associated with food and became a secondary reinforcer. Miguel became attached to his mother because she was a source of reward. However, his father being absent a lot of the time, was not associated with pleasure as he did not feed Miguel or made him feel comfortable so the child shows no attachment to him.

Describe and evaluate the learning theory of attachment (12 marks)

According to the learning approach, attachment is a learnt behaviour.

When the child is hungry, he performs various behaviours and when he/she cries the caregiver feeds the child. The food is a reinforcer, therefore the child will produce the behaviour again to get the same reinforcer i.e. food. This is called operant conditioning.

The child also learns through classical conditioning. As it is always the same caregiver who gives the food the child learns to associate the caregiver with a feeling of comfort.

At the beginning the caregiver is a neutral stimulus, after a few pairings when the neutral stimulus is paired with the unconditioned stimulus (food) the neutral stimulus becomes the conditioned stimulus and the child produces a response of comfort when he/she sees the caregiver. This explains why the child becomes attached to one particular person.

This is called the "cupboard love" hypothesis.

This theory is challenged by Schaffer and Emerson (1964) as they found that infants form an attachment with the carer who responded the most sensitively to their needs not the carer who fed them. It is also challenged by Harlow's study as the infant monkeys spent 18 hours with the "cloth surrogate mother" but only one hour with the "wire mother" who fed them. Furthermore Lorenz showed that the goslings made an attachment with the first moving object they saw, Lorenz, rather than to their mothers which suggests that other factors than food are involved in forming attachments. However the last two studies were done on animals so we cannot extrapolate the findings to humans as we are cognitively and physiologically different from animals for example goslings find their own food very early after birth whereas humans and monkeys need to be fed by their mothers. However it could be argued that we learn to form attachment but the reinforcers are

comfort and a feeling of security rather than food.

This theory cannot explain why there is a critical period after which the infants cannot form an attachment as we can learn through operant and classical conditioning throughout life; this suggests that a biological mechanism is involved rather than learning.

Describe one study which investigated Bowlby's theory of attachment (4 marks)

Schaffer and Emerson (1964) studied a sample of 60 infants from Glasgow, from the age of between 5- 23 weeks from working-class homes until they were 1 year old. They were followed up again at 18 months. The families were visited every four weeks. The mothers were asked to keep a diary of the infant's response to separation in seven everyday situations for example when the infant was left alone in a room. The researchers also carried out direct observations of the infants' reaction when they approached him (stranger anxiety). They found that half the children showed their first specific attachment between 6 and 8 months. Fear of strangers began about a month later in all the children. The intensity of attachment usually peaked in the first month after attachment behaviour first appeared. By about 7 months 29% of the children had already formed several attachments.

While Sandra was hospitalised for two months her young son, Adam, has been staying with her sister, Laura. She is well enough to look after Adam who is now 7 months old but she has noticed that Adam is distressed when he leaves Laura and cries when she tries to comfort him.

Explain Adam's behaviour using your knowledge of Bowlby's attachment theory. (4marks)

Adam is in the critical period (6-9 months) and he seems to have formed a primary attachment with Laura this is why he is distressed when he leaves her. He is showing separation anxiety. Furthermore, the primary attachment figure is the one the child returns to when frightened that is why he does not let Sandra comfort him as Laura is his secure base. He will form an attachment with Sandra later and this attachment will be based on a template provided by his primary attachment to Laura, this is the internal working model.

Describe and evaluate Bowlby's theory of attachment (12 marks)

According to Bowlby, attachment is an innate and adaptive behaviour because it enhances the chances of survival.

It occurs during a sensitive period (between 6-9 months). The child forms an attachment which is qualitatively different from other attachment this is called monotropy. This primary attachment provides the child with a secure base to which he/she can return when frightened.

The primary attachment also provides a template, internal working model, on which the child will then base their future attachments.

Therefore, future attachment will be shaped by the first attachment (continuity hypothesis).

If the child cannot form an attachment during the sensitive period, Bowlby argues that this will have long-term consequences on the child's future emotional and social development (maternal deprivation hypothesis).

Children are born with characteristics which elicit care from adults i.e. (big eyes and chubby cheeks) these are called social releasers.

This explanation is supported by Schaffer and Emerson as they found that children formed an attachment around 7 months which supports the existence of a sensitive period. Furthermore, their results also show that they formed a specific attachment to one carer first before forming multiple attachments which supports the concept of monotropy. This study also found that a significant number of children formed multiple attachments at the same time as forming the primary attachment, this challenges Bowlby's concept of monotropy. However this study was carried out on children raised in an individualistic culture so we cannot generalise the results to children raised in collectivist cultures as they are brought up in a very different way which might influence the way they make attachment.

It is also supported by Harlow who found that the monkeys used the "cloth mother" as a secure base to which they ran back when they were frightened by the "monster". This study also shows that the lack of attachment has long-term consequences as when the monkeys were put back with other monkeys they were unable to form relationships, they also had difficulties mating and were inadequate mothers. This supports the maternal deprivation hypothesis.

Hazan and Shaver found a high positive correlation between the attachment type in childhood and adult romantic relationships. This supports the continuity hypothesis.

Research on attachment often involves the observation of the interactions

between a mother and her child. Explain how such observational research might be refined through the use of behavioural categories. (4 marks)

Behavioural categories allow the researcher to have a clear focus on the behaviours to observe for example smiling, crying or the baby moving towards or away from the mother. This allows the observers to tally observations into pre-arranged groupings. It also makes the observations replicable so the results have greater reliability. The use of behavioural categories provides quantitative data which is easier to analyse than quantitative data.

Explain one type of attachment observed in the Strange Situation (4 marks)

Secure attachment is a type of attachment observed in the Strange Situation. The children with this type of attachment explore their environment (explorative behaviour), they are moderately distressed when their mother leaves the room (separation anxiety), they also show moderate stranger anxiety, they show some distress when they are approached by a stranger. They seek contact with their mother when she returns.

Explain the difference in reunion behaviour between the children an insecure avoidant type of attachment and the children with a secure attachment. (2 marks)

In this question you have to compare make sure you sue “comparison” words such as but, whereas, on the other hand in contrast....

The children with an insecure avoidant type of attachment ignore their mother when she returns whereas the children with a secure attachment seek contact with their mother and are easily comforted by her.

Evaluate the Strange Situation as a method for investigating types of attachment. (4 marks)

The Strange Situation investigated the attachment type between the infant and the mother, but the child might have made a primary attachment with the father or child-minder so the results might not reflect the child's attachment type. Also, it was a structured observation and this might have influenced the mothers' behaviour towards their children as they might have wanted to appear very competent and caring mothers. However, it took place in an artificial situation so there was high control of extraneous variables, this means that the procedure is replicable and has been replicated many times so the results are reliable. Furthermore, the fact that it took place in a controlled and

artificial environment might mean that it does not reflect everyday life situations, but it could be argued that children might be left with a stranger for a few minutes in their normal life for example when the mother goes to the dentist the child might be left with the receptionist for a few minutes.

Outline and evaluate research into the types of attachment (12 marks)

Ainsworth (1970) proposed the 'sensitivity hypothesis' which states that the more responsive the mother is to the infant during their early months, the more secure their attachment will be. To test this she designed the 'Strange Situation', where the child and mother experience a range of scenarios in an unfamiliar room. The research was a controlled observation carried out in a laboratory where the mother and child were asked to enter an unfamiliar room that had two chairs and some toys and a two way mirror. There were 8 episodes that each lasted 3 minutes and involved the mother and child entering the room, stranger enters, mother leaves, stranger attempts to comfort the child, the mother returns and tries to comfort the child as the stranger leaves, mother leaves again, stranger returns tries to comfort the child and then mother returns again and the stranger leaves. The children were observed for exploratory behaviour, stranger anxiety, separation anxiety and reunion behaviour.

Ainsworth concluded that there are three main types of infant attachment; secure, insecure-avoidant and insecure-resistant. She found that the most common attachment type was secure, with around 70% of babies being categorised as this. Secure children use their mother as a safe base to explore the room from, they show stranger anxiety, are distressed when the mother leaves and are joyful and easily soothed when she returns. Insecure-avoidant children (20%) do not use the mother as a safe base; they are not distressed when she leaves, show little stranger anxiety and are not joyful when the mother returns. Insecure-resistant children (10%) are very distressed when the mother leaves, show stranger anxiety, are not easily soothed by the mother when she returns and show ambivalent behaviour towards her (seeking and rejecting contact).

As Ainsworth's research was carried out in a lab the procedure is very controlled; this means that other researchers can easily replicate it in order to test the sensitivity hypothesis for themselves. This makes the findings more reliable as the research has been repeated many times with similar results.

However The Strange Situation was carried out in an artificial setting and in controlled conditions, it can be argued that it lacks mundane realism, but in real life children are sometimes left with strangers for a few minutes, e.g. when the mother goes to the dentist

or the doctor the child could be left with the receptionist for a few minutes. Furthermore, Ainsworth's initial sample only included middle class American mothers so the results cannot be generalised to other social classes and cultures as social class and cultures might influence child rearing practices therefore children's attachment and behaviour. Also children were only tested with the mother and they could have formed their primary attachment with another adult, e.g. the father.

There are also a number of ethical issues with this research as the infants are placed in stressful situations, in a strange environment and are left alone with a stranger. This breaches the protection from harm ethical guideline; however, researchers stopped the procedure if the child became too distressed. In addition, the sensitivity hypothesis places blame on mothers; this is socially sensitive as it may unfairly create stigma to those mothers who are told they have insecure children and Kagan argues that the child's temperament also plays a part in the type and quality of attachment.

Discuss research into cultural variations in attachment (12 marks)

Child-rearing practices do not only differ between individuals but they also differ from culture to culture. Because of these variations in child-rearing practices psychologists have been interested to see how babies vary between cultures in the types of attachment behaviours they show. Many of these studies used the Strange Situation procedure devised by Ainsworth. This led to Van Ijzendoorn and Kroonenberg (1988) carrying out a meta-analysis of the results of 32 studies, carried out in 8 different countries who had all used Ainsworth's Strange Situation to determine attachment type.

They found that secure attachments were the most common attachment type across all cultures. The lowest proportion of secure attachment was found in China (50%) and the highest in Great Britain and Sweden (around 75%). Insecure-avoidant attachments were most common in West Germany (35%) and were rare in Israel and Japan (around 6%). Insecure-resistant attachments were most common in Israel and Japan (between 25-28%) and rare in Great Britain and Sweden (around 3%).

As well as highlighting differences between cultures, Van Ijzendoorn and Kroonenberg also found large differences within cultures. For example, in the two Japanese studies, one had no type A babies whereas the second had about 20%, which is very similar to Ainsworth's original findings. Van Ijzendoorn and Kroonenberg argued that the difference within cultures was nearly one and a half times the differences found across different cultures. This supports the view that child rearing practices within a certain culture are not the same for all children and influence the behaviour of the caregiver and

the children.

A strength of this meta-analysis research is that it includes over 2000 children. Due to this large sample size from a range of cultures and countries it makes the results less likely to be influenced by individual characteristics. However, over half of the 32 studies were carried out in the USA which means there is a dominance of American research involved, making it a biased sample. Also, 27 of the 32 studies were carried out in individualistic cultures, meaning that only 5 were carried out in collectivist cultures. This means that the results may not be representative as they are too dominated by individualistic and westernised cultures. Furthermore large areas of the world population are not represented in this study for example there are no participants from Africa or Asia.

Another criticism of the research is that Ainsworth's Strange Situation method was developed in America and may be most suitable for studying attachment types within America. This is because the child's reaction to the Strange Situation reflects the child rearing practices within that culture. An example of this is that Japanese children become very upset and distraught when left by the mother, leading them to be classified as insecure-resistant. This is due to the fact that in Japan, babies are very rarely separated from their mother before the age of 2. Similarly, children brought up in West Germany, where independence is highly encouraged showed little distress when separated from their mother, leading them to be classified as insecure-avoidant. Therefore it is important to recognise and understand that there are many cultural differences without assuming that one part of the world is somehow superior to others.

Outline Bowlby's maternal deprivation hypothesis. (6marks)

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 2.5 years). According to Bowlby if separation from the primary caregiver occurs during this period and there is no adequate substitute emotional care the child will suffer from deprivation. This will lead to irreversible long-term consequences in the child's intellectual, social and emotional development. Bowlby also argued that the lack of emotional care could lead to affectionless psychopathy, this is the inability to experience guilt or strong feelings for others. This is often associated with criminality.

Outline research supporting the maternal deprivation hypothesis (6marks)

In this study you have not only to describe the study in enough detail but also to explain how the results support the maternal deprivation hypothesis.

The 44 juvenile thieves study (Bowlby, 1944). The aim of the study was to investigate the long-term effects of maternal deprivation. Bowlby selected an opportunity sample of 88 children attending his clinic in London. There were two groups: 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.

Bowlby found that 14 children from the thief 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.

The results support the maternal deprivation hypothesis as they show that most of the children diagnosed as affectionless psychopaths (12 out of 14) had experienced prolonged separation from their primary caregivers during the critical period as the hypothesis predicts.

Evaluate Bowlby's deprivation hypothesis (6 marks)

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 as emotional care is likely to be of better quality in foster families than in institutions. The results of the 44 juvenile thieves study (Bowlby, 1944) support the MDH as they show that prolonged separation from the primary attachment figure can lead to affectionless psychopathy.

Furthermore, Rutter argues that Bowlby does not differentiate between the effects of deprivation and privation and many studies show that the effects are far more serious in cases of privation (e.g. Rutter and Sonuga-Barke)

The theory does not take into account the individual characteristics of the child e.g.

temperament of the child and the attachment type before the separation.

Bowlby referred to physical absence but emotional unavailability is also damaging to children (e.g. mothers with depression) Radke-Yarrow (1985) who found that 52% of children whose mothers suffered from depression were insecurely attached.

Describe one study of Romanian orphans (6 marks)

Rutter and Sonuga-Barke (2010). The sample consisted of 165 Romanian children who 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.

The results show that 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.

Describe possible effects of institutionalisation (4 marks)

Children raised in orphanages and children's home. Children are unlikely to make attachments in the same way as a child raised in a family home. According to the results of Rutter and Sonuga-Barke study (2010) on Romanian orphans they display and attention seeking behaviour towards adults, even strangers, they lack fear of strangers, making inappropriate physical contact with adults, they do not check back to parental figures in stressful situations (disinhibited attachment). Zeanah et al. (2005) found that these children can have a disorganised attachment type: the children display an inconsistent pattern of behaviour; sometimes they show strong attachment other times they avoid the caregiver.

Outline the role of the internal working model in both childhood and adult relationships (4 marks)

The internal working model is created when children form their first attachment. It is a template that they will use to establish relationships with other children and also family members during their childhood. They will also use this model to make romantic relationships and relationships with colleagues and friends when they are adult. If they have a loving and trusting first attachment they will seek out this type of relationship with others and behave in this way with other people. However, if they have an insecure attachment in early childhood, they may struggle to form relationships with others throughout their lives.

Describe research that has shown a link between early attachment and adult relationships. (6 marks)

Hazan & Shaver (1987)- “the love Quiz”. The aim: was to find out if there was a correlation between the infant’s attachment type and their future approach to romantic relationships. The researchers placed a “love Quiz” in the Rocky Mountains News asking questions which assessed: the individual’s beliefs about romantic love e.g. whether it lasted forever and whether it could be found easily. They also assessed the attachment type by using a simple adjective checklist of childhood relationships with parents.

There were 620 responses: 205 men and 450 women.

They found that the percentages of types of attachment were similar to the one found by Ainsworth in the Strange Situation. They also found that there was a strong positive correlation between childhood attachment types and adult relationships. 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. This supports the influence of the internal working model in both childhood and adult relationships.

Evaluate research into the influence of early attachment on adult relationships. (6 marks)

Hazan & Shaver (1987) supports the influence of the internal working model as it shows a positive correlation between the attachment type in childhood and the type of relationships in adulthood. However it was a volunteer sample so it was biased as only people interested in this topic were likely to answer the quiz so the sample is not representative of the wider population therefore we cannot generalise the results to the

wider population.

Participants were asked about their memories of early childhood experience and such memories may be distorted or forgotten so the results are not reliable.

It was a questionnaire so people's answers might have been influenced by social desirability; this is particularly the case with a very sensitive subject such as relationships.

It was a correlational study, so it does not show a cause and effect relationship between the two covariables, other factors could be involved such as abuse, temperament of the child and social factors such as poverty.